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of
HELLENIC STUDIES
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RULES

OF THE

Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies.

1. The objects of this Society shall be as follows:

I. To advance the study of Greek language, literature, and art, and to illustrate the history of the Greek race in the ancient, Byzantine, and Neo-Hellenic periods, by the publication of memoirs and unedited documents or monuments in a Journal to be issued periodically.

II. To collect drawings, facsimiles, transcripts, plans, and photographs of Greek inscriptions, MSS., works of art, ancient sites and remains, and with this view to invite travellers to communicate to the Society notes or sketches of archaeological and topographical interest.

III. To organise means by which members of the Society may have increased facilities for visiting ancient sites and pursuing archaeological researches in countries which, at any time, have been the sites of Hellenic civilization.

2. The Society shall consist of a President, Vice-Presidents, a Council, a Treasurer, one or more Secretaries, and Ordinary Members. All officers of the Society shall be chosen from among its Members, and shall be ex officio members of the Council.

3. The President shall preside at all General, Ordinary, or Special Meetings of the Society, and of the Council or of any Committee at which he is present. In case of the absence of the President, one of the Vice-Presidents shall preside in his stead, and in the absence of the Vice-Presidents the Treasurer. In the absence of the Treasurer the Council or Committee shall appoint one of their Members to preside.
4. The funds and other property of the Society shall be administered and applied by the Council in such manner as they shall consider most conducive to the objects of the Society: in the Council shall also be vested the control of all publications issued by the Society, and the general management of all its affairs and concerns. The number of the Council shall not exceed fifty.

5. The Treasurer shall receive, on account of the Society, all subscriptions, donations, or other moneys accruing to the funds thereof, and shall make all payments ordered by the Council. All cheques shall be signed by the Treasurer and countersigned by the Secretary.

6. In the absence of the Treasurer the Council may direct that cheques may be signed by two members of Council and countersigned by the Secretary.

7. The Council shall meet as often as they may deem necessary for the despatch of business.

8. Due notice of every such Meeting shall be sent to each Member of the Council, by a summons signed by the Secretary.

9. Three Members of the Council, provided not more than one of the three present be a permanent officer of the Society, shall be a quorum.

10. All questions before the Council shall be determined by a majority of votes. The Chairman to have a casting vote.


12. The Secretary shall give notice in writing to each Member of the Council of the ordinary days of meeting of the Council, and shall have authority to summon a Special and Extraordinary Meeting of the Council on a requisition signed by at least four Members of the Council.

13. Two Auditors, not being Members of the Council, shall be elected by the Society in each year.

14. A General Meeting of the Society shall be held in London in June of each year, when the Reports of the Council and of the Auditors shall be read, the Council, Officers, and Auditors for the ensuing year elected, and any other business recommended by the Council discussed
and determined. Meetings of the Society for the reading of papers may be held at such times as the Council may fix, due notice being given to Members.

15. The President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, Secretaries, and Council shall be elected by the Members of the Society at the Annual Meeting.

16. The President and Vice-Presidents shall be appointed for one year, after which they shall be eligible for re-election at the Annual Meeting.

17. One-third of the Council shall retire every year, but the Members so retiring shall be eligible for re-election at the Annual Meeting.

18. The Treasurer and Secretaries shall hold their offices during the pleasure of the Council.

19. The elections of the Officers, Council, and Auditors, at the Annual Meeting, shall be by a majority of the votes of those present. The Chairman of the Meeting shall have a casting vote. The mode in which the vote shall be taken shall be determined by the President and Council.

20. Every Member of the Society shall be summoned to the Annual Meeting by notice issued at least one month before it is held.

21. All motions made at the Annual Meeting shall be in writing and shall be signed by the mover and seconder. No motion shall be submitted, unless notice of it has been given to the Secretary at least three weeks before the Annual Meeting.

22. Upon any vacancy in the Presidency, occurring between the Annual Elections, one of the Vice-Presidents shall be elected by the Council to officiate as President until the next Annual Meeting.

23. All vacancies among the other Officers of the Society occurring between the same dates shall in like manner be provisionally filled up by the Council until the next Annual Meeting.

24. The names of all candidates wishing to become Members of the Society shall be submitted to a Meeting of the Council, and at their next Meeting the Council shall proceed to the election of candidates so proposed: no such election to be valid unless the candidate receives the votes of the majority of those present.
25. The Annual Subscription of Members shall be one guinea, payable and due on the 1st of January each year; this annual subscription may be compounded for by a payment of £15 15s., entitling compounders to be Members of the Society for life, without further payment. All Members elected on or after January 1, 1894, shall pay on election an entrance fee of one guinea.

26. The payment of the Annual Subscription, or of the Life Composition, entitles each Member to receive a copy of the ordinary publications of the Society.

27. When any Member of the Society shall be six months in arrear of his Annual Subscription, the Secretary or Treasurer shall remind him of the arrears due, and in case of non-payment thereof within six months after date of such notice, such defaulting Member shall cease to be a Member of the Society, unless the Council make an order to the contrary.

28. Members intending to leave the Society must send a formal notice of resignation to the Secretary on or before January 1; otherwise they will be held liable for the subscription for the current year.

29. If at any time there may appear cause for the expulsion of a Member of the Society, a Special Meeting of the Council shall be held to consider the case, and if at such Meeting at least two-thirds of the Members present shall concur in a resolution for the expulsion of such Member of the Society, the President shall submit the same for confirmation at a General Meeting of the Society specially summoned for this purpose, and if the decision of the Council be confirmed by a majority at the General Meeting, notice shall be given to that effect to the Member in question, who shall thereupon cease to be a Member of the Society.

30. The Council shall have power to nominate British or Foreign Honorary Members. The number of British Honorary Members shall not exceed ten.

31. Ladies shall be eligible as Ordinary Members of the Society, and when elected shall be entitled to the same privileges as other Ordinary Members.

32. No change shall be made in the Rules of the Society unless at least a fortnight before the Annual Meeting specific notice be given to every Member of the Society of the changes proposed.
RULES FOR THE USE OF THE LIBRARY
AT 22, ALBEMARLE STREET

I. That the Library be administered by the Library Committee, which shall be composed of not less than four members, two of whom shall form a quorum.

II. That the custody and arrangement of the Library be in the hands of the Librarian, subject to the control of the Committee, and in accordance with Regulations drawn up by the said Committee and approved by the Council.

III. That all books, periodicals, plans, photographs, &c., be received by the Librarian or Secretary and reported to the Council at their next meeting.

IV. That every book or periodical sent to the Society be at once stamped with the Society's name.

V. That all the Society's books be entered in a Catalogue to be kept by the Librarian, and that in this Catalogue such books, &c., as are not to be lent out be specified.

VI. That the Library be accessible to Members on all week days from eleven A.M. to six P.M. (Saturdays, 11 A.M. to 2 P.M.), when either the Librarian, or in his absence some responsible person, shall be in attendance.

VII. That the Society's books (with exceptions hereinafter to be specified) be lent to Members under the following conditions:

1. That the number of volumes lent at any one time to each Member shall not exceed three.

2. That the time during which such book or books may be kept shall not exceed one month.

3. That no books be sent beyond the limits of the United Kingdom.

VIII. That the manner in which books are lent shall be as follows:

1. That all requests for the loan of books be addressed to the Librarian.

2. That the Librarian shall record all such requests, and lend out the books in the order of application.

3. That in each case the name of the book and of the borrower be inscribed, with the date, in a special register to be kept by the Librarian.

4. Should a book not be returned within the period specified, the Librarian shall reclaim it.
(5) All expenses of carriage to and fro shall be borne by the borrower.

IX. That no book falling under the following categories be lent out under any circumstances:—

(1) Unbound books.
(2) Detached plates, plans, photographs, and the like.
(3) Books considered too valuable for transmission.
(4) New books within three months of their coming into the Library.

X. That in the case of a book being kept beyond the stated time the borrower be liable to a fine of one shilling for each additional week, and if a book is lost the borrower be bound to replace it.

The Library Committee.

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Miss Jane Harrison.
Mr. Walter Leaf.
Mr. George Macmillan (Hon. Sec.).
Mr. Ernest Myers.
Rev. W. G. Rutherford, LL.D.
Miss Eugenie Sellers.
Mr. Arthur Hamilton Smith.
Mr. E. Maundre Thomson.

Assistant Librarian, Miss Hughes, to whom, at 22, Albemarle Street, applications for books may be addressed.

SESSION 1894—1895.

General Meetings will be held in the Rooms of the Royal Asiatic Society, 22, Albemarle Street, London, W., for the reading of Papers and for Discussion, at 5 p.m. on the following days:—

1894.
Monday, October 15.

1895.
Monday, February 18.
Monday, April 8.
Monday, June 17 (Annual).

It is the intention of the Council to hold two other General Meetings in the course of the Session, at dates hereafter to be announced.

The Council will meet at 4:30 p.m. on each of the above days.
THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES.

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Assistant Librarian.
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OF HELLENIC STUDIES.

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Professor Petersen, Instituto Archeologico Tedesco, Casa Tarpeia, Monte Capprone, Rome.

LIST OF MEMBERS.

* Original Members. † Life Members.

The other Members have been elected by the Council since the Inaugural Meeting.

Abbott, Evelyn, Balliol College, Oxford.
* Abercromby, Lord, 14, Grosvenor Street, W.
† Abercrombie, Dr. John, 23, Upper Wimpole Street, W.
Abram, Edward, 1, Middle Temple Lane, E.C.
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Amberst, Lord, Diddington Hall, Brandon, Suffolk.
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Anderton, Basil, Public Library, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
* Antrobus, Rev. Frederick, The Oratory, S.W.
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Bather, Arthur George, Kingsgate Street, Winchester.
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†Beaumont, Somerset, Shore, near Guildford.
Beebee, M. J. L., New Travellers Club, 97, Piccadilly, W.
Belcher, Rev. Henry, High School, Dunedin, N.Z.
†Bein, Alfred W., 70, Via Cavour, Florence.
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Bent, Mrs. Theodore, 13, Great Cumberland Place, W.
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Bond, Edward, Elm Bank, Hampstead, N.W.
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Broadbent, H., Elton College, Windsor.
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Buxton, Mrs. Alfred, 5, Hyde Park Street, W.
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†Bywater, Mrs., 93, Osnabrook Square, S.W.
Calvert, Rev. Thomas, 171, Hopton Road, Streatham, S.W.

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Campbell, Mrs. Lewis, 35, Kensington Court Mansions, W.

†Canterbury, The Most Rev. His Grace the Lord Archbishop of, Lambeth Palace, S.E.

Capes, Rev. W. W., Brumshott, Liphook, Hants.

Carapámos, Constantin, Député, Athens.

Carey, Miss, 13, Colosseum Terrace, Regent's Park, N.W.

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THE First General Meeting was held on October 16th, 1893, Professor P. Gardner, V.P., in the chair.

Mr. A. G. Bather read a paper on the bronze fragments of the Acropolis which he had sorted and cleaned, exhibiting drawings of the more important. The ornamental patterns fell into the two classes of geometric and Oriental, which overlapped one another in date and influenced each other in style, the geometric gaining freedom and the Oriental a more proper arrangement of designs. In the smaller votive objects the same distinction was to be drawn, and various minor schools, such as those of Ægina and the Islands, may perhaps be differentiated. Two engraved fragments showed the mixture of the two styles, and corresponded closely to the later examples of geometric pottery. Of relief work, which belonged essentially to the Oriental school, examples were exhibited which were found on the Acropolis and near Eleuthere. Most of these could be brought into close connexion with the 'Argo-Corinthian' reliefs found at Olympia, Dodona, and the Ptoon, and the series thus formed showed the different stages in the development of both technical and mythological types. Other reliefs exhibited betrayed a different origin, and were also to be distinguished in point of style from any bronzes found at Olympia; possibly they were of Athenian origin. The subjects of the chief of these were a winged male figure holding two birds, a boxing match for the prize of a tripod, and some scene in the life of Heracles, possibly the combat with Cynus. The last of these was the most developed in point of style, and showed distinctly the influence of the Mellan school of vase painting (Journal of Hellenic Studies, Vol. xiii., pp. 124 and 232).

In the discussion which followed, Mr. A. J. Evans alluded to several of the bronzes in detail as parallel in ornament and general character to examples found elsewhere. The Chairman mentioned a Rhodian Pinax, as illustrating the subject of the bronze with male figure holding two geese. Miss Harrison pointed out that the bronze votive horses found on the Acropolis confirmed other evidence of the cult of Poseidon or Athena as Hippios and Hippia.

Mr. E. F. Benson's promised paper on some points in the cult of Asclepius had unfortunately to be postponed from want of time.
The Second General Meeting took place on November 27th, 1893, Professor L. Campbell, V.P., in the chair.

Mr. A. J. Evans read a paper "On a Mycænæan Treasure from Ægina." The treasure in question had found its way into the London market, and been acquired by the British Museum; but owing to the prohibitive policy of the Greek Government, the vendor was unable to say whence the relics came. Mr. Evans was satisfied that they had been found in Ægina. The most remarkable objects were a gold cup with returning spiral and rosette ornament; an openwork gold pendant representing a kind of Egyptian figure in a lotos-tipped boat, holding two water-birds, which Mr. Evans traced to a familiar subject of Egyptian frescoes in which the fowler is seen standing in a Nile boat, holding the trophies of his chase; four gold openwork ornaments with dogs and apes and pendent discs and owls; a jewel with a lion's head and pendent ducks, apparently suggested by a so-called Egyptian aegis with the head of the lion-headed goddess Sekhet. Various comparisons with Egyptian, Oriental, and European forms were instituted, bearing on the origin and range of the different types of objects discovered, and on the date of the deposit. It was shown to belong to the very latest Mycænæan period, hitherto almost unrepresented by finds, and it had, therefore, a unique value. Though under strong Oriental influence, the art was quite distinct from the Phœnician; in place of griffins, sacred hawks, and trees we had here such decorative elements as homely acorns, ducks, and owls. The art, in a word, was indigenous to the soil of Greece, and the most characteristic designs here found had their echo in the early cemeteries of Italy and the Caucasus, where "Javan" (or the Ionian Greeks) early traded with "Mesech" and "Tubal." A variety of concordant data led Mr. Evans to fix 800 B.C. as the approximate date of the deposit, and a very important fact brought to light by the ring-money of the find was that there already existed in Ægina at the time of this deposit a pre-Pheïdonian standard answering to the Euboe-Attic. In all probability the deposit of the treasure was connected with the Dorian conquest of the island (Journal of Hellenic Studies, Vol. xiii., p. 195).

After the paper, Mr. Evans announced that he had discovered on a series of gems and seals found mainly in Crete and the Peloponnesse, some sixty symbols which seemed to belong to a native Greek system of hieroglyphics, distinct from the Egyptian on the one hand, and the so-called Hittite on the other.

The Third General Meeting took place on February 19th, 1894, Professor Jebb, President, in the chair.

Mr. H. Stuart Jones read a paper "On a Reconstruction of the Chest of Cypselus." The paper was illustrated by a diagram, executed by Mr. F. Anderson, jun., under Mr. Jones's supervision, showing the chest as conjecturally restored in the dimensions of the original (Journal of Hellenic Studies, Vol. xiv., p. 30).

Mr. A. S. Murray doubted whether there was any authority for making
the metopes which were suggested in the reconstruction of unequal size, and thought uniformity must be preserved at any cost.

Professor Gardner, while hesitating to criticise offhand so elaborate a paper, thought it a very important contribution to the study of ancient art. In the restoration the services of Mr. Anderson, an artist of early Greek vases who had no equal in England or perhaps elsewhere, had been of special value. The restoration had accordingly not only an intellectual but an artistic interest.

In proposing a cordial vote of thanks to Mr. Jones, Professor Jebb said that the paper was of peculiar interest as bringing out the relations between art types and literary sources. Where an artistic representation of a well-known subject differed from that which was familiar in literature, it was a question whether the artist departed deliberately from the written account, or followed the account given by some writer whose works had not come down to us.

The Fourth General Meeting was held on April 9th, 1894, Professor L. Campbell, V.P., in the chair.

Miss Harrison read a summary of the views in regard to the temples on the Acropolis at Athens recently put forward by Professor Furtwängler in his great work on the Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture.

In the discussion which this summary was intended to initiate, Mr. A. H. Smith, while admitting that he had read only certain parts of the book in question, expressed the view that it was a reductio ad absurdum of modern archaeological method. In his opinion, which he illustrated by quotations, the author had attempted to build a huge superstructure of theory upon a very slender basis of fact. It seemed time to protest against this method of dealing with archaeological problems, and to remember that many of them were necessarily insoluble until further facts came to light.

In reply to Mr. Smith, Miss Sellers pointed out that, undoubted though the merits of the book were, its conclusions were by no means so startling or so novel as the last speaker had assumed; its enormous value lay in the wealth of new material with which the author had strengthened theories, many of which dated as far back as Winckelmann. We had a way in England of ignoring the constant stream of scientific inquiry that went on on the Continent, so that when a book of the size and importance of Furtwängler's, embodying the work of many years in almost every branch of classical archaeology, was at last forced upon our notice, we received it as a bomb thrown into the midst of our apathy. Mr. Smith had attempted to ridicule the notion that 'archaistic' tendencies already made themselves felt in articles of the fifth century, or that a whole class of statues could be claimed for Euphronian, an artist of whom we had no one original and no certain copy of any original; but scholars familiar with Hauser's researches in the New Attic Reliefs, or with the essays in which a brilliant young school had gradually established the characteristics of fourth century sculpture would recognise that in both the instances selected for criticism by Mr,
Smith, Furtwängler had merely gone further in the application of theories that had been in the air for years. If scientific archaeology was not appreciated in England it was in large measure because of the want of any critical apparatus. Only in countries possessing large art museums, like those of Berlin, Dresden, or Munich, was it possible to arrive at conclusions that depended almost exclusively on the comparison of different copies of one statue, or of the different works of one master. In England, where learned societies and museums did not even possess good collections of photographs, all such work was necessarily impossible, and even the discussion of the results attained by foreigners seemed practically futile.

Mr. Penrose made some remarks on the architectural problems involved, and Miss Harrison concluded the discussion by replying in detail to some of Mr. A. H. Smith's criticisms.

The Fifth General Meeting was held on May 28th, 1894. Mr. Penrose, V.P., in the chair.

Miss Sellers gave a short account of recent publications in classical archaeology, and then proceeded to read a paper on a head formerly in the Palazzo Borghese, and now the property of Mr. Humphry Ward. The head (which was exhibited to the Society) was of Parian marble, and was in a remarkably perfect state of preservation. From the natural rendering of hair and eyelids, and from the extreme freshness of the modelling, there could be no doubt that it was a Greek original (Journal of Hellenic Studies, Vol. xiv., p. 198).

Professor P. Gardner read a paper by Mr. E. Gardner 'On the Paintings of Panaenus at Olympia.' Pausanias described the marble screen set up at Olympia in the temple of Zeus to prevent visitors from passing underneath the throne of the colossal figure of the god. It was adorned with paintings by Panaenus, brother of Phedias; but the place of the screen and the arrangement of the paintings have been matter of much dispute. The author of the paper rejected the usually accepted view that the screen was a series of slabs let in between the pillars of the temple and crossing the cela in front of the statue, and endeavoured to prove that Panaenus's paintings were on the throne itself, the panels on which they were painted being four on each side of the throne, and entirely shutting in all that was beneath it (Journal of Hellenic Studies, Vol. xiv. p. 233).

The Annual Meeting was held on June 18th, 1894, Professor Jebb, M.P., President, in the chair.

The Secretary read the following Report on behalf of the Council:—

Since the last Annual Meeting one number only of the Journal of Hellenic Studies has been issued—viz., Vol. XIII., Part II., but another—Vol. XIV., Part I.—is now in the press, and will appear very shortly. Perhaps the most noticeable feature in the last number was the very large proportion of articles—nine out of thirteen—contributed by members past and present the British School at Athens, and resulting from researches
carried on, or at least initiated, while they were in residence at the School. This fact seems to be in itself sufficient justification for the action of the Council in renewing last autumn, for a third period of three years, the Annual Grant of £100 to the funds of the School.

The General Meetings during the past Session have been unusually well attended, and the Council have thought it well to raise the number from four to six. A new departure has been made in the introduction of occasional discussions on recent literature, and a member of the Council, Miss Eugénie Sellers, has undertaken to make a short statement at each meeting in regard to new books, or articles in periodicals, bearing on subjects which come within the range of the Society's work. It is hoped that in this way the meetings may be more helpful than heretofore to members who wish to keep themselves informed of the progress of research in various departments of Hellenic Study.

Besides the grant to the British School at Athens, the Council has made grants of £50 to the Asia Minor Exploration Fund in aid of an expedition now in progress under the direction of Mr. D. G. Hogarth; of £25 to Mr. W. R. Paton, also for exploration in Asia Minor; and of £10 to the Archaeological Society of Alexandria. The last-named grant, though small in amount, was intended to show the interest taken by the Society in local efforts to reveal some of the remains of Greek civilization in Alexandria. It is hoped that during the coming Session a systematic scheme of excavation will be set on foot, in which the Hellenic Society may have the opportunity of co-operating with the Egypt Exploration Fund, and from which, if adequate funds can be raised, important results may be confidently expected.

In last year's Report reference was made to a proposal for the encouragement of the study of the Greek language in connexion with lectures on Greek literature and art delivered under the auspices of the various bodies associated in the work of University Extension. The Special Sub-Committee drew up a report and a scheme of study which was signed by Professor Jebb as Chairman, and already classes have been formed in various parts of London and elsewhere. It cannot be a matter of indifference to this Society that the means of acquiring a knowledge of Greek should thus be brought within the reach of a wider circle of students.

Among additions made to the Library during the past year may be mentioned Roscher's Lexicon of Greek and Roman Mythology, Daremberg and Saglio's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities, the Antike Denkmäler of the Berlin Institute, several more volumes of Müller's Handbook of Classical Antiquity, Curtius and Kaupert's Maps of Athens and Attica, Furtwängler's Meisterwerke der grieche, Plastik, Rayet and Collignon's Histoire de la Céramique Grecque, Freeman's History of Sicily, and the new edition of Jowett's Translation of Plato.

The amount spent on the Library has been larger than in any previous year, and the Council hope that their action in this matter will meet with general approval. It should here be added that in consequence of ill-
health Mr. Wayte has retired from the office of Librarian, and Dr. Holden has been appointed in his stead. The thanks of the Society are due to Mr. Wayte for his services during a period of eight years.

The collection of Lantern Slides also has been extended, and increased facilities have been given for its use by allowing slides to be borrowed at a lower rate for a period not exceeding four days. This concession was made at the instance of the Head Masters' Association, and the educational value of the collection was thereby signalised proved.

The Council has quite recently been asked to intervene in two matters cognate to the objects of the Society:—

(1) The Society was asked to join with other learned bodies in protesting against the proposed submersion of the Island of Philae. To this the Council readily agreed.

(2) The Council was also invited to appoint a Delegate to serve on a joint Committee which is to be formed by the Society for the Protection of Ancient Monuments in Egypt to consider the question of a more extended archaeological survey of that country. Mr. F. G. Kenyon has been appointed to represent the Hellenic Society.

The Treasurer's Accounts show ordinary receipts, including a donation of £5, during the year of £1,034, against £878 during the financial year 1892-93. The receipts from Subscriptions, including arrears, amount to £715, against £577. The receipts from Life Compositions amount to £79, against £95, a falling off of £16, and receipts from Libraries and for the purchase of back volumes to £239, against £161, an increase of £68. Receipts from other sources of ordinary income show no material alteration.

In the matter of ordinary expenditure, amounting to £894, against £858 in the previous year, there is an increase of £23 in respect of rent, a decrease of £32 in respect of Stationery, Printing, and Postage. The expenditure on the Library has been £75, against £41 in the preceding year. The cost of the Journal, including the balance of £203 for the report on the excavations at Megalopolis, has amounted to £513, against £532 for the year 1892-93.

Besides the Annual Grant of £100 to the British School at Athens £85 have been granted for other purposes, and a balance was carried forward at the end of the financial year of £214 10s. 7d., against £259 23. 7d. at the close of the preceding year. Life Subscriptions, amounting to £157 10s., have been invested in the purchase of £157 10s. Nottingham 3 per cent. Corporation Stock.

Forty-seven new members have been elected during the year, while thirty-three have been lost by death or resignation. This shows a net increase of fourteen, and brings the total number of members up to 769.

Four new Libraries have joined the list of Subscribers, which now amount to 116.

It will be seen from the foregoing statement that the work done or helped forward by the Society during the past year has been no less varied or important than in any previous Session, and on the whole the position
of the Society seems to be quite satisfactory. The imposition of an
entrance fee on and after January 1894 has not materially checked the
flow of candidates. The number of new elections is quite up to the
average. The somewhat larger number of resignations is due to the whole-
sale removal from the list of upwards of twenty members who were behind-
hand with their subscriptions to the extent of four years and upwards, and
who had turned a deaf ear to all appeals from the Treasurer. Hitherto
these members — members only in name — have been reckoned as an asset,
and the subscriptions due from them have been included year after year
among the arrears which the Treasurer might hope to recover. But the
time comes when the name which has at first been an ornament, and then
an emblem of hope deferred, becomes an actual source of weakness.
It is then best to remove it from the list, where it has ceased to have any
but an illusory significance. Happily the Hellenic Society is now suffi-
ciently well established to dispense with merely nominal support. At the
same time, the fact that such losses must inevitably occur lays upon all
real friends of the Society the obligation of extending to the best of their
power the area of effective membership, so that the Society may each year
become better able to carry out the objects of its existence.

In moving the adoption of the Report Professor Jebb took occasion to
refer to some of the more important achievements of the year in the field
of Hellenic studies. The discoveries of the French School at Delphi had
been of great interest, and even greater promise. The treasure house of
the Athenians, built shortly after the defeat of the Persians at Marathon,
had been found, and the sculptures had proved to be most important
examples of archaic art. In the walls of the temple of the Pythian Apollo
had been discovered an archaic statue of the god which, as compared with
the types known from Orechomenus and from Thera, presented a marked
Egyptian character. The archaic colossal head of the Naxian sphinx had
also been found. But no discovery had excited greater interest than that
of marble slabs containing portions of a hymn to the Delphic Apollo, with
a musical notation written above the words. The fragments were fourteen
in number, and in one passage the musical notes were all but complete.
The letters which indicated them were those of the ordinary Greek
alphabet, and the key had been given by the Greek writer Olympios in the
time of the Emperor Julian. The instruments used had been the lyre and
the flute, and the vocal music was in unison. Performances of the hymn
had been given first in Athens, but more recently in London and in
Cambridge. In Athens, Dr. Dörpfeld had discovered the site of the foun-
tain known as Enneakrounos. Outside Greece important researches had
been made in Cyprus under the direction of the authorities of the British
Museum, from funds bequeathed by Miss Elizabeth Turner. Among the
publications of the year one of the most important had been that of
Professor Furtwängler's "Meisterwerke der griechischen Plastik," which had
thrown much fresh light on the history of Greek sculpture in the fifth and
fourth centuries B.C. Professor Armitage Robinson had had the unique privilege of examining the MSS in the library of St. Sophia at Constantinople, but had, unfortunately, found no Greek MSS there. In conclusion, Professor Jebb referred to the following members of the Society, who had passed away during the year—viz., Lord Bowen, M. Waddington, Sir William Smith, Mr. Thomas Wood (British Consul at Patras), and Mr. Charles Jenner.

In seconding the adoption of the Report, Mr. Ernest Gardner, Director of the British School at Athens, acknowledged the services rendered to the School by the Hellenic Society, not only by the annual grant, but still more by the facilities given for the publication of results in the Journal of Hellenic Studies.—The Report was unanimously adopted.

Mr. Gardner then read parts of an article on recent archaeology in Greece, which appears in the Journal, Vol. xiv., p. 224.

The President and Vice-Presidents were re-elected, Professor Bywater and Dr. Sandys being added to the latter in the place of Dr. Freshfield and Professor Poole. Mr. J. W. Headlam, Sir H. Howorth, Dr. M. R. James, Mr. H. Stuart Jones, and Mr. W. C. Perry were elected to vacancies on the Council.
THE JOURNAL OF HELLENIC STUDIES ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31ST MAY, 1894.

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CASH ACCOUNT.

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We have examined this account, compared it with the vouchers and bankers' book, and find it correct.

DOUGLAS W. FRESHFIELD, Auditor.

ARTHUR JOHN BUTLER, Treasurer.

JOHN F. MARTIN, Acting Treasurer.

12th June, 1894.
A comparison with the receipts and expenditure of the last ten years is furnished by the following tables:

### ANALYSIS OF ANNUAL RECEIPTS FOR THE YEARS ENDING:

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* Including arrears.

### ANALYSIS OF ANNUAL EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEARS ENDING:

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* Includes cost of reprinting of Vols. IV. and V. (= £277) less the amount received from sales.
* Includes advance of £25 for printing September MS.
1 The grant of £100 to the School of Athens has been paid since the accounts were made up in the Cash Account.
SIR C. T. NEWTON.

The following memorial Address on Sir Charles Newton, K.C.B., who died Nov. 28, 1894, was delivered by Professor Jebb, President of the Society, at a General Meeting on January 23, 1895, and is printed here in order that members who were not able to be present may have an early opportunity of reading this tribute to the services of one who took so large a part in the establishment of the Society.

At the first General Meeting of this Society which has been held since the death of Sir Charles Newton, it is fitting that some tribute should be rendered to the memory of one whom the Hellenic Society may justly regard as chief among its founders; whose presence and influence did more than anything else to carry it successfully through the earliest days of its existence; and who, to the end of his life, took the keenest interest in its growing prosperity. It is fitting also that we should recall to-day, at least in outline, the salient characteristics of the distinguished career to which our Society owes so large a debt.

Newton's life divides itself into three well-marked chapters. The first contains the thirty-six years from his birth in 1816 to 1852; it is the period of preparative studies. The second begins in 1852 with his consulship at Mitylene, and closes in 1861 with his return to London as the head of his Department at the British Museum; it comprises the period of travel and discovery in the Levant. In the third chapter, from 1861 onwards, he is the organizer and administrator; the recognized head of classical archaeology in this country; the active supporter of all enterprises, whether originating at home or abroad, which could extend the knowledge of antiquity, or which promised to advance an object always so near to his heart, the addition of new treasures to our great national collection.

From Shrewsbury School, then ruled by that brilliant scholar, Samuel Butler, Newton went in 1833 to Christ Church, Oxford, where he attracted the favourable notice, and strongly felt the influence, of Dean Gaisford. He was also for a time the pupil of his lifelong friend, Dean Liddell. Mr. Ruskin, who was an undergraduate member of the House at the same time, has recorded in Praeterita the particular trait which most impressed him in Newton; it is one which can be easily recognized by those who knew him in later years—"his intense and curious way of looking at things."
In May, 1840, Newton became Junior Assistant in the Department of Antiquities at the British Museum. That Department, founded in 1807, was not then constituted as it is now. In 1861 it was subdivided into three provinces: Greek and Roman Antiquities; Coins; and a third, in which Oriental Antiquities were associated with British and Mediaeval; the two latter, with Ethnographical Antiquities, were detached from the Oriental in 1866. But, in 1840, the opportunities which Newton found at the Museum, if less adapted to the training of a specialist, were well suited to encourage a comprehensive view of antiquity. At the head of the Department was Edward Hawkins, a man of varied attainments, but especially a numismatist; and Newton’s early studies in that direction left on his mind the conviction that numismatics, besides their special interest, have the highest value as a general introduction to classical archaeology.

Among his earliest publications, there is one which has a peculiar interest. In 1847 he wrote a paper on some sculptures from Halicarnassus—they were, in fact, parts of the frieze of the Mausoleum—which had lately been secured for the British Museum by Sir Stratford Canning. In this memoir, Newton conjecturally placed the Mausoleum in the centre of the town of Budrum, from the fortress of which the above-mentioned sculptures had come. A description of the site by the architect Donaldson—confirming the account of Vitruvius—pointed to this conclusion. Ten years later he was to prove its truth. Such competent explorers as Spratt and Ross, misled by the appearance of the ground, had looked elsewhere.

In 1852 Newton, whose qualities were becoming well known, was appointed Vice-Consul at Mitylene. It was in reality, though not in form, an archaeological mission. Lord Granville, then Foreign Secretary, was doubtless well acquainted with the new Vice-Consul’s gifts. Newton had able assistance in the routine duties of the post. From April, 1853, to January, 1854, he was at Rhodes, and thus within easy reach of the region in which his chief work was to be done. The six years which followed were rich in results. He explored the island of Calymna, off the Carian coast, and obtained some remains of early Greek art which are now in the room of Archæal Sculpture at the Museum. At Cnidus, in a sanctuary of Chthonian deities, he found the beautiful seated statue of Demeter, in which Brunn recognized the perfect ideal of the goddess. Among other monuments discovered at Cnidus is the lion, supposed to commemorate Conon’s victory in 394 B.C. From Branchidae, near Miletus, Newton brought away, besides a lion and a sphinx, ten archaic statues of seated figures which had stood by the Sacred Way leading from the temple of Apollo to the harbour. It was under a firnian which he procured that the bronze serpent at Constantinople, inscribed with the names of the Greek cities allied against Xerxes, was first disengaged from the soil; though the task of deciphering the inscription was reserved for Frisk and Dethier.

But his most signal achievement was in connexion with the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus. It was in 1855 that he first saw the castle of Budrum, and found fragments of sculpture embedded in its walls. Lord
Stratford de Redcliffe, then British Ambassador at Constantinople, who had constantly supported Newton in all his work, promised to obtain the necessary firmans. In the autumn of 1856 Newton visited London, and, aided by Sir Anthony Panizzi, Principal Librarian of the Museum, secured the assistance of Lord Clarendon, who was then Foreign Secretary. A ship of war was placed at his disposal, with a party of men of the Royal Engineers, under the command of the officer who is now General Sir R. Murdoch Smith. On Jan. 1, 1857, Newton broke ground at Budrum. The sculptures with which that enterprise enriched the Museum are, for the fourth century B.C., almost what the Elgin marbles are for the fifth; as the latter illustrate the art of Pheidias and his school, the remains of the Mausoleum throw a comparable light on the art of Scopas. Indeed, it was Newton who, both by his discoveries and by his penetrating analysis, opened a new era in the modern knowledge of that sculptor.

In May, 1860, Newton was appointed Consul at Rome. But he stayed there only about a year. The reconstitution of the Antiquarian Department at the British Museum was a measure to which the wealth of Newton's acquisitions had mainly contributed; and nothing could be more appropriate than that, when a separate Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities was created in 1861, he should be invited to preside over it.

The earliest years of his new office were marked by the publication of those two books which record his work in the Levant. In 1862 appeared his History of Discoveries at Halicarnassus, Cnidus, and Branchidae; it is essentially a scientific work, addressed to experts. Three years later came the Travels and Discoveries in the Levant; a book profoundly interesting to all students, but also with a popular side; it has been well described as 'a charming Odyssey,' enlivened with pictures of Greek and Turkish manners,—it up, indeed, with all the colours and humours of Anatolia, such as it was half-a-century ago. This work, admirably illustrated, owed not a little of its charm to the pencil of the accomplished lady who, a few years before, had become the author's wife; a daughter of the Joseph Severn whose grave at Rome is beside that of his friend John Keats. One year later, in 1866, the crushing sorrow of her death befell Newton; and the shadow of that loss never passed away.

Newton held his post at the Museum for twenty-four years,—till 1885. His activity during that period has two principal aspects: one, directly relative to his office itself; the other, relative to the influence and position which that office conferred.

As keeper of the Greek and Roman Antiquities, he rightly felt that, next to the duty of organizing and conserving those treasures, his first duty was to augment them. Here his social and diplomatic ability, joined to the prestige of his discoveries, gave him unique advantages. In the first three years of his tenure, the annual grant from the Treasury for purchases in his Department rose from £785 in 1861 to £1,400 in 1864. In the twenty years from 1864 to 1885, a series of Special Parliamentary Grants, amounting in the aggregate to about £100,000, enabled him to secure for
the Museum objects of first-rate importance in every branch of archaeology, including the choicest things of all sorts in four inestimable collections,—the Fameuses, the Poutalès, the Blacas, and the Castellani.

This was one side of his energy,—that immediately connected with his function at the Museum. But, in virtue of his position and influence, he was also enabled to stimulate and assist research in every quarter of the classical lands. It was thus that he furthered the work of Messrs. Smith and Porcher at Cyrene; of Mr. Wood at Ephesus; of Mr. Pullan at Priene; of Mr. Dennis at Benghazi in Tripoli; and of Messrs. Salzmann and Biliotti in supplementary researches on the ground which he had made his own, at Budrum.

When the inaugural meeting of this Society was held, in June, 1879, it was to him that the supporters of the project primarily turned for countenance and counsel. During the first six years of the Society's life, he was constantly in the chair at our meetings; nor is it too much to say that his guidance and his name must be reckoned among the chief causes, not only of the early and rapid success which attended the Hellenic Society, but also of the position in which it is now established. In 1883 his aid and counsel were also valuable in helping to institute that British School at Athens which, in the face of difficulties not experienced by the similar schools of other nations, has done so much to uphold the reputation of our country in the field of archaeological research.

This is merely a bare outline of Newton's life-work: but even so slight a sketch must not close without some attempt to indicate the leading characteristics of the man's mind and nature. First, as to his attitude towards his chosen studies. It has lately been said, by one well fitted to judge, that the ancient monuments interested Newton rather on the historical side than on the mythological or the artistic. Indeed, his own words can be quoted: 'I am first a historian, and secondly an archaeologist.' This may seem a hard saying; but I believe that it is true, though it perhaps needs some elucidation. It means that Newton was never a specialist in the limited modern sense; it was classical antiquity as a whole that had a spell for him; it was in the intense desire to reconstruct and revivify this antiquity that he so closely and indefatigably scanned every monument of any kind that could tell him anything about it. His strongest feeling in early manhood was that ancient literature, in which he was well versed, told only part of the story. His address at Oxford in 1850—which now stands first in his volume of Essays—begins with words which strike the key-note of his work: 'The record of the human past is not all contained in printed books.' Hence the peculiar interest which he always took in epigraphy; here he felt that he came closest to ancient lives and minds: his two essays on Greek inscriptions, published in 1876 and 1878 (the fourth and fifth of the collected Essays), illustrate this in full; few productions of his pen are more striking.

Now, this desire to apprehend the life of antiquity is often associated with the kind of imagination which seeks vivid or rhetorical utterance in
language; it was distinctive of Newton that, in his case, there was absolutely no such tendency; on the contrary he recoiled from it. The life of his imagination was an inward life,—so inward, that he might often seem unimaginative; a life which he wished to share only with the careful, laborious, exact student, but did not choose to share with the outward world. Witness the guides which he prepared to his galleries at the British Museum—exemplifying his conception of a scientific catalogue as the outcome of a life devoted to a single study—but making no concession to a popular desire for more elementary knowledge. When, in 1880, he became the first Professor of Archaeology at University College, London, the stamp of his teaching showed the same bent.

His sustained, though undemonstrative, ardour was singularly allied with caution. Without being cynical, he was wary in a degree which sometimes approached to cynicism; in discriminating between what was merely probable, and what might be accounted certain, he leaned to the sceptical side; and he was imbued with the sentiment which Aristotle attributes to old age, that 'most things are unsatisfactory.' No man was less sanguine, or quicker to foresee the difficulties of a project; but, once engaged in it, he was tenacious and intrepid. His self-contained manner was due in part to the natural fastidiousness of his taste; it was only when he felt secure, for the time, against jarring incidents,—which, even when slight, affected him like physical pain,—that he completely unburdened, and showed the most genial side of his nature. In colleagues he looked for the highest standard of work; his demands on subordinates were strict: he was an exacting, but also a stimulating ruler.

If the essence of his character could be contained in a phrase, it might perhaps be described as severe enthusiasm. To those who knew him but slightly, the severity—not harshness, but the severity as of good Greek sculpture—might be more evident than the enthusiasm; but a nearer knowledge revealed the man in whom an inward fire had burned steadily from youth upwards; a sacred fire, little seen, but not to be extinguished, and shaken neither by any wavering of purpose, nor by the breath of any vulgar ambition. His many honours, academic or public, were prized by him in proportion as he took them to be recognitions, not merely of eminence generally, but of success in the precise aims which he had set before himself.

The chief source of satisfaction to him, in his later years, was to think that classical archaeology had gained so much ground in England, and that he had helped it forward; but this feeling was deeply tinged with melancholy; he thought of himself as the leader through the wilderness, who was not to enter the promised land. There are minds, perhaps, in which lifelong conversation with the past so confirms the habit of retrospect that the difficulties of earlier years always loom large, even after subsequent successes; so, at least, it seemed to be with him. But to others it will appear that, however distant the point gained in his lifetime may have been from his ideal, still the cause to which he rendered such abundant
service was already gained before he died. In the future of classical studies so long as they may exist in this country, the place of archaeology, not as an accident but as an essential, is assured beyond the danger of overthrow.

Newton has been recently compared, and not unjustly, with Winckelmann. The German worked in the dawn, the Englishman, though still in the morning hours, yet in a far clearer light; between them, however, there is this intrinsic resemblance, that in both the mainspring of a devotion which ended only with life was a native instinct, intensely strong and lucid, for the spirit and the charm of classical antiquity. There are those in this room to whom the impressive personality of the master whom we commemorate will be a lasting recollection,—that singularly fine head and pose, which themselves seemed to announce some kinship with ancient Hellas,—that voice which so often within these walls expressed the knowledge thrice-refined by ripe study and experience; a few years more, and these will be only traditions; but to our successors, the members of this Society in days to come, the history of learning in Europe will bear witness that no body formed for the promotion of Hellenic studies could have entered upon existence with a worthier sanction, or could desire better auspices for its future, than those which are afforded by the name of Charles Newton.
ADDRESS

Delivered by the President, Professor Jebb, M.P., at the Annual Meeting on June 18, 1894.

It has been the custom of this Society that the Chairman at the Annual Meeting should take the opportunity, at least occasionally, of referring to some of the more noteworthy incidents in regard to Hellenic Studies which have marked the course of the year. In availing myself of that permission to-day, I would only premise that the brief survey will have no pretension to be complete, but will merely touch upon a few salient points.

News has reached us from time to time, usually in the form of telegrams, of discoveries made by the French archaeologists who are engaged in excavations on the site of Delphi; and, though full details have not yet been published, the results already known are full of interest and promise. The treasure-house of the Athenians at Delphi has been discovered. It is a building in antis, similar to the treasure-houses which so many Greek states erected at Olympia, but on a somewhat larger scale. Such treasure-houses were built in honour of the god, being intended to contain the dedicated gifts, such as gold or silver vessels, in which the wealth of a temple largely consisted. This at Delphi was built shortly after the victory of the Athenians over the Persians at Marathon, in 490 B.C. The subjects of the sculptures are taken from the exploits of Heracles, and probably of Theseus. It is declared to be a masterpiece of archaic art, finer than anything of the same period which has hitherto been found. The excavations have also disclosed the walls of the temple of the Pythian Apollo. Imbedded in these was an archaic statue of the god, of more than life-size, and fairly well preserved. The statue presents this special point of interest, that, in comparison with the types known from Orchomenus and Thera, the Egyptian character is more strongly marked. It is conjectured to be a copy of some ancient
temple image, or σφίνξ. The archaic colossal head of the Naxian Sphinx has also been found. Among the inscriptions is one of more than a hundred lines, relating to the expenditure of the temple. But no discovery made at Delphi has perhaps excited more general curiosity than that of marble slabs containing portions of hymns to the Delphic Apollo, with a musical notation written above the words. Up to the year 1893, examples of ancient Greek musical notation were known only from a few manuscript sources, and of these only one was indisputably genuine—viz., the setting for three hymns by Dionysius and Mesomedes, first published in 1582 by Vincentius Gaiilei, and re-edited by F. Bellermann at Berlin in 1840. In 1883 Professor W. M. Ramsay published an inscription from a small marble column found in Asia Minor at Aidin (the ancient Tralles), giving the words of a song with certain letters written above them, which M. Charles Wessely, of Vienna, explained to be a musical notation. The fragments now found at Delphi are fourteen in number. The principal fragment contains 18 lines, and in one passage of this the musical notes are fairly complete, only 9 being missing out of 207. The letters which indicate musical notes are the ordinary letters of the Greek alphabet, sometimes turned upside down, or tilted, in order to enlarge the number of symbols. The clue to the interpretation is given by a Greek writer on music named Alypius, who probably lived in the time of the Emperor Julian. In his Εἰσαγωγὴ μουσικῆ, Alypius gives lists of the signs used to denote the sounds in various scales. Alypius distinguishes two systems of this musical notation—one intended for voices, and another for instruments. Nine of the fourteen fragments found at Delphi have the notation which he prescribes for the voices, and five have that which he assigns to the instruments. The instruments used in the performance of these hymns were presumably the lyre and the flute, both of which are named in the text. It appears that the instrumental and the vocal music were alike in unison: there is never more than one note either for instrument or for voice. From the schemes of Alypius it further appears that Greek notes were sometimes separated by a fraction of a tone smaller than can be reproduced (e.g.) on the pianoforte; thus two octaves might comprise forty-three notes, while on the piano they comprise only twenty-five. The fragments were first published last year in the Bulletin of the French School of Athens, the text being edited by M. Weil, and the musical notation interpreted by M. Théodore Reinach. A continuous text, representing something like a complete hymn, had to be made by piecing together fragments. The first performance of the hymn, with music, was given by the French School at Athens. A few weeks ago an interesting rendering of it, with stringed instruments and piano, was privately given in London. The first public performance of it in this country was that by the Cambridge University Musical Club on the 6th of June. The compass of the hymn makes it necessary to choose between tenors and basses, as both could not, in any key, sing all the notes. The Cambridge Club found it convenient to employ bass voices,
and this made it necessary to transpose Reinach's music into a key lower than that in which he wrote it. An accomplished musician, who took part in that performance—Mr. Sedley Taylor—tells me that, from the evidence of the music itself, he is inclined to think that the minor view of the tonality is correct. In the major key it would be too tame; in the minor, its characteristic is a certain stern grandeur. He also notices a curious point. According to Westphal, in his 'Greek Rhythmic and Harmonic,' it would seem that, in all the minor scales known to him as having been used by the Greeks, the seventh employed was always minor. Now in this Delphic composition the minor seventh does not occur at all, whereas the major seventh occurs no less than eleven times. It is possible that this indicates some change from the practice of the classical period. We know that, when Greek Lyric Poetry declined and perished, in a manner so premature and still so difficult fully to explain, one feature of the period was innovation on the older style of music. As to the date of these Delphic fragments, one of them alludes to the repulse of the Gauls from Delphi in 279 B.C. This is perhaps the only clear indication; though the ἄραξις mentioned has been conjecturally interpreted to mean the Roman Empire. One of the fragmentary hymns is preceded on the same slab by an inscription in prose—a decree by which the Delphians conferred certain honours on the poet who wrote the hymn, one Aristonooos. This may have been the general motive for engraving such hymns on stone,—viz, to honour the author. These fragments have been described as 'the most authentic and the most extended specimen which we possess of the music of the ancient Greeks.' Their interest is indeed great. Yet we should beware of exaggerating. Much about this music is still purely conjectural; much is absolutely unknown. We cannot determine the precise character, or accurately gauge the merits, of these compositions. We have got some fresh rays of light, and that is all. Perhaps more light may come by-and-bye.

Passing from Delphi to Athens, we note that during the past winter Dr. Dörpfeld has been engaged in exploring the history of the fountain Enneacrounos. It will be remembered that the spring, formerly known as Callirrhoë, received the name Enneacrounos when certain engineering works were carried out in connection with it, in the time of the Peisistratids. The German archaeologist has found the aqueduct which led to the Enneacrounos. It was built in the same manner as the aqueduct at Samos, constructed by a great engineer of those days, Eupalinus of Megara, and it followed the road leading from the Ilissus towards the Acropolis. The site of the contemporary reservoir has also been found; and, below this, that of a later reservoir, through which the water coming from the Hill of the Nymphs was conveyed to the Agora. Among the objects of interest found in the course of this search is a relief of the Phrygian deity Men, who was connected in the popular belief with water and rain. A subterranean channel, found at a small depth, may possibly be the ancient Eridanus. While speaking of Athens,
it may not be unfitting to mention that remarkable book, whose recent appearance marks probably the end of some old controversies, and possibly the commencement of some new ones. Furtwangler's *Meisterwerke der griechischen Plastik*, a reconstruction of Greek art in the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. Among the many fruitful ideas in which the work abounds is the view that Athens, in the latter part of the 5th century B.C., witnessed a movement like the pre-Raphaelite—a conscious return to modified archaism—of which the sculptor Callimachus was the prophet. New lights are thrown, too, on the art of Pheidias, for whom this critic vindicates the sculptured decorations of the Parthenon; as he has also shown that an unsuspected memorial of that master exists in the Dresden Museum—nothing less than a copy (though now mutilated) of the once-famous Lemnian Athena, holding a helmet in her left hand and a spear in her right, which Pheidias made, about 450 B.C., for those Athenian citizens who held allotments of land in the island of Lemnos. It stood upon the Acropolis, somewhere between the Propylaea and the bronze statue of the Promachos. Space would fail to indicate Furtwangler's contributions to the intricate temple-problems of the Acropolis; but we may notice his theory that the Parthenon does *not* mean the Temple of the Virgin-goddess. That name, according to him, was restricted to the western cells of the temple, and meant, as in ordinary usage, 'the chamber of the maidens.' These maidens were her mythical handmaids, such as the daughters of Cecrops and of Erechtheus—the supernatural counterparts of those mortal handmaids who figured in her Athenian festivals, such as the Arrhephori, or the embroiderers of her sacred robe, the Ergastinae.

Among the objects of Athenian art which the British Museum has acquired during the past year, there is one which seems to claim a word here, both for its intrinsic value and because it has a curious history. It is a funeral stèle, dating from about 420-410 B.C., like those of which the Cerameicus has furnished so many beautiful examples. It is in memory of a young mother who died in child-birth; she is seated, and a maid, standing before her, holds the child in her arms. This work, exquisite in grace and pathos, was found serving as a flag-stone in a cellar at Jersey. It is supposed that it may have been brought thither as ballast in a ship. The son of the gentleman in whose house it was found took it to Inverness, and thence this Attic waif has found its way to our Museum. Mr. A.S. Murray, to whom I owe my knowledge of it, can tell of similar cases. In a garden at Hampstead he once found an Attic stèle which had been seen in the 17th century by Spon and Wheeler, who had copied the inscription. Another stèle was found in the area of a house in Connaught Square, to which it had come from Highgate. It may be feared that the survival of stelae in this fashion has been exceptionally favoured by their merits as paving-stones. The most utilitarian mind can appreciate them.

At the Heraeum, near Argos, the American School has continued its work, laying bare the terrace on which the older Heraeum stood; and also
the great foundations of the later and more splendid shrine. At Eretria members of the same School have found, near the theatre, remains of the temple and altar of Dionysus. The results obtained by the British School on the site of Apollo’s Temple at Abae, in Phocis, though not so great as might have been hoped, have not been without interest, and will ere long be described in the Hellenic Journal.

Before quitting the domain of Greece Proper, we may notice a piece of work supplementary to the important researches which have been successfully carried out at Megalopolis by the British School. Near the theatre of Megalopolis stood the great assembly-hall known as the Thersilion. The site of this structure has now been completely explored. It was probably built on a clerestory system, with a high roof, and lighting from the side. One point of peculiar interest has been brought out by Mr. A. G. Bather: he has shown how the idea which dominated the building of this public hall was that of the theatre. The side entrances, the back wall (skene), and the orchestra were borrowed from that model, although the form of the Thersilion was square. This was natural, since the theatre was the only existing architectural type on which the Greek builder of such a hall could found his work. Theatres had served also as halls for public meetings.

Outside of Greece Proper, perhaps no place has been more interesting during the past year, in regard to Hellenic studies, than Cyprus. For some years back the Trustees of the British Museum have had no funds available for the purpose of excavation; but they recently received a generous bequest from the late Miss Emma Turner, which could be devoted to that object. The place selected for the first year’s operations was the necropolis of Amathus in Cyprus. Amathus was one of the earliest Phoenician settlements in the island; Greeks associated it especially with the worship of Aphrodite. The Hellenic Society has had an honourable part in this undertaking. Mr. J. W. Williamson, one of our members, acted as agent for the Trustees; while the excavations were supervised by Mr. A. H. Smith, and afterwards by Mr. J. L. Myres. The first portion of that share in the treasure-trove which falls to the British Museum has lately reached London, and is now on view in the First Vase Room. It includes specimens of bronze implements, archaic Greek glass, pottery, jewellery, and terra-cottas. There was an old legend that a hero of Cyprus, Cinyras—after whom a priesthood at Amathus were called Cinyridae—had promised Agamemnon to furnish a contingent of ships to the fleet bound for Troy, and had kept the letter of his promise by sending a number of small clay models of war-vessels. The terra-cottas from Amathus include several such models of ships, showing how the legend was based on a local specialty. This Cyprian hero, Cinyras, is said in the Iliad to have given Agamemnon a breast-plate; and the Cesnola collection contains some early reliefs, in bronze as well as in marble, from Amathus. Nothing of this kind, however, was found last season. The chief tombs at Amathus are of the 6th century B.C.
Many of the objects found in them, as those of variegated glass and of Egyptian porcelain, may be paralleled from the tombs of Cameirus in Rhodes. The latest tombs contain Roman coins and Roman glass. The general result of the excavations is to show that the simpler forms of Cypriote ware went on together for long periods of time, and that it is a mistake to aim at placing them within sharply defined limits. This was the view which Mr. J. A. R. Munro maintained in the *Hellenic Journal*, and which was controverted at Berlin.

The theatre at Delos was excavated last summer by a member of the French School, M. Chamonard. An inscription was found which identifies the proscenium with the logeion. Those who hold that the actors stood, not on the proscenium, but in front of it, on the level of the orchestra, will now have to maintain that the logeion does not denote the place from which the actors spoke.

The German excavations at Hissarlik have been continued, with the result that the town which corresponds with Homeric Troy is now declared to be that in the sixth stratum from below, and not the second. This city, it appears, was once surrounded by a massive and well-built stone wall.

Among the literary ‘finds’ made public since our last Annual Meeting, by far the most remarkable is one which has been acquired by the great collection at Vienna which bears the name of the Archduke Rainer. It is a wooden board, now measuring about 1 ft. 8½ inches in length by 3½ to 4 inches in height; but it was once somewhat larger. On this board are written, in a rough semi-cursive, some Greek hexameter verses—about fifty altogether, several of them in a very mutilated condition. These verses are fragments from a lost poem of the Alexandrian poet Callimachus. Its subject was the capture of the Marathonian bull by Theseus. Its title was *Hecale*, the name of an old woman who was hospitable to the hero on that occasion. One of the verses found on the board is quoted by a scholiast on Aristophanes (Rav. 1297) as occurring in the *Hecale*. The board was once hung up by a string, and may have been used in teaching. The writing is in ink; the date, the 3rd or 4th century A.D.

While Egypt is the quarter from which hopes for the recovery of lost Greek literature have lately derived most encouragement, there has always been a natural reluctance to despair of such possibilities at Constantinople. Professor Armitage Robinson, who has won a distinguished name in connection with early Christian Greek literature, has lately visited that city, and, with the aid of the British Embassy, has enjoyed exceptional facilities for research. The result, though negative, is important as determining some points which had previously been only matters of speculation. He was allowed to inspect the Library of St. Sophia. He found in it no Greek MSS., but vast numbers of Persian and Arabic MSS. catalogued in Turkish. In the Scraglio he saw two separate libraries, each containing a great number of Oriental books. In one of these libraries there were no Greek MSS. In the other there were about
forty, the remains of a collection which was broken up some twenty years ago, when the Sultan sent to the Hungarians the books of Matthias Corvinus. The books then sent were doubtless the best; those which remain are of little value. They are catalogued in French. Prof. Armitage Robinson believes that nothing was kept back from his inspection, and that there is little hope of new discoveries at Constantinople, unless there should be treasures stored away of which the possessors are not aware. If such things exist, they could be brought to light only by the development among the Turks themselves of a spirit favourable to literary research.

During the past year this Society has lost five members by death: Lord Bowen, the great lawyer and great judge, who carried through life the temper of Oxford, whose grace of mind and charm are reflected in his translation of Virgil, and who had recently given a proof of his interest in Hellenic studies by presiding at the annual meeting in London of the Subscribers to our School at Athens; Monsieur Waddington, whose manly loyalty to France had lost nothing by the discipline of Rugby and Cambridge, and who adorned public life without ceasing to deserve well of archaeology; Sir William Smith, who rendered such comprehensive service to education, both by his own work and by that which he elicited and organised in others; Mr. Thomas Wood, the English Consul at Patras, to whom so many of his countrymen visiting Greece have been indebted for hospitable welcome and judicious counsel; Mr. Charles Jenner, of Portobello, near Edinburgh, a generous patron of art, whose support was never wanting to projects of research initiated by this Society.

In conclusion, I have to thank you for the indulgent hearing which you have given me, and to express the hope that the year of our Society's life which is about to commence will prove not less prosperous than that which is closing. Everything seems to show that the interest felt in Hellenic studies is not declining in England, but rather growing; and that this Society may reasonably look forward to days in which its field of work will be still larger, and its influence still more useful, than in the past.

R. C. Jebb.
COUNCIL'S REPORT FOR THE SESSION
1893-94.

Since the last Annual Meeting one number only of the Journal of Hellenic Studies has been issued—viz., Vol. XIII., Part II., but another—Vol. XIV., Part I.—is now in the press, and will appear very shortly. Perhaps the most noticeable feature in the last number was the very large proportion of articles—nine out of thirteen—contributed by members past and present of the British School at Athens, and resulting from researches carried on, or at least initiated, while they were in residence at the School. This fact seems to be in itself sufficient justification for the action of the Council in renewing last autumn, for a third period of three years, the Annual Grant of £100 to the funds of the School.

The General Meetings during the past Session have been unusually well attended, and the Council have thought it well to raise the number from four to six. A new departure has been made in the introduction of occasional discussions on recent literature, and a member of the Council, Miss Eugenie Sellers, has undertaken to make a short statement at each meeting in regard to new books, or articles in periodicals, bearing on subjects which come within the range of the Society's work. It is hoped that in this way the meetings may be more helpful than heretofore to members who wish to keep themselves informed of the progress of research in various departments of Hellenic Study.

Besides the grant to the British School at Athens, the Council has made grants of £50 to the Asia Minor Exploration Fund in aid of an expedition now in progress under the direction of Mr. D. G. Hogarth ; of £25 to Mr. W. R. Paton, also for exploration in Asia Minor; and of £10 to the Archæological Society of Alexandria. The last-named grant, though small in amount, was intended to show the interest taken by the Society in local efforts to reveal some of the remains of Greek civilization.
in Alexandria. It is hoped that during the coming Session a systematic scheme of excavation will be set on foot, in which the Hellenic Society may have the opportunity of co-operating with the Egypt Exploration Fund, and from which, if adequate funds can be raised, important results may be confidently expected.

In last year's Report reference was made to a proposal for the encouragement of the study of the Greek language in connexion with lectures on Greek literature and art delivered under the auspices of the various bodies associated in the work of University Extension. The Special Sub-Committee drew up a report and a scheme of study which was signed by Professor Jebb as Chairman, and already classes have been formed in various parts of London and elsewhere. It cannot be a matter of indifference to this Society that the means of acquiring a knowledge of Greek should thus be brought within the reach of a wider circle of students.

Among additions made to the Library during the past year may be mentioned Roscher's Lexicon of Greek and Roman Mythology, Daremberg and Saglio's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities, the Antike Denkmaler of the Berlin Institute, several more volumes of Muller's Handbook of Classical Antiquity, Curtius and Kaupert's Maps of Athens and Attica, Purtwangler's Meisterwerke der Griech. Plastik, Rayet and Collignon's Histoire de la Ceramique Grecoque, Freeman's History of Sicily, and the new edition of Jowett's Plato.

The amount spent on the Library has been larger than in any previous year, and the Council hope that their action in this matter will meet with general approval. It should here be added that in consequence of ill-health Mr. Wayte has retired from the office of Librarian, and Dr. Holden has been appointed in his stead. The thanks of the Society are due to Mr. Wayte for his services during a period of eight years.

The collection of Lantern Slides also has been extended, and increased facilities have been given for its use by allowing slides to be borrowed at a lower rate for a period not exceeding four days. This concession was made at the instance of the Head Masters' Association, and the educational value of the collection was thereby signally prove.

The Council has quite recently been asked to intervene in two matters cognate to the objects of the Society—

1. The Society was asked to join with other learned bodies in protesting against the proposed submersion of the Island of Phiale. To this the Council readily agreed.

2. The Council was also invited to appoint a Delegate to serve on a joint Committee which is to be formed by the Society for the Protection of Ancient Monuments in Egypt to consider the question of a more extended archaeological survey of that country. Mr. F. G. Kenyon has been appointed to represent the Hellenic Society.

The Treasurer's Accounts show ordinary receipts, including a donation of £5, during the year of £1,034, against £878 during the financial year
1892-1893. The receipts from Subscriptions, including arrears, amount to £715, against £577. The receipts from Life Compositions amount to £79, against £95, a falling off of £16, and receipts from Libraries and for the purchase of back volumes to £229, against £161, an increase of £68. Receipts from other sources of ordinary income show no material alteration.

In the matter of ordinary expenditure, amounting to £894, against £858 in the previous year, there is an increase of £23 in respect of rent, a decrease of £22 in respect of Stationery, Printing, and Postage. The expenditure on the Library has been £75, against £41 in the preceding year. The cost of the Journal, including the balance of £363 for the report on the excavations at Megalopolis, has amounted to £513, against £532 for the year 1892-93.

Besides the Annual Grant of £100 to the British School at Athens, £85 have been granted for other purposes, and a balance was carried forward at the end of the financial year of £214 10s. 7d., against £259 2s. 7d. at the close of the preceding year. Life Subscriptions, amounting to £157 10s., have been invested in the purchase of £157 10s. Nottingham 3 per cent. Corporation Stock.

Forty-seven new members have been elected during the year, while thirty-three have been lost by death or resignation. This shows a net increase of fourteen, and brings the total number of members up to 769.

Four new Libraries have joined the list of Subscribers, which now amount to 116.

It will be seen from the foregoing statement that the work done or helped forward by the Society during the past year has been no less varied or important than in any previous Session, and on the whole the position of the Society seems to be quite satisfactory. The imposition of an entrance fee on and after January 1894 has not materially checked the flow of candidates. The number of new elections is quite up to the average. The somewhat larger number of resignations is due to the wholesale removal from the list of upwards of twenty members who were behind-hand with their subscriptions to the extent of four years and upwards, and who had turned a deaf ear to all appeals from the Treasurer. Hitherto, these members—members only in name—have been reckoned as an asset, and the subscriptions due from them have been included year after year among the arrears which the Treasurer might hope to recover. But the time comes when the name which has at first been an ornament, and then an emblem of hope deferred, becomes an actual source of weakness. It is then best to remove it from the list, where it has ceased to have any but an illusory significance. Happily the Hellenic Society is now sufficiently well established to dispense with merely nominal support. At the same time, the fact that such losses must inevitably occur lays upon all real friends of the Society the obligation of extending to the best of their power the area of effective membership, so that the Society may each year become better able to carry out the objects of its existence.
THE HYMN TO APOLLO: AN ESSAY IN THE HOMERIC QUESTION.*

If the Hymns of Homer are, as probably they are, comparatively little regarded as a rule even by those who take a general interest in Greek literature and its history, this is certainly not for want of artistic merit, and still less for want of historic importance. However widely students have differed, or may differ, in their conclusions about this enigmatical collection, it is an undoubted fact, and worth insisting upon when every day a wider and more popular audience is invited to form a judgment on matters of criticism, that any theory of Homer's Hymn to Apollo, not less than with the more celebrated epics. For the sake of this larger bearing, if not for the sake of the poem itself, the reader may be disposed to consider and weigh the following reflections upon Homer's Hymn to Apollo.

* [I add here a word to indicate the relation between my view of the subject and that of Dr. Gemoll, whose excellent commentary I had not seen when the paper was written. To an important extent we are agreed. Dr. Gemoll holds (and as do I) that the Hymn is in a sense one whole, that is to say, the framer intended it to be so taken. He holds further (and I agree) that traces of compilation, or of handling not original, can be found in all parts of it. In opposing the hypothesis that two original documents can be obtained by cutting the piece into 'Delian' and 'Pythian' sections, Gemoll has been led, I think, to make too little of the real differences in texture between these two parts, by which Kuhnken's hypothesis was suggested. That the conclusion of the Delian Hymn may be read as a transition to what now follows it, I readily allow. There is in the present arrangement the sort of continuity, or appearance of it, which satisfied the compiler. But it seems to me, as to most readers, that we certainly have, at or about s. 176, what was originally composed as a conclusion, and that in what precedes this conclusion we have substantially one genuine work of art. However, this question is of little significance. To the main proposition of this essay Dr. Gemoll, though he does not advance it, furnishes, as I think, important confirmation. About the date of the compilation as a whole his conclusion practically is, that the evidence is hard to reconcile. On one side we have (among other things) what prima facie looks like an allusion to the Trojan war; on the other side we have at least one passage, the discourse of Telephus about heroes and chariots, which seems to require a date earlier than the new foundation of the Pythian Games. It will be seen that I offer a solution of this difficulty, and a solution which explains precisely those points of detail (for example, the application of the name Dolphos) which are marked by Gemoll as requiring fresh light.]
In general outline, the history of the Hymas is parallel to that of the Iliad and the Odyssey. These and the hymns alike, whatever else they may be, are remains out of a vastly larger mass of hexameter poetry, which at the time when Greek literature, in the form of books and as the object of deliberate study, first began to be diffused (say, for a date, between 540 and 460 B.C.) passed at Athens under the name of Homer. How much of it, or what other like poetry, was current anywhere else, in what form, and under what name, no one knows; nor indeed is it very important to know. The history of Greek books, from this period and in the main for long after, is the history of Athenian books, and that our ‘Homer’, as a book, is derived from the ‘Homer’ of Athens is perhaps one of the few assertions on the subject which is practically beyond dispute. About the year 450 B.C., and in Athens, we can first ascertain in part at least the contents of a Homer. In a Homer, as then popularly conceived, and apart from any critical doubts, there would have been a portion already distinguished and cited by the name of the Iliad, another portion named the Odyssey; also other portions of narrative, more or less connected with these two, named Cypria, Thebais, Epigoni; also other works not narrative, and among these last—better warranted, as it happens, for ‘genuine Homer’ of the fifth century than any other part of the mass—a Hymn to Apollo, identical either with the whole or with some part of the poem so-called in the extant collection. There is every reason to believe that the Homeric volume, or rather library, would then have contained much more, and many times as much; but these it would certainly have contained, as is shown by Herodotus and Thucydides in passages too familiar to cite.

With regard to the rest of Homer’s Hymns we are not able, as in the case of the Hymn to Apollo, to cite positive testimony that they would have been found in the Homer of Thucydides. This however in the state of the evidence is no argument to the contrary. Much more important on the other hand is it to observe that, among the two or three thousand lines which they contain, there is perhaps not a verse or an expression which may not perfectly well date from the very earliest time at which ‘Homer’ can have acquired a literary definition and fixity, that is to say, from the latter part of the sixth century B.C. When we consider what the limits of the critical faculty were, even in the best period of ancient scholarship, nay indeed what they still are, and how numerous are the pitfalls besetting the investigator who endeavours in a doubtful case to discriminate the genuine from the spurious, this fact is in itself strong evidence that the whole collection, as a collection, is Homeric in the only useful sense which can be put upon the word; that is to say, it has come down labelled as ‘Homer’ from the earliest times of Greek book-literature. External evidence confirms this supposition, if only by not impeaching it. There is not in the case of the Hymns, any more than in the case of that much vaster collection of ‘Homeric’ narrative in which the Iliad and the Odyssey were once included, any testimony whatever which attributes the act of collecting to time, place, or person in these ages after 500 B.C., of which the literary history was
fairly well known to the ancient world, and is even to us known not very ill: and of this the simplest and most obvious explanation is that in fact the collecting took place before that date, and at a time which for the history of book-literature must be called prehistoric. It may be added that thus, and thus only, can we understand without difficulty how the name 'Homer' came to be attached to these collections. Herodotus and Thucydides may have known, and known as Homer's, we shall here assume that they did know, the collection of _Hymns_ substantially as we have it. But we may doubt whether even Herodotus, to judge by his remarks on other Homeric questions, would have asserted, as a matter of personal opinion, that all the hymns in the collection were by one individual and historic Homer; we may say with confidence that Thucydides would not; and still less would any one worth notice in subsequent ages, the ages of scholarship. Therefore since the whole collection actually is entitled 'Homer's', the presumption is that it was formed before criticism had so far awakened as to make the title generally incredible and unsatisfactory.

As the _Hymns_ are not universally familiar, and the name to a modern ear is misleading, a word or two of general reminder may not be unwelcome. The hymns are pieces of verse, in the conventional 'Epic' metre, language and style, such as the bards and _rhapsodes_, whose profession was to recite epic narratives in public and private for the benefit of audiences not yet accustomed to read, were wont to use by way of prelude or finale to their recitations. As, in ages when scarcely any one was secure from violence, the bards owed their comparative immunity, and their indispensable freedom of travelling, to the quasi-sacred character with which they were invested, they were careful to maintain this character by a religious opening or conclusion, which was sometimes a mere invocation of the god most appropriate to the time and place, but sometimes was so ornamented by legends in his honour as to be developed into a poem of independent value. The existing collection, some thirty pieces, ranging in length from four lines to five hundred and more, exhibits little trace of method, scientific or practical. It is suspected that the larger wholes have been formed by the consolidation of disparate materials, and in one case, that of our _Hymn to Apollo_, the first and one of the longest, this composite appearance is especially conspicuous.

In fact it will perhaps already have been noted with surprise that I should speak of the Homeric _hymn_ to Apollo as a whole, and without distinguishing as usual, by the epithet _Delian_ or _Pythian_, which of the two parts, into which it has been commonly divided, is to be my subject. I have done this because in my judgment the whole composition as it stands in the MSS. is a document of far greater historical interest and significance than any elements or supposed elements into which it can be analysed by criticism; because the so-called 'Pythian' _hymn_ is no _hymn_, is not the _bona fide_ work of any religious _rhapsodist_ whatever, is not even entirely made up out of such _bona fide_ work; because the 'Pythian' part never in all probability existed otherwise than as a continuation tacked, for motives clearly apparent and at a time which within not very wide limits can be fixed by internal
evidence, to the Delian part, which itself shows marks of the same handling; and because, of all the works of Homer now traceable, the Hymn to Apollo, thus considered, is the piece which throws most light on the circumstances under which those works first took a definite literary shape.

It will be convenient first to give a summary of the whole:1

Themes: the glory of Apollo; awe which his power causes in the other gods, and exultation thereupon of his mother Leto (1—13), whom the poet congratulates upon her children Apollo and Artemis (14—18). Out of many available topics, the poet selects the birth of the god in Delos, the original seat from which he has extended his power over all the earth, especially within the coasts of the Aegean (19—44). All over this region Leto, when about to bear her son, had sought a home for him; but all lands were afraid to consent (for a reason afterwards explained), till she came to Delos (45—50). Delos, upon hearing how she might be enriched by sacrifices at Phoebus' temple (51—60), consented with joy, exacting however from Leto, lest the proud young god should despise and destroy her barren island (61—78), an oath that he should there establish his first temple and oracle (79—82); to which Leto consented (83—89). After a travail prolonged by the hostility of the jealous Hera, the god was born (89—119), grew instantly to adult strength (120—130), and proclaimed himself the god of the lyre, of the bow, and of prophecy (130—131). The sudden riches of Delos, and her joy at having been so preferred above all the world. Though the god has many temples, he still prefers Delos, and the festivals held there by the assembled Ionians, of which the poet gives an exceedingly beautiful and famous description (140—164). He bids farewell to Apollo and Artemis, and to the Delian maidens then engaged in celebrating the festival, requesting them to spread the renown of 'their sweetest singer, the blind man of Chios,' and promising the like service to themselves and their sanctuary (165—178).

Here the text, straightforward so far, becomes discontinuous. We have first three lines forming a 'hymn' by themselves (179—181), in which Apollo is invoked as the possessor of Lycia, Macedonia, Miletus, and lastly, as his proper home, of Delos; next, a fragment from some other text, not connected either with what precedes or with what follows, but very finely describing how Apollo went on some occasion to Pytho and thence to Olympus (182—206); and next and finally a long composition of 340 verses, in form at least one and continuous, upon the journey of Apollo in search of a site for his first oracle, and the founding of it on Parnassus (207—546). It is this last piece to which, if to anything, the title of 'The Homeric hymn to the Pythian Apollo' must be appropriated. The approach to the subject is made in the same way as in the Delian. 'In a theme so rich what topic of praise shall I take?,' leading after the rejection of others to that selected (207—214). Here one of the suggested themes, which was

1 I have taken as a basis the 'Teubner' text of Ranmeister, but any other text will do.
perhaps developed at more length, has been excised, and the place of it (212—213) is marked by a mere fragmentary indication. But there is scarcely reason to lay the blame of this defacement upon time or accident. In all this intermediate portion the compilation has no form to be defaced, and the compiler himself may well have noted in this way the fact that there existed a poem on the legend indicated, which he had seen, but did not for the moment think interesting enough to insert. We arrive however now at the theme proper (214) and proceed continuously.

Apollo, setting out from Mount Olympus to choose a place for his oracle, travels through the northern regions, Pieria, Emathia, the Perrhaebi, and so to Euboea, thence re-crosses to what was afterwards Thebes, and arrives at the fountain of Telephusa near Haliartus, where he marks out a site (214—253). Telephusa, displeased, suggests that his worship will be disturbed by the noise of the beasts of draught which are watered at the spring, and that the spectacle of chariots and horses will distract admiration from the temple and its treasures. She recommends Crissa, and a glen there under Parnassus (254—274), where accordingly the temple is built (275—299); but the god finds that the neighbouring spring is guarded by a monstrous and destructive she-dragon (300—304)... which he slays (356—362); from the rotting (πώοσφάια) of its corpse the place is called Pytho and the god Pythian (356—374). [The space indicated by dots (365—355) is occupied by a long digression on the birth of the monster Typhon, self-conceived by Hera in rivalry of Zeus, who had produced Athena without the aid of his wife: it is indicated (353), but in very obscure language, that the monster was connected in some way with the δάκαρα slain by Phoebus. The passage is undoubtedly interpolated, as commonly supposed, but may have been interpolated by the compiler himself: the insertion however is clumsy and undisguised, and cannot have been made with the motives of an artist.] Telephusa, for deceiving the god, is punished by the destruction of her fountain (375—387). While considering how to provide the new oracle with ministers, the god describes a Cretan merchant-ship on its way to Pylos. He boards it in the form of a dolphin, and brings it miraculously (the crew being helpless with terror and amazement) into the port of Crissa, where he prepares the inhabitants for his entrance (388—447). He returns in human form to the ship, explains to the now emboldened Cretans the advantage which they will reap from his design, and invites them to land (448—485). By his command they build him an altar on the shore and consecrate it by a feast (486—512). He conducts them to Pytho (513—528). They are at first dissatisfied with its barrenness (524—530); but the god promises that they shall be maintained by the offerings (531—539). He warns them against unfaithfulness, which will be punished by subjugation (540—544). The poet concludes with a conventional formula of transition to another theme (545—546).

Such are the contents of this curious composition. Let us now review the various elements, and consider what may be gleaned from them as to the feelings and motives of the fabricator. Of the first portion, the general
conception is perfectly clear and calls for no remark. Excepting in a few questionable details, which shall be noticed later, this is a simple, uniform piece of work, composed for recitation at Delos, in the spirit of Delian religion, and upon the Delian view of Apollo's geographical province and moral sphere. As literature it is perhaps not inferior to anything in the whole collection of hymns; and it has a particular interest from the fact that of this poem, if of anything, we can say that it was written by a poet called Homer. The two fragments which follow it, are in themselves of little interest, and we shall do best to go at once to the 'Pythian Hymn', which, if comparatively not strong in artistic merit, atones for any such defect by its extraordinary significance as a historical document.

It presents itself, we see, in the guise of a religious exercise, composed in honour of the Pythian sanctuary. From such a composition, or from such compositions, most of it may have been more or less faithfully borrowed. But that as a whole it is no such thing, that a feeling utterly alien from that of Delphi has guided the choice and rejection of topics, may be easily seen and proved. One simple fact indeed is itself decisive. From beginning to end of this 'Pythian Hymn' there is not one single word by which a hearer could be assured that at the time of the composer and imaginary speaker the worship of Apollo was actually celebrated at Pytho at all. Everything about Pytho, except that there is a place so called (872), is related wholly in the past. How the present aspect of the subject would naturally have been treated by a poet really zealous for the honour of the Pythian house, we may learn from the hymn of Delos. There the most brilliant and beautiful passage is that describing the actual present fulfilment of those gracious promises with which the fame was founded, the splendid and joyous festivities which the poet was then beholding, and for the sake of which the legend was cherished, the men and women 'immortal as one might deem, and ageless for ever', the games and the dancing, the rich freights landed, and the songs miraculous sung. Can we suppose that it was the habit of the poets who celebrated Pytho to pass over all such topics, to say nothing whatever, not one syllable, about the solemn days of consultation, the inquiring crowds from every part of the world, the invitation of the prophetess, the lots and the sacrifice, the conclave, the interview, and the oracular voice? And if it was not their habit, how is it that this 'Homeric' compiler, who can find room in his ample framework for much that is trivial and much that is distinctly repulsive, could not find room for a complet or a verse to intimate that the expectations of Apollo, as founder of Pytho, were in fact fulfilled, and the foundation could boast of a great, a successful, and a still progressing history? Or why at least need the author be at the pains so strongly to suggest the very opposite?

For this is what in truth he does. The oracle is founded at Pytho in the territory of Crissa, the ministers are put in possession of it, and the god then leaves them with a prophetic warning: 'Take care of the temple, and entertain the tribes of men, when they assemble here, according to my
directions precisely. But if there shall be any wantonness in speech or in deed, or insolence, as is the way of mortal man, then shall other men be lords over you, and to them shall ye be subjects and thralls for ever and a day. Here ends my say; do thou, quoth the god to the chief of the ministers, keep it in thy heart. And so ends the say of the hymnist. Even if we had no evidence that this threat took effect, we should be justified in supposing so; we should be justified in assuming that, like other human prophecies, it was written because and after it had been fulfilled. The warning is given to the people of a place which in accuracy of nomenclature was divided into a city (Crisa) on Parnassos not far from Pytho and a haven (Girria) in the plain below, but in popular parlance was described collectively by one of the names, as in the hymn it is described by that of Crissa. This people, who according to the hymn were in origin partly Cretan, were possessors of the oracle from the earliest memory down to the beginning of the sixth century B.C. At that time, by the result of a 'holy war', in which many states and great persons took part under the authority of the religious league called Amphietoyme, the Crissesans were degraded and dispossessed in favour of a new town which, populated by in-comers from the mountains behind, had grown up round the sanctuary of Pytho itself, and which thus became not only independent but supreme in the district. It is scarcely necessary to add that this proceeding was justified, according to the gainers, by many acts of 'wantonness' and 'insolence' on the part of the losers. The name of the dominant and 'subjugating' city (which the compiler, though he does not think fit to mention it, must have known and can be proved to have known) was Delphi. The event took place, as above said, early in the sixth century B.C. That the writer alludes to it, and that his composition in its present form is therefore the work of some later date, is a hypothesis which, from the general limits of the human mind and apart from the corroborations which will presently offer themselves, we are warranted in assuming until it appears to be impossible. But assuming this, in how strange a manner, how incredible, when we remember the ostensible purpose of the composition, the allusion is managed! Having told us how Apollo established an oracle 'at Pytho in Crissa', what has the celebrator of his glory to reveal to us concerning the sequel? Nothing whatever by positive statement, and by suggestion this and no more, that the chosen administrators proved in fact unworthy of their trust and eventually incurred the penalty of a final enslavement. That the sanctuary, which they were to 'protect', and the worship itself were destroyed or humbled by their ruin, he does not say, nor in face of the facts could he say so. But why does he choose this moment as a fit place to end? How is it that he does not give either here or anywhere a hint to diminish the ominous impression of disaster, which such a conclusion naturally must leave upon the mind? And why above all should he imply,

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*V. 361: read οὐκ ἔχει Πᾶσαν ἐν ἄδου πάλιναν. The correction has no doubt been suggested before.*
as he distinctly does, that upon such an event the covenant of the god would be determined? Wealth and luxury are promised by him, on condition of good behaviour, to his elected Cretans; with the conquerors, who were to punish their misbehaviour, he would not, so far as appears, have any further concern. If we depended for our history upon this hymn, it would be impossible to suspect that with the decline and fall of Crisa the greatness of the Pythian oracle, at least in outward show, did not end so much as begin, or that the fate which the author paints so darkly was nothing more than a transference to managers even more successful, according to common estimates of success, than their predecessors: nor is it now possible to believe that the author had an interest in proclaiming these facts, or, in other words, that he had any genuine interest in the glory and prosperity of Delphi.

For this reason we are not so much surprised, as otherwise we ought to be, to find him apparently ignorant of almost everything in which the interest of Pytho consisted. The Delian hymnist knows Delos, and helps us to know it; he specifies its relics, rites, and treasures, such as the maidens of 'the miraculous tongues', the water in which Phoebus was washed, and, sacred and famous above all, the palm-tree upon which Leto had leaned. But the Pythian poet knows nothing; he has never heard, or at least he has nothing to say, of any one object characteristically Pythian, however ancient or however celebrated. The temple indeed he does mention, in what fashion we will presently see; but the temple, as a temple, was not specially characteristic. And for the chasm and its vapours, or the tripod over it, for the stone, earth's centre, and the mysterious pair which stood by it, for the sacred bath and the familiar doves, the dateless tomb and the inexplicable letter, may, for the prophetess herself, agent and means of the whole oracular proceedings, the poem may be searched in vain. In short, you could scarcely learn from it that there was or ever had been anything in the place worth the trouble of going to see. Some of these famous things may no doubt be later in origin than the poem; but that all of them were so is impossible. When none of these things were in Pytho, there was certainly no Apollo there, and probably no Greek.

One sacred object at Pytho is indeed, as we have said, distinguished and briefly described,—the temple; of which we are told that 'when the god had set out the lines of its foundation in breadth and in length, upon these very lines a stone floor was laid by Trophonius and Agamedes, sons of Erginos, dear to the immortal gods; and about it a fane was piled by countless tribes of men, with laid stones, to be a theme of song for ever' (294—299).

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The adynaton, a name which by Pythian usage was sometimes applied to the song, is mentioned twice (443, 528), once in terms which a reader, if previously informed, might perceive by its type to mean that it was subterraneum, δὲ ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρωποῖς. But that it was in any way peculiar or essential to the act of prophecy is not even hinted, and of the tripod there is no word. The 'costly tripod' of the verses cited, whatever they are, are not that, and for anything that appears they might be mere ornaments. Indeed there is nothing anywhere to show how the oracle was supposed to operate. All is vagueness and unreason.
this is a passage in which undoubtedly the compiler took a lively interest, so much so that, if he did not compose it himself, he was at the trouble of conveying it from some text other than that which he was using at the moment, and thrusting it in at all costs. For next after it, and not before it, comes the slaying of the deadly serpent and the connected punishment of the nymph Telphusa; whereby we are left to understand that the god not merely chose his site but actually got to work with architects and masons and apparently finished the building, before he discovered that the water-fountain was haunted by a monster "which if any one met, it was his death-day" (356). Let this bungling story be compared with the way in which the arrival of the god and the slaying of the monster are told, for example, by Euripides (Iph. T. 1234) and would naturally be told by any one: it will then, I think, sufficiently appear that by the compiler of the hymn this passage about the building of Trophonius and Agamedes has been here dragged in. Nor is it difficult to guess why. Regarded from a truly Pythian point of view all this about the designers and craftmen is simply a dishonouring falsehood. Certainly there was, or there had been, in Delphi a temple such as is here described. It was burnt about the year 550; and the builders of it were said to have been, very likely, Trophonius and Agamedes. But from whom did the author learn that this temple was the original foundation of Apollo? Not from any one well qualified or disposed to maintain the credit of Pytho. The Greeks in the age of Solon had little or no science of chronology; but neither then nor for a long time before were they such savages, so utterly devoid of a traditional perspective, as to believe that such a building as this, an exact and elaborate piece of masonry, which had given employment to hands "innumerable", had been erected upon Parnassus at the era to which Pytho pretended, almost at the beginning of the world, in the age of the Titans, or even (as most people would have said) at a time when, according to this very document (225—228), the site even of Thebes, that "Ogygian" city, was still virgin forest, pathless and uninhabited. Least of all would this have been believed or maintained at Delphi, which possessed at least the outline of a genuine history far older than others could show, and in the seventh and sixth centuries was for the time, as is proved by its skilful management and diplomatic triumphs, a place of comparative enlightenment. The story then related at Delphi must naturally have resembled in its general conception what was told there throughout antiquity. Trophonius and Agamedes were so far from having built the first temple, that their birth was foretold to their father by the Pythian prophetess herself! The first temple (of Apollo) was a mere hut of wood, and one other shrine at least, of bronze, came between this and the palace of masonry, which was destroyed in 550. We may observe in passing that even the first coming of Apollo was not, and no Pythian ever said that it was, the true beginning of Pytho, which had been a sanctuary and a seat of rude inspiration when that Dorian god was still travelling among the Emathians and Per-

4 Parnassius 9. 37. 3: 10. 3. 9.
All this primateal tradition our author very consistently suppresses; and by tacking in, however inconveniently, this little episode about the architects, he attains at any rate the purpose of suggesting that the event was by no means so remote as some would make out,—whatever might then have been the condition of Thebes, in whose relative antiquity he would appear (and perhaps we may hereafter see a reason for it) to have had as little interest as in that of Pytho.

The surprise which we must upon reflection conceive at the reticences of this 'Pythian' rhapsodist, at the number and quality of the things which he might be expected to notice but does not, will not be diminished by examining the subjects to which he has given his preference. These are practically two, filling between them the frame-work of the poem: the quarrel with the nymph Telephusa, and the importation of the Cretans. One other topic is touched upon, the slaying of the dragon; but this, perhaps the most famous of Apollo's Pythian feats, occupies (if we exclude the irrelevant interpolation about Hem and Typhon) only a dozen lines, or exactly as much as is bestowed on the coarse and frivolous explanation of the name Pytho. It is derived, we are told, through πυθεωθας τε νεφ, from the fact that the monstrous corpse of the dragon was left to decay over the soil upon which it fell.

Whether this unattractive etymology had ever the sanction of the oracle seems to be now not ascertainable, but our author is the primary authority for it, while there are many witnesses for the alternative derivation from πυθεωθας τε νεφ. We certainly cannot suppose that in the times of the rhapsodists any devotee or admirer of Delphi felt himself compelled in conscience to abandon an exposition agreeable to his religious sentiments in deference to the scientific objection (obvious though it might be) grounded on the difference of quantity in the ν. And therefore why the Pythians, with this appropriate suggestion at hand, should have chosen to associate their name and sanctuary with a tale so unedifying, not to say so disgusting, as that of the lyrist, is a doubt which may prompt suspicion. This suspicion gains strength when we notice that our author does not assign the invention of the name to the god, but on the contrary seems to represent him as exceedingly displeased at this unforseen consequence of his victory and his remarks. "There now rot thou on the ground that feedeth men (Bosworthia): thou at least shalt not be living to plague and harm the mortals who, eating the rich food of earth's fertility (γαίης πολυφόρου καρπού), shall here bring perfect sacrifice. Nor shall Typhon save thee from death (abhorred sound Footer), nor shall Chimaera (evil name Footer); but there, where thou liest, black earth shall rot and Hyperion's blaze." So spake he beating over it, and darkness veiled the creature's eyes:

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* See Tassardus 60, and the opening of Aeschylus Eumédeia. The Aeschylean account is a harmonious version, and in some points a late invention; but it properly recognizes the history before Apollo.

* ἄρενος ἄνεργεια: that the writer, for the nonce at least, connected this word with ἄρες, is still or name, seems to me clear. And indeed why not, since the moderns have connected it with ἄρος, to buy in wine?

* θεόνετον.
and there, where it lay, the great strong Sun rotted it quite. From which now the place is called Pytho, and some give the lord god himself the surname Pythian, because even in that spot the monster was rotted by the strong keen Sun. And thereupon (τούτον ἄρα) Phoebus Apollo judged in his heart that the fair deity of the fountain had deceived him: and he went in a rage after Telphusa etc. It will be seen that, according to the sublime and elegant conception of the bard, Apollo at first felt a natural satisfaction at the conversion of his enemy to the fertilizing of the sacred soil, and expressed triumph in terms only too vigorous; but when he found that as a consequence his abode was called the place of rotting, and himself by a similar appellation, he thereupon judged that Telphusa had misled him when she recommended the site: nor in fact, as we shall see hereafter, is any other reason suggested, as the story is told in this hymn, for the vengeance inflicted on that unfortunate nymph. It is quite possible that the account of Apollo’s victory, including the words of the god, childish as it is, is really an ancient tradition of Pytho, although, as we shall discover, it is not proved to be such by appearing in this composition. As for the words which connect with this account the names of the sanctuary and the deity, they bear on the face of them an indication that they have been tacked on. We shall presently see further proof of this, and shall be able to appreciate the motive of the addition. For the present however we will leave the incident of the dragon and pass to the Cretans and Telphusa, the two substantial themes of the work.

Among the mass of legends, religious or quasi-historical, which the Pythians related about themselves and their god, there were certainly some which connected him with Crete. He was said for example to have been on one occasion purified there from the pollution of homicide. The affinity between the Dorian settlers in both regions accounts naturally for such inventions. Nor is it perhaps unlikely that the story preserved by our compiler of ‘Homer,’ though it makes the connexion more close and important than is commonly represented, and rather oddly inverts the usual relation of dependence which the Delphians loved to trace between their establishment and others, is nevertheless a genuine product of Pythian imagination. Historical basis, I should suppose, it cannot have had; the probabilities of migration are all the other way. The resemblance, which some have detected, between the names Crete and Creusa is slight for the superstructure, and moreover, if it had been the true basis, would naturally have been known to the author of this version, and to the compiler of the hymn, who however, though fond of etymologies, shows no suspicion of this. We hear incidentally of one contribution which the Cretan colonists made to the local worship; it is the dionys, or Apolline music, which they sing, as

* 370 foll.

The awkwardness, and indeed incorrectness, of the second υἱος following the first, is of the sort which almost invariably results, unless the composer be very careful and accurate, from the putting on of a patch.
they enter, 'like the paeons of the Cretans, when the divine muse has put song sweet as honey in their hearts' (518). Here, in some real or supposed priority of the Cretans in this art, is probably the starting-point of the myth that the first Pythians had been partly Cretan. It is but a small support for the claim which it has to justify; and after all, a better or at least more natural motive may be seen in that curious turn of caprice which has led so many peoples, at a certain stage of culture, to embellish their history by the fiction that they are not really themselves but somebody else, the more remote the better; a habit which is responsible for Phoenician, Egyptian Boeotians, Lydian Etruscans, Trojan Romans, Arcadian Romans, Englishmen from Troy, from Brittany, from Babylonia, from Luxor, and from Judah. To such a vagary Crete was sufficiently adapted, having been in the semi-historical ages of Hellas, and indeed through the greater part of history, neither in nor out of the national circle, neither too little known for the purpose nor on the other hand known too well. It should be noticed that even the hard does not make the Pythian fully Cretan. The crew of the captured merchant supply only a new strain, which minglest with the original stock of Cris. For their women were naturally left, as the poet tells us, at their homes in Crete (478): nor is it probably by accident that the only part of the native population, which is mentioned as saluting the return of Phoebus upon this occasion, is the women, 'the wives and fair daughters of the Crissaens', who give vent to the general awe by their feminine ἀλὸς μύος (443). What was felt or said, particularly by the males, when the favoured strangers actually appeared, the poet, perhaps wisely, has omitted to specify.

But whatever may have been the motives which prompted the original composer of the tale, and whatever his claim to speak the sentiments of Pytho, there can, it would seem, be no doubt at all as to the spirit and intentions of the quasi-pythian compiler who has given it to us in its existing form, who chose it, trimmed it, and supplied it with its amusing end: 'So when they (the Cretan mariners) had put away their desire of drink and food, they set off on their way. Before them went Zeus' son the lord Apollo, with a harp in his hands, which he delightfully played, stepping noble and high: and the Cretans went after him dancing, and sang as 'Iē Paeon!', like the paeons of the Cretans, when the divine muse puts song sweet as honey in their hearts. Unwarried they footed it up the hill, and quickly came to Parnassus and the deliciuos place, where they were destined to dwell, honoured by the multitudes of mankind. And their leader showed them the worshipful chamber and wealthy fane. But their hearts within them were stirred with indignation, which the Cretan chief expressed in a question thus: 'Lord, since thou hast led us far from friends and fatherland (such, as it seems, was thy will and pleasure), how we are to live now, is the thing we bid thee consider. No vine will yield this delicious fruit, no good meadow, that we may dwell on it while we do our service to men'. But Zeus' son Apollo smiled over them and said, 'O foolish men, O strangely patient, who prefer to have cures, and hard work, and straitening of desire! An easy
command will I give you, and lay upon your minds, just each to carry a knife
in the right hand, and from time to time slay a beast. Of all beasts ye shall
have abundance, all the famous offerings which the tribes of men shall bring me.
But guard ye the seven, and entertain the tribes of men, who assemble here,
according to my direction precisely. If there shall be any wantonness in word
or deed, any insolence . . . .

And so follows the menacing prophecy which has been already quoted.
Such is the farewell—καὶ σὺ μιν ὀβτα γαῖρε—which the hymnist takes of
his god! However he may have regarded the Pythian deity (it is not easy
to suppose him very devout), his feelings towards Pytho and its adminis-
trators are exhibited with a frankness quite unimprovable. It would be
hard to distill more finely the mingled essence of envy and contempt than in
this exquisite bit of satire upon the indolent, pampered toll-takers of a
pilgrim world:

τοις δ’ ἐπιμεδήσας προσέφη Διὸς νίκος Αἰθρώτων
νήπιοι Αἴθρωτοι, δυστέλιμοι, οἱ μελετῶνες
βούλεισθ’ ἄργαλεσι τε πόνους καὶ στενεὰ θυμῆ.: ἤρχον ἠτός ὦμ’ ἐρέω καὶ ἔπι φρειᾶς ἥργον
δεξιερῆ µαλ’ ἐκαστος ἔψα ἐν χειρὶ µάχαιραν
σφάξειν αἰεὶ μῆλα τὰ δ’ ἄρθρα πιάτα παρῇσαι
δόσα γ’ ἐροί ε’ ἀργάγωσι περίκλυτα φῆλ’ ἀνθρώπων.

And the irony reaches a climax, when this smiling divinity proceeds
forthwith to preach against luxury and pride. The piece moreover, as it is
placed in the hymn, has all the advantages of surprise. The pages preceding,
from the arrival of the immigrants at the haven to their arrival at the
sanctuary (440—523), are, taken as serious poetry, the best and almost the
only good part of the 'Pythian' cento. In vigour and literary skill they
are not comparable to the conclusion, but they are dignified and animated;
and in the picture of the dancers moving up the hill there is a certain
Apolline feeling which recalls the hymn of Delos. It is (at least I think
so) unlikely that this description was meant by its maker merely to usher in
the annihilating finale. Rather it would seem that when the cento was
made, the satirical epilogue was appended as a trenchant commentary upon
the whole, possibly by the same hand which provided the death of the
dragon with its gay but malodorous sequel. However the distribution of
authorship is quite unimportant; the spirit of the existing composition
is in any case manifest.

When we see the purpose to which the legend of the Cretan colonists
is finally turned, we are moved to consider whether there are not in the
story itself some features which, set in this light, would make it not
unacceptable to an anti-pythian taste. For instance, it may be disputed
whether in the sixth century, when Delphi had risen, or was fast rising, to
a sort of religious primacy over Hellas and even beyond, the Holy Ones
who governed it would have cared any longer to proclaim that the first
incumbents of their see had been a mere crew of traders, plying 'for goods'
THE HYMN TO APOLLO:

between Crete and Pylos, liable to the suspicion of piracy, and, what is more remarkable, apparently disinclined to answer directly a direct inquiry as to whether they are pirates or not (404—473). Nor was it then the part of Delphi to say, though it may have been true and may once have appeared not discreditable, that in days when the subjects of King Minos had already a commerce with the Peloponnese, Apollo had not yet visited Pytho, but the unexplored gulf and dangerous thickets of Crissa were still so much out of the travelled world, that sailors driven to its shore wondered where upon earth they might be (396, 431 foll., 468 foll.). It is impossible that two or three generations, in the course of which Delphi had relatively fallen rather than risen in influence and ambition, should have made so ennobling a difference in the orthodox conception of Pythian history, as there is between this account and the prologue of the Aeschylean *Hymnides*. But to the compiler, who would have it believed that the polished marble temple of Trophimus was the first work of art ever dedicated to Apollo on Mount Parnassus, it would naturally be a positive recommendation that the story, from the Pythian point of view, was out of date. What he has certainly done in the case of the temple, he has probably done in the case of Cretans. He has taken a genuine Crissaean legend, and by changing its historical setting has altered its effect.

Another trait in this legend, consistent with an intention in the original author to praise the oracle, but adaptable in altered circumstances to the different intention of the compiler, is the nationality of the chosen priesthood. The poet who wrote this part of the compilation speaks as if their origin was in itself a strong recommendation:

"Next Phoebus Apollo considered with himself what kind of men he should import for ministers, to do his service at Pytho among the rocks. While he was thinking upon this, he perceived on the blue sea a swift ship, wherein were men many in number, and excellent (being Cretans from Cnossus, the city of Minos) to perform ritual to their lord, and to carry the commandments of Phoebus Apollo, god of the golden sword, when he should utter a revelation from the laureled hollow beneath Parnassus. They in black ship were sailing for trade and goods to sandy Pylos . . . . and so on."

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11 The passage may originally have had a different colour, if there is really a lacuna (see Bammelstein after p. 438); but in that case it was the compiler probably who excised what is lost.

233 foll.
This passage, authentic enough no doubt as a piece of old Pythian work, is extremely interesting as evidence of the time when Pytho was earning, not spending, its religious reputation, when it was a place less splendid indeed but spiritually far more active than it afterwards became, and when the business of its ministers was not merely to sit framing profitable answers to pilgrims, but to carry, as messengers or missionaries, the reforming ordinances of the god into the darker places of Hellene superstition. In referring as the poet does to Crete and to Minos, he assumes of course the more favourable associations of the royal name, as that of the 'friend of Zeus' and 'giver of laws.' The countrymen of 'King Minos the First' would naturally be well fitted for the service proposed. But there was also, as we know, a current conception of 'Minos' differing widely from this primitive ideal of devout imaginations, and produced probably by a better, or at least a nearer, acquaintance with Crete. The countrymen of 'King Minos the Second' (to adopt the pseudo-historical distinction of the genealogists) would have been apt enough to develop the 'wantonness' and the 'insolence' attributed to them by the author of the satirical conclusion: and Cretans in the sixth century, instead of being a badge of religious obedience and religious energy, is more likely to have been translated for the popular imagination by the proverbial hexameter, The Cretans are always liars, evil beasts, slow billies. Which was the purpose of the compiler we shall better understand further on.

We turn now, following our plan, from the Cretans to the other chief topic of the cento, the offence and punishment of Telphus, nymph of a spring near Haliartus. The length of this, though much less than that of the Cretans (about 50 lines), is fully proportioned to its interest. Indeed the puzzle is to say what, from any point of view whatever, can have commended it to such high preference among themes connected with Pytho. Among the foists of Apollo, it must always, with whatever advantage of narration, have held but a humble rank: and in the narrative adopted for this hymn his gain of glory is certainly imperceptible. At least I can say for my own part that my sympathies are altogether with the unfortunate nymph. Where was her terrible sin, and why she is visited with so barbarous a vengeance, it is impossible to understand. Apollo declares his intention to establish his oracle beside her fountain, and with the same impecuniity which so oddly marks his conduct at Pytho lays out forthwith the plan of a temple. The humble goddess, fearful to be absorbed in so great a personage, suggests that he might prefer the glen of Parnassus in Crisa, alleging considerations affecting the sites which, so far as appears, were perfectly true, and the weight of which it was for Apollo to estimate. He goes to Crisa, chooses the site of Pytho, and actually builds his temple. He then discovers what, if it mattered, a god of moderate circumspection might surely have discovered sooner, that the local spring is infested by a certain monster. That Telphus knew this there is not a word to show, or that there were no monsters in the neighbourhood of Haliartus. Since Thebea, it appears, was then virgin forest, one would suppose there were many. He kills the monster (with great ease).
and insists that it shall rot where it lies. His sanctuary and he are named, or rather nicknamed, from this incident. *Therefore* he perceives that the fair spring, that is to say, Telphusa, ‘deceived him’, goes back in a rage, and ruins her fountain by pushing a hill into it. What a preposterous outrage!

That this story, either by accident or by malice, has been distorted, is, I think, manifest; and up to a certain point there is little difficulty in tracing the process of distortion. The argument alleged by Telphusa, by way of recommending the site of Pytho, is that in her own neighbourhood Apollo would be annoyed by the noise of the horses and mules which watered there, whereas ‘in the glen of Parnassus’ no such nuisance was to be apprehended. The latter branch of the argument is simply true, nor does the story, as it now appears, show any reason for doubting the former. The ‘grassy’ land of Haliartus, where the Telphusian or Telphosium lay, was perfectly open both to horse-traffic and wheel-traffic. But just before the episode of Telphusa begins, in connexion with Onchestus, another place in the immediate neighbourhood, we read of a road along which by a religious rule travellers were not permitted to drive in chariots (230 folla). What they might do and did do is in some details not very clear, nor has the passage now any apparent connexion either with Telphusa or with the story of Apollo at all. There can however be little doubt, if only from the presence of the prescription in this Pythian Hymn, that to the genuine legend it was in some way relevant, and that here lay the explanation of Telphusa’s ‘deceit’. In reality horses and chariots might not pass or might not stop at her spring, which was therefore in this respect as quiet as Castalia itself. This fact Telphusa tried to conceal. Apollo, by his divine perception, was aware of it, and as a general warning punished her severely, not at all for trying to send him elsewhere, but for thinking so unworthily of his goddess as to suppose that he could be deceived. The story had a moral like that of Ananias and Sapphira, and is precisely in the manner of other Pythian stories, framed as lessons against a low notion of deity. To reconstruct in words what the compiler has purposely torn to pieces would be a vain attempt. Probably parts indispensable to the original version are not anywhere to be found in the travesty. The only question is, what can have been the motive for thus introducing and remodelling this not very important fable. It is perhaps not inconsistent with the general design that the character of Apollo, as founder of Pytho, is exhibited in no pleasing light: he behaves like a spoilt child. Still this does not seem enough; that end, if the compiler really sought it, might have been otherwise so much better and more easily attained. It may throw some light on the matter if we inquire, as it is now time to do, why, when, and where the compilation as a whole can have been made.

*See Smith’s Dict. Geog. Bedesth. the details of the topography are not spurious and are of no importance to the legend. For it will be observed that, as the legend presumes, the old fountain of Telphusa, the fountain to which it referred, was buried and gone. As topographical evidence moreover, or evidence about anything except the mind of the compiler, the hymn is almost useless; the materials have certainly been remodelled, and we cannot say at what point or to what extent.*
Let us look back for a moment to the Delian part of it. This as a whole is a flawless composition, harmonious, sympathetic, and even religious in its own fashion, a fashion different from that of Pytho, spiritually inferior, but sensuously most beautiful and winning. As a whole the text of it is sound, but a little tampering has been justly suspected. Let us consider the manner and purpose of it. In one place, perhaps only one, interpolation is unquestionably manifest (vv. 130 foll.):

It is palpable that the last line and the three preceding are alternative conclusions of the sentence; and it is the longer version which, by its slight awkwardness of connexion, stamps itself as the intruder. As the single verse appears innocent of any possible offence, the motive, we must suppose, was to bring in the triplet; and in this there is one expression noticeable in this respect, that it is not quite in keeping with the general scheme of the poem. Apollo, it is said, chose Delos rather for his home, and loved it better, 'than island or mainland'. Now the Delian hymnist has no interest in the continent. His range of view and the government of his god are strictly limited, according to his own full and exact description, to the Aegean Archipelago. Even the coast of the surrounding land he treats merely as a framework enclosing the beloved islands; he mentions scarcely a point in the coast which is not peninsular, and within the sea-line knows nothing except what might be seen from the sea. His Ionians are mariners exclusively (155), and have a deity like themselves. And of the two places, in which this post is now made to say that the sphere of Phoebus extends over the mainland, both interrupt the context, and both on this ground alone are rejected by the critics. But why were they inserted? Plainly in order to fit the piece better for the connexion in which we find it, in order to prepare the way for the 'Pythian' part of the compilation, where the survey is naturally not insular but continental. But which was the intention, to make room for the claims of Pytho, or to extend the claims

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12 See Bammel's text.
13 30-44; cf. 142-145.
14 See vv. 26-24, beginning with τάναγ γάρ.
15 θήσει, ηπέμει θείλλασσα φόβος; ήρετ ἐν θή.
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of Delos. The terms are decisive; it was to extend the claims of Delos, by asserting that when Apollo ‘preferred Delos for the place of his house’, mainland as well as island was considered and declared inferior.

Nor is this the only or the most significant operation of the kind. When the god sprang up suddenly adult from his swathing-bands, and astonished his nurses by articulating his notions ‘then and there’, his words, as we have just read them, were these, ‘Let the lyre be mine, and mine too the bended bow; and I will reveal to mankind the unerring counsel of Zeus.’ Now here is what looks at first sight like the work of a true catholic, desirous to combine in one view the various local conceptions of Apollo, and to provide for them all. The last clause is the familiar language of Pytho, and at any rate not characteristic of Delos, which, we may almost say, was never an oracle at all, so obscure and so ineffective were its efforts in this direction. The hymn itself, in his description of a Delian festival, has not a word to say of that which, had the assembly been Pythian, would have appeared as the very centre of attraction, nothing of consultation, prophecy, or anything of the sort. It was on Parnassus that Apollo, in contact with cults very different from his own, became a revealer of wisdom and learnt the methods of inspiration. To mention these functions here might pass therefore in the Delian for a trait of impartiality, were it not that, earlier in the poem, Delos, in her contract with Leto, is strangely made to stipulate that the god’s first temple, which is to be built in her island, shall be an oracle and, what is more, an oracle for the whole world: ‘Sware me, goddess, if thou wilt deign, a mighty oath’—

ἐνθάδε μιν πρώτον τεύξειν περικαλλέα νηῶν ἐρμεναι ἀνθρώπων χρηστήριον, αὐτάρ ἐπιτα τάντας ἐπ’ ἀνθρώπων, ἐπειδ’ ἐπισώπυος ἐστιν.

The obscurity of the last two lines has been attributed, not unreasonably to a lacuna. But interpolations are often, and for obvious reasons, obscure; and when we compare a passage which the compiler has written or used in his ‘Pythian’ composition (287 foll.),

ἐνθάδε ἐδώ φρονεῖν τεύξειν περικαλλέα νηῶν, ἐρμεναι ἀνθρώπων χρηστήριον κ.τ.λ.

there can surely be no reasonable doubt that here in the Delian we have an interpolation before us. The genuine words of Delos end with v. 80, ‘that in this island first he will make him a fair temple’. The author of the supplement means us to take ἐνθάδε πρώτον with his ἐρμεναι ἀνθρώπων χρηστήριον, or at least to understand the words there again, ‘to be a place

89-92: it is clear. See Bammelitch’s text.
of revelation to man, for this island first, and afterwards over all mankind, when he shall come to wide renown'. The connexion is a little forced but as good as could be expected in such a case. Leto in her reply does not follow verbally either part of the stipulation: 'Verily Phoebus here shall have ever an altar of incense and a sacred close; and of honour thou shalt have more from him than any.' But if the stipulation really had been what it now appears, the reply must in common honesty be supposed to cover it all. In this light therefore we must read and understand the cry of the young Apollo,

εἰς μοι κήπαρις τε φίλη καὶ καμπύλα τόξα.
[χρύσω δ' ανθρώποις Δίων νημερτέα βουλήν].

And reading it in this light I have for my own part no hesitation in assigning the last line, grammatically somewhat abrupt, to the same interpolating hand. The Delian part of the compilation thus elucidates the motives of the Pythian part, by betraying a desire to set up Delos as a rival of Pytho. The Delian document, doubtless already celebrated, has been cautiously but effectively garbled with this view. That Delos was in fact an oracle of Apollo, nay, his true and favourite oracle, the compiler does not venture, in the teeth of notorious facts, to assert; he has admitted the contrary; but he plainly hints that it might be, and that, if every one had their rights, it ought to be.

The same feeling appears in the selection of the fragment which immediately follows the hymn of Delos, an invocation in three verses:

ἀδίκαια, καὶ Λυκήνα καὶ Μαίανδρον ἔρατειν ἤ
καὶ Μίλυτον ἔχειν, ἐναλον πόλιν ἱερόσασαν,
αὐτός δ’ ἀδ Δῆλοιο περικλάσσει μέγ’ ἀνάσσεις.

The only point of these lines is that they give a preference to Delos even over the famous sanctuary of the Branchidae, the second after Delphi, but a long way second, in dignity, though probably not even second in antiquity among the oracular foundations of Apollo. Miletus and much else are his 'possessions', but Delos 'his own lordly home'. We may observe moreover that the compiler, in these three lines, does more for the Milesian oracle, the Ionian oracle, than he does for the Pythian in three hundred. It is at least allowed to exist; it is a possession of the god; we are not left, as in the case of Pytho, under the impression that it has in some way come to a bad end.

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29 Cl. 532, and again 322 τόλεον ἐκρ’ ἐγενετέα μελλει | πάτε θεοποιεῖναι χρέων.
30 v. 214. It is significant that the locus classicus for the oracle of Delos should be the *Aenid* (3.73 foll.) of Virgil, who imagines them a copy of Delphi. Doubtless he had authority for it in the 'Cyclic poems', or as Aeschylus would have said in the 'Homer', which he used for this part of his work; and how it came into 'Homer' the reader of this essay will easily guess.
The purpose of the other intermediate fragment, read in its place and in the spirit of the whole composition, is hardly less clear. It begins at a very odd point, and not without appearance of some trimming as well as cutting:

*Now glorious Leto's son went, harping upon his curven harp, to Pytho among the rocks, in robes fragrant with incense: and his harp, touched by his golden quill, sounded entrancingly. And thence to Olympus, quitting earth like a thought, he went to the hall of Zeus, to join the company of immortal gods, engaged just then in music and song . . . .* and so follows (in some twenty lines) a brilliant description of the scene, and the pride of the parents, Zeus and Leto, when the new-comer strikes into the chorus. Now this scene as a whole is quite in its place, and aptly succeeds the history of Apollo presented by the Delian hymn. We have seen the god born upon earth and establishing his earthly kingdom, with Delos for its capital. Here he is received in heaven, and we beheld him among his immortal peers. But why, out of the innumerable descriptions of this kind which must have been available, has the compiler chosen an extract which begins so awkwardly with an unexplained visit to Pytho? It will be noticed that the god does nothing there. Pytho is merely a stage on his journey from some place not named to Olympus. Surely this incident, thus presented, must be designed to harmonize, as at all events it does, with the theory of the whole 'Pythian' narrative which follows; that the establishment of the Pythian oracle was by no means, comparatively speaking, a very early event, and that in any case it took place long after the birth of the god and his establishment in Delos, not at all as the effect of his first choice. Nothing could better support this conception than to show the god, in this early period of his career, passing through Pytho as he might have passed anywhere, without the slightest notice or interest. A Delphian, if he allowed that Apollo was born in Delos at all (for the primitive legend of the mainland ignored Delos as comfortably as the primitive legend of the islands ignored Pytho), would have brought the god, as the Pythian prophetess does in Aeschylus, straight and at once from Delos to Delphi, and would have made him found the oracle forthwith.

We have now taken the bearings of the canto in every material part, and may come to the question of its origin. One thing is instantly clear: it is not the mere collection of a scholar or littératueur. Religious and political motives, not literary motives, have guided the selection and arrangement. Further, the division into two portions, and only two, is meaningless

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25 Compare that in the opening of the Delian hymn itself (2-13).
26 In the conception of 'Olympus' the *Hymn to Apollo* wavers between sky and mountain. Here it is rather the sky, but the Pician mountain apparently is 216, and a mountain (the Trojan?) certainly in 98. The compiler, having no interest in the doubt, has left it as it stood in his materials.
27 See *Hymn. Apollo*, 214 f., which, if we suppose it detached from the Delian narrative, probably represents the Pythian conception very well. Several places on the mainland claimed the birth.
28 *Bain*, 1 f. foll.
and destructive. As a literary composition it is divisible into four distinct parts at least; and in its spirit it is not divisible at all, but makes one whole. Its point of view is Ionian, Delian, and above all things anti-Delphian. Earlier than the sixth century B.C. it cannot have been composed, nor later. In the fifth century and later times Delphi had indeed enemies enough; but they used other literary weapons, and far more formidable, than those of this diachronistes. It was then for many reasons too late to set Delos against Pytho. These who honoured either, like Aeschylus, were anxious only to establish, if possible, some harmonizing creed, which might resist the increasing assailants who cared for no oracle at all. In what place the 'hymn' was composed, we could not perhaps guess from internal evidence; but here external evidence, if we will listen to it, comes to our aid. The tradition which fixes at Athens, in the age of Pisistratus, the arrangement of the works of Homer, that is to say of course not the Iliad and the Odyssey as such, but all that was 'Homer' in the common opinion of that time and place, a tradition which was thought worthy of recognition by Cicero (surely, all things considered, no mean witness), is to me quite credible and probable in its fullest extent; although it has, I think, even when accepted, less effect on the 'Homerian question' as usually defined than friends and enemies sometimes assign to it. But even those who, so far as it affects the unity or the analysis of the great epics, would reject it, will probably admit that it may well be true of the Hymn. Of the Hymn to Apollo at least it is almost certainly true. There were in the sixth century very few Greek cities indeed where book-literature (and a cento implies book-literature) yet existed. But when there was one, it was Athens. There can then have been, one would think, few Greek cities or governments from which such a religious pasquinade (for such it is) against the sanctuary of Parnassus could expect encouragement. Delphi was too generally respected. But there was one such government; and that was the dynasty of Pisistratus. It is notorious that this family, in their capacity as chiefs or aspiring to be chiefs of the Ionians, were patrons and benefactors of Delos; that, for this reason probably, as well as from the general opposition of the Pythians to 'tyrannies', they had with the Dorian Delphi a standing quarrel; that their enemies were in league with Delphi, enriched Delphi, were steadily supported by Delphi in their designs against the 'despots of Athens', and by the help of Delphi were eventually enabled to overthrow them. To the taste of Pisistratus or Hipparchus nothing could have been more acceptable than a group of rhapsodies or rhapsodical fragments relating to the history of Apollo, in which, with the aid of a little pious forgery, it was made to appear that, according to the best authority, and due regard being had to the traditions

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66 To the sanctuary of Apollo Pythius at Athens Pisistratus and his family were conspicuously attentive (Thuc. vi. 54; Harrison, Mythology, etc., of Athens, p. 262). If these benefactions were intended to propitiate Delphi, they failed, as they naturally would. To fix the god in Athens would be the best possible way of deterring his admirers from going elsewhere; and under the circumstances there can be little doubt that this was the object. The party of Pisistratus, as we shall see, did not admit that Apollo Pythius belonged to Pytho.
even of Pytho itself, the oracle on Parnassus was a foundation comparatively modern, unlucky and unsatisfactory from the first; older perhaps than some colonies of the recent invaders, like Thebes, but younger than all the sanctuaries in a better part of the world, Delos, Claros, even Miletus; compromised by an unfortunate name and an unhappily chosen priesthood; and owing its very existence in that place to a deception practised upon the founder; that Apollo from the first had foreseen danger to the virtue of the administrators from the peculiar nature of their business, and had foretold the crushing punishment by which, as every one knew, the greedy, indolent, avaricious corporation had recently been overwhelmed.

Athens herself receives in the hymn just the same quiet, incidental notice as in other 'works of Homer'. In tracing the extent of Apollo's Aegaeon realm, 'the demos of Athens' is mentioned as a part of the coast (30).

This is no place to enter into the question of 'the Attic interpolations' in Homer, especially as this particular reference at any rate may well be from the original hand. It is however worth remark that 'the demos of Athens', a political description, is unique in this geographical catalogue, where Sounion, if anything in Attica, would have stood more naturally beside Athos, Mimas, and Mycale; while on the other hand the 'demos', original or interpolated, would well please a democrat who posed as champion against an oligarchy, and whose government appears to have been in fact thoroughly popular. For the full-fledged anachronisms of Aeschylus the time was not yet come.

But whether this mention of Athens be genuine or not, there are two passages in the cento, of which the full bearing becomes perceptible only when we conceive them as addressed primarily to an Athenian audience. When the Cretans arrive at Crisa, and before they are conducted to Parnassus, by command of Apollo they build an altar on the shore, and, in remembrance of his boarding their ship in the form of a dolphin, worship him there by the name Delphínios (495). This dolphin-god was the favourite Apollo of sailors, especially Ionians, and doubtless had at Crisa, where every cult was in process of time represented, such an altar and legend, though they are not apparently mentioned elsewhere. Now the compiler, who bestows fourteen verses upon the Pythian temple, and on the rest of the Pythian treasures not a verse, gives thirty to the building of this altar, and to the legend connected with it one hundred more. From a Catholic point of view the disproportion is monstrous: but at Athens—where Delphiónios was perhaps, next to Πατήρ, the most venerable of Apolline titles, where the Delphinion and the Python lay close together, so close that it must be doubtful whether they were not once parts of the same sanctuary—at Athens the altar on the Crisanon shore might naturally appear, as the com-

27 Enum. 10-14, with the commentaries. 28 Preller, Gr. Mythol. i. 164.
piller makes it, the most interesting and important object in the territory. We may note in passing that with these associations Athenian auditors could scarcely fail to take as intended the description of the first ministers of Pytho as 'Cretans from Minos' city of Chossus'; for it was at the Athenian temple of Delphinius that Theseus had made his offering before setting out for Chossus, to deliver his countrymen from the cruelties of the wicked king Minos.

And the compiler has another use for this altar. The resemblance between Delphinius and Delphos, though not very close and never, so far as I am aware, treated as of first-rate importance by the Delphians, to whom this aspect of the deity was comparatively uninteresting, was obviously open to remark. Now in the hymn, Apollo, after naming himself Delphinius, declares that the altar itself, because to the sight of the sailors he seemed a dolphin, shall be called (strangely) Epophios and (still more strangely) Delphios or Delphios:

493 οὖν μὲν ἐγὼ τὸ πρῶτον ἐν ἑραμέθει πόντῳ ἐλθόμενος δελφίνις θοῦς ἐπὶ νῆσος βροντοῦ, ὦς ἐμὸς ἐν χειρὶ Δελφινὸς αὐτὰρ ὁ βορμὸς, αὐτὸς Δελφιώς καὶ Ἑπόφιος ἔσβεται αἰεί.

That it was called the βορμὸς ἐπόφιος (in the common sense of conspicuous and without reference to any legend) is likely enough; being on the shore it was probably a sailors' land-mark. But whether it was ever called Delphios, for this or for any reason, we may take leave to doubt. Why not Delphinius? The form Delphios itself is odd, though not so odd as Pythios or Pythios, which the compiler has bestowed on the deity of Pytho (373), evidently for the purpose of dissolving, if possible, or at all events not recognizing, the popular appropriation to that place of the widely worshipped title Pythios. At least it is extremely remarkable that in 350 lines about Pytho he never uses this title at all. And it must in fairness be said that Pythios, in spite of the Pythians, is not derived from Pytho, which, if it was to make anything except Ἐπόφιος, might be imagined to make Πυθίος as well as Πυθίος: Pytho may (or may not) have been named after Pythios, but that is a different thing. Nor did it lie with the Delphians at any rate to make a difficulty about the quantity of a vowel. The retort was ready (nor can I doubt that the compiler meant to suggest it) that if Pytho, Πυθίος, could at Delphi be explained to mean place of inquiry (πενθε-), though any man's ear would tell him that it meant place of decay (πεθ-), then it must be indifferent to Delphi whether the local name for the god was Pythios or Pythios, and those who preferred to use Pythios in this connexion were at liberty to do so. In short, the whole business about the derivation of the name Pytho is a controversial jest and, as such, not ill managed. From the brief and allusive way in which it is introduced, we may conjecture that it was current at the time among the circle to which the author belonged. But to return to Delphos. That the altar really bore this strange name, I do not
believe, and perhaps no one believes. Why then did the compiler say that it did or should? For a reason of the same sort as that which made him distinguish *Pythios* from *Pythioi*. At the date of the compilation, Delphi, the town at the sanctuary, though comparatively a modern city, must have been famous for half a century at least, probably more, as the acknowledged capital of the holy territory. That *Delphicos, The Delphian*, as a title of Apollo, gained every day in vogue and renown, was undeniable, but to the compiler intolerable. Accordingly he proposes on this point also to correct, as it were, a popular error. A name not unlike "Delphian" was indeed connected with Apollo; but it was not exactly a title of the god, and had nothing to do with the upstarts on Parnassus. It belonged to a highly respectable altar miles away from Delphi; and had been bestowed by Apollo Delphinius, in honour of himself, long before Delphi existed. Delphi had seized the altar, with the territory in which it stood, and hence the popular confusion. The author would doubtless have preferred to call the altar *Delphicos* (or *Δελφίω*), or *Δελφίων* (or *Δελφίων*), without alteration; but if he had, the link with *δελφίων* (or *δελφίων*), weak enough at best, would have been thinned at breaking. So by way of a bridge, he manufactured, as in the case of *Φοίβος*, a *νοοθέτης* to which, as he humorously assumes, his adversaries at any rate, by their own practice, are debarred from denouncing. The name of Delphi occurs in a short hymn to Artemis near the end of the collection (xxvii):

ερχεται εις μεγα δώρα κασιρήτωα φίλοι
Φοίβου Απόλλωνος, Δελφίων εις πιστα δήμον.

But that hymn betrays no trace of the spirit which animates the *Hymn to Apollo*; and must have been added, perhaps long after, by another hand.

The extraordinary interest of the compiler in this altar is still further shown by the fact that it is the sole work of human hands in the territory of Crisa, the temple itself not excluded, for which permanency is even so much as anticipated. It is to be *Delphios* and *Εψευθοί* 'forever' (aiet), a way of speaking which seems clearly to imply that it will exist. But to the temple no more is promised than that it is to be 'forever a theme of song',

ἀµφὶ δὲ νῦν Ἰνασσον ἀθέσθατα φίλις ἀνθρώπων
κτιστώτων λάεσσιν, ἀοίδων ἐμεναι αἰεὶ.

a species of eternal duration which might have been safely predicted for Troy. As a fact, when this hymn was framed, the particular temple here described, the building of 'Trophonious and Agamedes', was a ruin, and the author and his patrons would have been more than content if the building of the Alcaeus had never arisen in its place. In adapting the description he has had regard to the actual state of the case.

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The line is commonly supposed to corrupt, but only because of the unexplained *Να*. Ersati.

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286—289. *Σερνίων*, perhaps rightly.
Athenian interest may also account for the fifty lines on the birth of the monster Typhaon or Typhoeus,\(^{41}\) which the compiler, not without difficulty, has wedged into the story of the Pythian snake. So far as appears, either in the hymn or (I believe) elsewhere, Pythio had no connexion with Typhaon nearer than that the snake and Typhaon were both Titanic prodigies.\(^{32}\) In this narrative the link is simply that Apollo, boasting over the slain snake, cries 'No Typhoeus, no Chimaera can help thee now!' Even in the name, the interpolation, using Typhaon, does not agree. It is therefore plainly inserted, and inserted not for the sake of Pythio, but for some strong intrinsic interest which determined the compiler to make a place for it; and this interest is apparent, if he was an Athenian. The only personage who derives glory from the legend is Athena, whose prodigious birth, that favourite myth of the Athenians, was, according to this version, the cause which moved the jealous Hera to parody the miracle by producing on her own account the foul Typhaon. This at Athens would be reason enough for preserving it; but for foisting it into the legend of Pytho something more seems wanted, and may be conjecturally suggested. The effect of the conjunction is to bring into view the enmity between Apollo and Hera. Now the Pythians appear to have had neither dislike of Hera, nor ground for it. Her foundations were no rivals of theirs, for she had scarcely an oracle in Hellas. But the Delians, with reason good, were desperately jealous of her, and in the latter part of the sixth century more jealous than ever; since their chief competitor for the worship of the Aegean islands was the Hera of Samos, whose temple was then receiving or expecting the stupendous aggrandisements of Polycrates. In the Delian Hymn accordingly, where Samos is duly catalogued among the constituents of Apollo's kingdom (41), the enmity of Hera against Leto and her son is the very base of the local legend (47, 99); and it is intimated that Samos in particular had reason to envy the braveness and foresight by which the barren little rock secured a possession more precious than fertility:

\[
\text{ai de mal} \varepsilon \tau \rho \omega \mu \nu \varepsilon \kappa \iota \alpha \iota \delta \varepsilon \mu \nu \varepsilon \gamma \phi \iota \varepsilon \beta \omega \varepsilon \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma , \varepsilon \nu \varepsilon \tau \varepsilon \theta \varepsilon \varsigma \nu \varepsilon \iota \nu \varepsilon \kappa \o\varsigma \nu .
\]

Samos, which is in fact exceedingly fertile, is the only place in the catalogue which has an an epithet of this import:\(^{33}\) it is Σάμος ἵδρηλος, an island of gardens, orchards, and water-meadows, like that of the Cyclopes in the Odyssey.\(^{34}\) The compiler therefore, by putting into his composition about Pytho a legend unfriendly to Hera, reinforces his general theory that the true, original, universal Apollo is the Apollo of Delos. So also it is a Delian sentiment which is expressed in what are certainly words of no Pythian

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\(^{41}\) 306—355.

\(^{32}\) And perhaps that Typhaon was the mate of the snake. The language of the hymn (333—355) is obscure, as well it might be.

\(^{33}\) Chios, the home of the poet, is λαμπουρτοτης; but whatever this vague praise may imply (a modern may without shame confess an ignorance common to Aristophanes), it did not require richness of soil, for it was the favourite designation of Athens.

\(^{34}\) Od. ix: 183.
and perhaps the compiler's own, where the reproach of Delos for barrenness is retorted upon the glen of Parnassus (529). The retort might be easily parried, for Crissa (as the author knew) was a rich country. But it is good enough to throw at a heretic.

Lastly the connexion of the cento with Athens and with the policy of Pisistratus may possibly throw some light on the investigation, which we left incomplete, into the motives of the compiler in choosing and disposing the legend of Telphusa. Intrinsic interest this story, in the shape which he has given it, can scarcely have had for him or for anybody. No one gains any credit by it; and if Apollo loses some, by being exhibited as on this occasion anything but infallible, this can scarcely have been a prime object to the author, since Apollo, whether for the moment in Phocis, Boeotia, or wheresoever, is the god of Delos after all. Considering the very little that is now known concerning the history of the time, many points we must certainly miss; and it would not be surprising, if we were here entirely at a loss. But a guess may be hazarded.

Telphusa, as we saw, recommends to the god the choice of Parnassus, because there his sanctuary, worship, and pilgrims would be free from the noise of animals, whereas at her spring, by a road in the open country of Boeotia, horses and mules were accustomed to water. In this so far there is nothing suspicious. The quietude of Pytho, its security from the bustle of common traffic, must have been felt as an advantage by devotees so earnest and spiritual as the Pythians once had been; and it is natural that a legend of theirs should dwell upon it. But it is surely not so natural when Telphusa is made to add, 'here a man will be wanting to gaze at fine chariots and the prancing of swift steeds, instead of at the great temple and abundant treasures therein.' In the first place the thought is vulgar, compared with the rest of her speech, which points distinctly to the disturbance of worship, not to a mere competition between shows. And further, if she here refers only to the common sights of a road (and there is nothing to suggest that she means anything more, or that the neighbourhood exhibited anything more), it is surely rating the splendours of Apollo's temple rather low, to suppose that they could not prevail against such distractions as these. But however this may be, and whether the text is unaltered or touched up by the compiler, nothing could suit him better than to give it notoriety. For in his time it had become a satire. The importance of protecting Apollo's pilgrims from the seductions of 'fine chariots' and 'swift steeds' would be a topic of singular irony, when by far the most illustrious function connected with Pytho was the celebration of the Pythian Games. After the Crisaean war, as every one knows, this institution was 'restored', that is to say, converted from a festival mainly or solely musical into an exhibition of athletics and chariot-racing, which rapidly became one of the chief national gatherings of Hellas. This magnificent success marks

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33 Schol. ad Aeschylus Fr. 2. 34 See 433.
the climax of Delphi, and also (it may perhaps be thought) the first step in her inevitable decline. It was a moral descent for Delphi to become the rival of such a place as Olympia, whatever might be the profits of the business. But be that as it may—and undoubtedly the Athenians had no more notion than the rest of the world that the future of Delphi as a religious foundation was imperilled by her apparent triumph—the new institution must have been detestable to the family of Pisistratus. The party of their enemies the Alcmaeonidae was connected not only with Delphi but peculiarly with the Pythian Games, for one of the principal founders and first victors was Clisthenes, prince of Sicyon, from whom by female descent the Alcmaeonidae derived much of their wealth and importance. Nor would it make the sentiments of Pisistratus more cordial, that the Athenians had zealously co-operated in the establishment of the Pythia, for this (we are told, and it is likely) was connected with the memory of Solon and 'Liberty'; nor that the Great Panathenaea, founded or remodelled by himself, competed for national favour against the Pythia, and with less success. In short, the Pythia were an embodiment of all that the Pisistratidae had most reason to dread and dislike; and this is perhaps a sufficient reason why a Pythian legend, which might be interpreted as implying that Apollo would be little pleased to see his solemn and secluded oracle become the patron of chariot-races and horse-races, should have been eagerly admitted into a collection of sacred poetry formed under Pisistratean auspices. Delos had nothing to lose by the suggestion; for she had no such splendours, nor possibly could have. Such simple attractions of this kind as she could offer (boxing-matches and artistic dancing) are noticed in the ancient poem with which the compilation begins. And it is to be observed that while on the hippic or even the gymnastic associations of Pytho and Crisa the composition is absolutely silent, their association with music, which did in truth belong to the peculiar religion of the place and had no connexion with the new ambitions of the sixth century, is carefully noted as a true and original characteristic, older even than the oracle itself.

Of Apollo's journey, up to the time of his arrival in the neighbourhood of Thebes and the beginning of her story (which includes or included the now irrelevant remarks about Orestes), only a brief outline is preserved by the composer (§ 14—228). Besides the non-existence of Thebes, which,

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49—150. For authorities on the foundation of the Pythia see Grose, Hist. Greece, ii. chap. 22. The contrast between the story of Telephus in the hymn and the subsequent fortunes of Pytho is noticed by Grose; but as he assumes what appears to me impossible, that the hymn is an undated product of Pythian religion dating from the seventh century, he sees this matter and others in a false light.

20 183.

+++ The fact that Orestes was saved, to Poseidon (v. 230) is taken by Grose as explaining why Apollo did not settle there. This however is not easily to understand, since at Pytho also Apollo had predecessors, Poseidon himself for one (Pausanias 10, 5, 6), and he might have negotiated with Poseidon for Orestes as well as for Pytho. The lawyer of the existing hymn ignores the early history of Pytho, because it is his purpose to diminish its dignity. But it is incredible that any true Pythian ever did so.
taken in connexion with the lower date assigned to the whole proceeding in comparison with that of Ionian establishments, would be a point not unpleasing to Athenian ears, the only detail noted is that Apollo refused to build upon the plain of Leukantum in Euboea. No doubt he had rejected many places, according to the Pythians, every such rejection adding to the importance of his final choice. Why his proceedings in Leukantum should be specially interesting to the public in general, it might be hard to say; but anything about the antiquities and religion of that district is likely to have been interesting to Pisistratus and his family, who resided for years in Eleusis.

We have now noticed and explained every part of the composition except the formal passage in which the theme of the Pythian foundation is prefaced by the proposal and dismissal of other subjects (207—213). Here would have been the opportunity, if the composer had so chosen, to make some little amends to Pytho for the deficiencies of the rest, and to give a line to one or two of the legends which, as we know from other sources, were vital to the religion of the place, a word to the alliance between Apollo and Bromios, to the birds whose meeting marked the place of his holy stone, to some one at least of the hundred stories which illustrated the power, the wisdom, the moral influence of his oracle, Laius, Oedipus, Polynices, Aegeus, Acrisius, Admetus, Orestes. There is not a syllable to the purpose. The only part of the deity's 'abundant praise' for which the writer finds room is a scrap of a catalogue like Leporello's, enumerating his fights in the field of wooers and love; how to woo the Amazan maid thou didst encounter with Iphigenia, son of Elation, that god-like cavalier; or how with Phorbas Triopian-born, or with Eretheus; or how with Lenæus and Lenæus' dame, thou on foot, he charioted, but... and here an hiatus. Why the compiler finds the topic convenient is plain. It comes in naturally after the birth and growth of the god in the Delian Hymn; it is a glimpse, if we may say so with reverence, of his earlier years. It thus leads us naturally to view the subsequent foundation of Pytho in the chronological relation intended. There is nothing Pythian about it, quite the contrary. It is 'theology' of the common Greek kind, the kind represented by the Hymn of Delos, where Apollo, with his 'Mine be the lyre, and mine the bended bow,' is just a glorified young Ionian, having the physical and the aesthetic aptitudes desired by the antique ephæbus, and wanting chiefly successes in love to complete his type. If the doctrine of Pytho had run upon such things as these,

46 οὖν Ἁλκιδίης αὐτόν Ἀλκιδίητον δύομεν, ἀλήθεια, δ. 8. Ἕλλας, ποιήσας Τυλείας γ' [παραφθένη].
The last word simply means 'was missing,' and marks the hiatus. Possibly (Schleiermacher cited in Burnet's preface) Τυλείας γ' is a spurious insertion. As I have said before, I see no reason to think that the passage in this document ever was completed. It is a mere 'common form' (cf. Ἀπο. 10 foll.), such as the writer might fill up according to his taste or the taste of his audience. All that the compiler has done (and for this we are much obliged to him) is to indicate how he would fill it up. The legends alluded to are imperfectly known and probably varied. They are manifestly here supposed to be all of the same erotic type, and this is the only point of significance.
Delphi would have had no greater fate, and no higher place in the history of religion, than Delos actually had.

Here we must end. To consider what may be the bearing of these considerations on the greater works of Homer, or even on the rest of the Hymns, is too much for the present occasion.

A. W. Verhall.
THE CHEST OF KYPELOS.

[Plate I.]

§ 1.—Introductory.

The restoration of lost works of art in accordance with the descriptions of ancient authors and the monuments which serve to illustrate them presents problems which can never fail to be attractive to archaeologists. Nor has there been any lack of such attempts at reconstruction. The descriptions which we owe to Pausanias of the chryselephantine statues of Phidias, the paintings of Polygnotos, the chest of Kypelos, and the throne at Amyclae, have formed the text of such works, which reflect with considerable accuracy the standard of archaeological knowledge prevailing at the time to which they belong, and the quantity and quality of monumental evidence available. A glance at the Wiener Vorlegetätter for 1888, Plate XII., where the successive restorations attempted of the Himperisia of Polygnotos are reproduced side by side, will illustrate this; and even since that year a further step in advance has been taken by Robert’s publication 2 of his admirable restorations of both the great friezes of Polygnotos, which may be held to represent the nearest approximation to the style of that painter which the discoveries and investigations of the last few years have enabled us to make. The restoration of the chest of Kypelos has not hitherto had the same attention expended upon it; yet it has been fortunate in having received one treatment of a thoroughly scientific character, viz. the work of Overbeck referred to above. Of its other critics only two have attempted a graphic reproduction; and of those one, that of Quatremère de Quincy, 3 may

1 A summary of the earlier literature of the subject will be found in Overbeck, Ulber die Lade des Kypelos (Abhandlungen der kgl. Sächs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Classe, 1885). References may also be made to the following recent works dealing with the chest: Dumenet et Chaplain, Les Gréques de la Grèce propre, I., ch. xxv, pp. 221-225; Klein, Zur Kypelos der Kypelos (Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1884, vol. xviii.); Collignon, Histoire de la Sculpture Grecque (1892), vol. I, pp. 94-100; Overbeck, Geschichte der griechischen Plastik, vol. I, pp. 64-67 (1892); Brunn, Geschichte der Kunstgeschichte, vol. I, pp. 171-178 (1893); Furtwängler, Meisterwerke der griechischen Plastik, pp. 729-732 (1890).

2 Die Himperisia des Polygnotos, Halle 1892; Dies Himperisia des Polygnotos, Halle 1893.

3 Le Jupiter Olympien, Pl. III, IV.
be mentioned only to be dismissed. When it appeared, the time was not ripe for such an attempt, in the absence of the monumental evidence which we now possess, nor was its author, owing to the very defects of his qualities, equal to a task which involves a severe restraint of the imaginative faculty. The other reconstruction, that of Pantazidis, is indeed later in time than that of Overbeck, but must be pronounced to mark a retrogression rather than a stage in progress. It returns to a principle of arrangement which, after the researches of Jahn, Overbeck and others, was no longer tenable, and is, in fact, now universally rejected; it only deals with a portion of the chest, and it consists in a series of somewhat rude sketches whose value in assisting the imagination to conceive of the original cannot be pronounced a high one. Overbeck’s work is on the other hand of very great importance; his principles of reconstruction are in the main, as I believe, the right ones; but it stands in need of revision in many details, mainly owing to the largely increased material which has since come to hand. Since 1865 our knowledge of archaic art generally and of Corinthian art in particular has been enormously extended by discoveries of metal-work and pottery; and thus, while Overbeck was obliged to take the François vase as his pattern for the general style of his restoration, we can now attempt with some confidence to reproduce the specially Corinthian features of the original monument. Such an attempt can, of course, lay no claim to finality: in a few years it must inevitably be superseded as the archaeological horizon widens; it will be sufficient if it represents faithfully the standard of accuracy attainable at the time. It is in this spirit and hope that I have endeavoured to reconstruct the chest of Kypselos. The suggestion I owe to Professor Gardner, whose constant help and advice have been available during the work. I was also fortunate in securing the services of Mr. F. Anderson junr., as a draughtsman, whose long experience of drawing from originals made his aid invaluable in the execution of the designs.

§ 2.—The Historical Tradition.

The story of Kypselos and his house is placed by Herodotus in the mouth of Sokles, the Corinthian envoy, who expresses the feelings of the Spartan allies when summoned in 505 B.C. to deliberate as to the restoration of Hippias at Athens. In this dramatic form Herodotus clothes one of those discursive narratives which give an epic flavour to his work, and at the same time points the moral which the Greek never tired of drawing from the evils

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*Abgesetz, 1880, Pfl. A. B. F.*

*O. Jahn, Hermes, iii. 192; Hirt, De fonsibus Panassiae in Elisca, p. 36 sqq.; Klein, op. cit.; Kalkmann, Panassiae der Perieget, p. 98; Garlitt, Uber Panassias, pp. 168 ff.; Furtwängler, op. cit.; Knapp, Die Kypseliden und die Kypselidai (Correspondenzblatt für die Gelhertswasserkunst Württembergs, 1888, pp. 23-45, 83-126), has not yet published the second part of his treatise, which is to deal with the offerings of the Kypselidai; but cf. Furtwängler, p. 729.

*v. 92.*
of tyranny. We may regard the narrative as embodying the fears and hatred of the restored aristocracy of Corinth. The story as told by Herodotus runs as follows:—Corinth was ruled by a close oligarchy, the Bacchiadai. Labda, the daughter of Amphion, being lame, was forced to marry outside the charmed circle and became the wife of Ection, the son of Echekrates of Petra, a descendant of the Lapithae and Kaineus. The Delphic oracle predicted that their child should 'chastise' Corinth, and the Bacchiadai therefore sent ten men to kill it soon after its birth. But the infant smiled on its murderers, dieq ὑγιής, and was passed from hand to hand and given back to its mother, not one having the heart to kill it. As they went away, however, they repented, and returned to accomplish their task; but Labda had overheard their conversation, and had hidden the child ἐν τῷ ἀθραστήτατοι οἱ ἔθαιντο ἡμεῖς, ἐν κυψέλην. They could not find it, and at last returned to the Bacchiadai and said that they had performed their task. The child was called Kypsenos in memory of his escape, and when he came to manhood ἐπεγείρθη τε καὶ ὣς Ἰωρεινοῦ.

The legend belongs to the class of which the story of Cyrus is the most typical example. It is not met with again in literature before the time of Plutarch,  who in his 'Banquet of the Seven Sages' makes the poet Chersias speak as follows, after briefly relating the story in the form given by Herodotus:—διὸ καὶ τόν οἶκον ἐν Δελφοῖς κατεσχέσας ὁ Κύψελος, ὡσπερ θεοῦ τότε τοῖς κλαυθμοῖς ἐπισκότος ὅπως διαλίθῳ τοὺς ζητοῦντας.

It was in the lifetime of Plutarch, or at latest shortly after his death that the rhetorician Dio Chrysostomes visited Olympia and there saw, as he tells us incidentally in his Τριείκος λόγος,9 the wooden chest (κείσωτόν) which Kypsenos dedicated, standing in the ὄντισθόδωμος of the temple of Hera.

About half a century later Pausanias wrote his 'Handbook to Greece.' Without entering into details as to the controversies which that work has raised, it may be sufficient to say that, in my opinion, no candid inquirer who visits the sites described with Pausanias in his hand will doubt that the writer speaks as an eye-witness, just as no reasonable critic, bearing in mind the nature of second century literature, will deny that the book is in part a compilation from earlier sources. Pausanias, then, saw at Olympia a chest (Λαύραι), in which, he tells us, Kypsenos the tyrant of Corinth was hidden by his mother, when the Bacchiadai endeavoured to find him at his birth. In memory therefore of the deliverance of Kypsenos his family called the Kypselidae, dedicated the chest at Olympia. Chests were in those days called by the people of Corinth κυψέλαι; and it was from this that the name Kypsenos, as they say, was given to the child.

Such are the materials with which historical criticism has to deal. The legend it puts aside; but what was the chest which Dio Chrysostomes and Pausanias saw at Olympia? We do not know how soon the story of Kypsenos' miraculous deliverance arose; and there would therefore be no

* ii. 163 F.  ** xii. 325 B.
antecedent improbability in the supposition that the chest was dedicated, if not by Kypselos himself, as the earlier author states, at least by his descendants, especially as we know that Periander sent offerings to Olympia, and particularly the famous golden colossal statue of Zeus. Or we might adopt the slightly modified view suggested by Klein, and regard the chest as the ‘speaking device’ of the Kypselidai, with a kind of heraldic significance. This would not be out of harmony with the spirit of the time, and the chest would form the starting-point for the growth of the legend. But modern criticism has not rested here. We cannot afford to pass over in silence a series of arguments which have been adduced of recent years, and which are not without a certain cumulative force, whose tendency is to cast a doubt on the connexion between the chest described by Pausanias and the family of Kypselos.

The question was first raised by Otto Jahn, who called attention to the fact that Pausanias, in describing the third band of the chest, on which battle-scenes unexplained by inscriptions were represented, adds that two explanations of the mythical subject were given by the ἡγγηραῖοι, neither of which was drawn from Corinthian legend, and therefore suggests a third of his own invention derived from the local mythology of Corinth, in order to satisfy the claims of probability. Jahn concludes that the ἡγγηραῖοι who explained the scene without reference to Corinthian history must have been unaware of any connexion between the chest and the house of Kypselos, and are therefore not to be identified with the local νεωροὶ who showed the sights of Olympia to Pausanias, but are earlier authors from whose works Pausanias compiled his account. This date would be a matter of conjecture, but at least it would be shown that the story connecting the chest with the Kypselidai was of comparatively recent origin. But this argument is not decisive. It is no doubt true that Pausanias does use the word ἡγγηραῖοι, not only of νεωροῖ, but also of authors. But this proves nothing for the case before us. And in view of the numerous scenes represented on the chest which have no connexion with Corinth, it cannot be maintained that an interpreter would necessarily feel himself bound to Corinthian legend. As a matter of fact, both the explanations given are drawn from the history of Elis, which would seem to point conclusively to the traditional tale of local interpreters.

Kalkmann added a second argument. Plutarch in the passage quoted above illustrates the story of Kypselos by reference not, as would seem natural, to the chest, but to the shrine at Delphi. Hence, concludes Kalkmann, he was acquainted with the tradition as to the chest. This argumentum ex silentio is reinforced by Furtwängler, quoting the opinion of Knapp, who has made a special study of the history of the Kypselidai, but has not yet published the whole of it. Besides the story of Herodotus, there is a divergent tradition as to the rise of Kypselos to power, preserved to us

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** Herman, iii. (1859) 192.  
** Quatius, p. 103.  The phrase τις μίας ἔτην.  
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in the fragments of Nicolaus of Damascus, but traceable with practical certainty to Ephoros. This tradition ignores the legend of Kypselos' hiding in the chest, and states that when the baby smiled on the assassins, they were moved to pity and told his father the truth. Eteion at once removed the child to Olympia, where he grew up as suppliant of the god. When he arrived at manhood he returned to Cleomae, and thence, in consequence of a favourable answer from the god at Delphi, to Corinth, where he ingratiated himself with the people, especially by his conduct in the office of polemarch, treating offenders with great leniency and remitting the share of all fines to which he was entitled.

Following the conventional career of the early Greek tyrant he used his position as προστάτης τοῦ δήμου to acquire supreme power by a coup d'état. Such is the account which we may with some confidence attribute to Ephoros, and which seems to have been accepted by Aristotle, who in the Politeia twice speaks of Kypselos as having become tyrant by δῆμαρχία. As to the value of this tradition, recent inquirers are divided in opinion: Busolt regards it as a specimen of Ephoros' rationalizing tendency applied to Herodotus' narrative and emphasizes the internal inconsistencies and improbabilities of the story. Knapp sees a confirmation of its truth in the fact that πολέμαρχος had, as we know from inscriptions, the duty of collecting fines in certain Peloponnesian states, and would therefore reject the first part, admitting it to be inconsistent with Kypselos' attainment of office under the Bacchiadai, and accept the second as derived by Ephoros from genuine tradition. But it is far more in accordance with the method of Ephoros to suppose that he filled the gap in Herodotus' account with a somewhat conventional story of the rise of Kypselos to power ἐκ προστατικῆς ἐξουσίας, embellished with details which he may have drawn from contemporary Corinthian institutions. Be that as it may, Knapp and Furtwängler hold that Ephoros could not have omitted the story of the chest, had it formed in his time one of the sights of Olympia. Therefore, the connexion was not known in the fourth century. It must be conceded that Ephoros had in all probability visited Olympia, and that the use e.g. of inscriptions as evidence was not unknown to him. But it is in the highest degree improbable that the story which the local guides retailed to visitors in connexion with the offering in the Heraeum would deter him from exercising his critical faculty on the narrative of Herodotus. The author who explained the dragon of Delphi as a robber-chief by the name of Python was not likely to be influenced by such considerations. Moreover the argumentum ex silentio is a two-edged weapon. Pindar, we are told, did not know of the tradition because he prefers to allude to the shrine at Delphi, with its legend that Apollo restrained the infant Kypselos from crying when hidden in the chest. Was this story, then, also later than the time of Ephoros? Such evidence must clearly be received with the utmost caution.

\[\text{Vinscher, Kleine Schriften, ii. 48.}\]

\[\text{Fr. 29, Muller.}\]

\[\text{Anulius, Diet. Græc. 384, 165; Thania.}\]

\[\text{88 viii. (v.) 1316a 29 ; 1316a 27.}\]

\[\text{90 Griechische Geschichte, i. 860.}\]

\[\text{Anulius, Diet. Græc. 384, 165; Thania.}\]
In my opinion, the most serious argument as yet adduced against the connexion of the chest with Kypselos is the following. The coins of Kypselis in Thrace 16 bear as their device a κυψέλη, i.e. a cylindrical jar with two handles. Sittli 17 referred to the use of the word by Aristophanes of a corn-jar 18 and argued that the Kypselis of Olympia was such a jar, cylindrical in shape, probably dedicated as a thank-offering for a plentiful harvest. Furtwängler makes a different use of the evidence thus supplied. Pointing out that the other uses of the word κυψέλη, whether of a beehive, or of the hollow of the ear, always imply a round hollow object, he regards the identification of the λάρναξ or κιβωτός at Olympia, of whose rectangular nature there can be no doubt, with the κυψέλη in which the infant Kypselos was hidden as a late and transparent fiction, thinly disguised by the words of Pausanias which reflect the popular method of solving the difficulty; the Corinthians of that time called λάρνακες by the name of κυψέλαι. 19 There is much force in this argument. The lexicographers uniformly connect the word κυψέλη with the adjective κυφός, applied to a cup by Athenaeus. The root is that of κύτταρο and the Latin ovum. Reference may further be made to the scholiast's note on Lucian, Lexiphanes (p. 145 Jacobit). Lucian employs the word κυψέλη in the sense of the wax in the human ear—a meaning derived from the second sense of κυψέλη mentioned above—and follows it up with a pun on the name of Kypselos. The scholiast in explaining it, says: κυψέλη, καὶ τὸ ὀστρακον ὀγγιζθ, ὥ τοις ύρτον ἀποτίθεται, ἐν οἷς ὁ Κορινθιόν τίραννος ἀριστέεντος ὑπὸ τὸς μητρός κατακρυβής, Kypselos ἀναμαζόθ. Clearly the form of κυψέλη presupposed by this note is that which we see on the coins of Kypselos. And does it not seem probable that Herodotus, when he tells us that Labdus hid the child ἡς τὸ ἀφαντὸ- τατον οἱ ἐφαίνεται εἰρα, was thinking of such a jar rather than a chest—the most obvious place in which to look for the hidden child?

What then are we to conclude from all this? All that is certain is that in the second century A.D. a chest was shown at Olympia and the story of Kypselos was told in connexion with it. It is improbable that it was dedicated as a κυψέλη by the Kypselid house, and uncertain when the legend was attached to it, though perhaps not before the Hellenistic period. If the argument of John be pressed, and the theory that Polemion is the source of Pausanias' explanation of the scenes he accepted, the story cannot have arisen before the second half of the second century n.c. 19 But the internal evidence of the description, as will be shown later, proves the chest to be a Corinthian work of art of the early archaic period; Periander, as we know, dedicated valuable offerings at Olympia; nor does there seem any reason why the story of Kypselos should have attached itself to the chest unless it was an offering of his family. The most reasonable conclusion then

would appear to be that the work was really dedicated by Periander, and that the story of his father’s escape was at some later period attached to it by the local tradition. This conclusion will be strengthened if it is found that other indications point to the same date.

§ 3.—FORM, CONSTRUCTION AND DECORATION. 32

The terms used by Dio Chrysostomos (ξυλόν κύβωτος) and Pausanias (λάρναξ) leave us in no doubt as to the nature of the offering. It was a rectangular chest, such as that δαιμονία λάρναξ in which Danae put to sea, and which figures in the representations of her story. We may thus put aside the theory of O. Müller 31 that the chest was elliptical in shape. Nor can we accept Sittl’s view that it was circular, based as it is upon the κυμήλη represented on the coins of Kypros, for, as has been pointed out above, they only serve to prove that the chest was not a κυμήλη in the true sense of the word. For the material we have the testimony of Pausanias—λάρναξ κέδροι μὲν πεποιηται, ζώδια δὲ ἐλέφαντος ἐπ’ αὐτῆς, τὰ δὲ χρυσοῦ, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐστὶν ἑρμηνευμέναι τῆς κέδρου. Of its dimensions we hear nothing. It is unlikely that, as Schubart suggests, they were given in the lacuna which immediately precedes the description just quoted. It stood in the ὀπισθόθοδος of the Heraion, together with other offerings mentioned by Pausanias in v. 20, 1—a small couch with decorations in ivory, the δίσκος of Ipsitos, and the chryselephantine table of Kolotes. The ὀπισθόθοδος measures 8.34 m. by 3.54 m., and the chest probably stood against one of the walls. Comparing the representations of λάρνακες on vases, we might perhaps expect it to be not more than five feet in length, about half as broad, and not more than three feet in height. The lower limit of size, as has often been pointed out, is given by the shield of Αγαμέμνων on the fourth band, which was adorned with a figure of Panic and also bore the inscription

οὗτος μὲν Δῆμος ἑστὶ βρατών, ὁ δὲ ἔχειν Αγαμέμνων.

The letters we must suppose to have been inlaid in gold. Our illustration will show how these conditions may have been fulfilled. The length of the original drawing is 2.40 m., and the scenes are so arranged that they can be distributed between a long face 1.20 m. in length and two narrow ends each 60 cm. long. The heights of the five bands, beginning, as Pausanias does, from the bottom, are 8, 12, 13.5, 11 and 9 cm. respectively. These proportions are very similar to those of the five bands of the François vase.

The vertical bands of ornament are 2.5 cm. in breadth.

The question of the decorations is far more difficult. The expressions of Pausanias which have a direct bearing upon it are the following:

(1) v. 17, 6 ἀρξαμένη δὲ ἄνασκοπεύσαι κατώθεν τοσάδε ἐπὶ τῆς λάρνακος ἡ πρώτη παρέχεται χώρα.
(2) v. 18, 1 τῆς χώρας δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ λάρνακε τῆς δευτέρας ἐξ ἀριστερῶν μὲν γίνοιτο λόγῳ ἡ ἀρχή τῆς περιόδου.
(3) v. 18, 6 στρατιωτικά δέ ἐπὶ τῇ τρίτῃ χώρᾳ τῆς λάρνακος.
(4) v. 19, 1 τέταρτα δέ ἐπὶ τῇ λάρνακε ἐξ ἀριστερῶν περιόδων κ.τ.λ.
(5) v. 19, 7 ἡ δὲ ἀνατάτη χώρα, πέντε γὰρ ἀριθμόν εἰσι κ.τ.λ.

Three points seem to emerge clearly:

(1) There were five χώραι, which Pausanias describes in order, beginning with the lowest and ending with the highest.

(2) He proceeds alternately from right to left—(1), (3), (5)—and from left to right—(2), (4).

(3) The process is described as a περιόδος, which is most naturally translated 'circuit'; the verb used is περιέρα (‘to make the circuit’).

By these tests all theories of the chest must be tried. A résumé of the earlier stages of the controversy will be found in Overbeck’s work, § 2.

A. Heyne, who first attacked the problem in 1770, regarded the five χώραι as corresponding to the four sides of the chest and its lid, and this theory for many years held the field; it was embodied in the restoration of Quatremère de Quincy. But it is easy to see that it cannot be reconciled with the expressions of Pausanias quoted above, when interpreted in their natural sense: and indeed the destructive criticism of Jahn and Overbeck may be said to have driven it from the field. It was revived in 1880 by Pantazidès, who published sketches illustrating the principle: but the attempt was a failure and is rightly characterized by Klein as a case of atavism.

B. The other theories all agree in regarding the five χώραι as five horizontal bands: they differ accordingly as they assign the whole decoration to one side of the chest, or to the lid, or distribute it over three, or again over all four sides.

(a) Jahn, in his first essay on the chest of Kypselos, left the question an open one as between three sides or one. Brunn and Löschcke decided for one side only, on the ground that a certain symmetry and response could be observed in the disposition of the scenes, and that this would only be intelligible if the whole could be envisaged at a glance. Löschcke, for example, argues that the Harpies and the Boreads which close the first band on the left answer to the Gorgons and Perseus at the right-hand extremity of the second band, and that both must have been visible to the spectator at the same moment. Overbeck adds a further consideration. Brunn long ago pointed out that the chariot of Iolaos is wrongly included by Pausanias in the ἀγῶν ἐπὶ Ηελώ, and really belongs to the conflict of Herakles with

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21 A.Z. 1876, p. 113 note.
the Hydra. Pernice has conjectured that the seated Herakles mentioned by Pausanias immediately after the house of Amphiaras really belongs to that scene, comparing a similar figure on the Corinthian vase, *M. d. I. x.* 4, which shows an exact correspondence with the chest. Both these errors would be very improbable if the chariot of Iolaos and the seated figure were on the side-surfaces. Therefore the departure of Amphiaras and the Hydra-scene must have been on the front, and we are left with only the Phineus-scene and the pursuit of Peleus by Oenomaus to fill the sides: this step is actually taken by Robert. Furthermore Léschke and Klein have shown that the topmost band was in all probability occupied by two scenes only—the nuptials of Peleus and Thetis, and the combat of Herakles and the Centaurs. Is it likely that both these scenes were broken by a corner?

So much may fairly be said for the ‘one-side’ theory. On the other hand it may be urged:

(1) The responses discovered by Brunn and Léschke are problematical, and that even if they existed for the artist, it cannot be proved that he felt the necessity of consulting the spectator’s convenience.

(2) This applies also to the objection that the artist would not allow a scene to be broken by a corner. Does not the Parthenon frieze form a concrete answer to these arguments?

(3) Pernice’s conjecture is very improbable; but Brunn is certainly right in annexing Iolaos to the Hydra-group. But, as we shall see, there was probably no band of ornament separating the scenes of the lowest *χώρα*, and Pausanias, who was not necessarily acquainted with the archaic scheme of the Herakles and Hydra contest, might well suppose that a quadriga belonged to the ἀγών ἐπὶ Ηέλιος, even though he had turned a corner in the course of his περιόδων, especially if a similar phenomenon was to be observed in the case of the Centaurs on the uppermost band.

(2) Jahn, in his second treatment of the subject, followed by Overbeck in his restoration, distributes the scenes over three sides of the chest. Our drawing was also prepared with a view to showing that it was possible, without undue forcing, so to arrange the subjects that they should occupy one long and two short sides—the latter half as long as the former. It is not to be denied that some practical difficulties arose; whether they have been successfully overcome, is not for us to decide. If so, much will have been gained for the ‘three-side’ theory, whose main strength lies in the fact that it is the only theory which does full justice in every respect to the *language* of Pausanias. It has yet to be shown that the words *περιόδων, περιμένει* can, as has been asserted by Furtwängler, be used in the sense merely of going backwards and forwards—for that the force of *περί* can be not local but that it has in *περιπέτεια*, as originally suggested by Jahn, may be considered out of the question. I believe that to give the words their due meaning we must assume that more than one side of the chest was decorated.

(c) It remains to mention the theory of Klein, viz. that all four sides of the chest were covered with representations. The first objection which
suggested itself takes the form of a question. Why did Pausanias alternately proceed from right to left and from left to right? And this is really fatal to the theory. Klein argues that the general direction of the bands was given by the opening scenes, and that they were so to speak disposed σωφρονής. He would call this the application of the spiral principle to a rectangular surface. But his case breaks down in detail, as Pernice has pointed out, apart from its inherent improbability. Klein would have us reconstruct a cubical chest: the middle band only presents a continuous frieze, the other four bands form "triglyph-systems," in which three square scenes alternate with three square "triglyphs" on each face. The analogies which he adduces prove little, and, above all, it is quite impossible, as the practical necessities of drawing prove, to fit the scenes of the second and fourth bands, with their varying number of figures &c., to such a Procrustes' bed. Klein's reconstruction has therefore been justly condemned by subsequent writers.

None of the theories proposed is free from difficulties, and these have been so strongly felt by Overbeck that in his recent discussions of the subject he confesses that in the light of recent inquiry we must suspend our judgment. It may be so: but in spite of the adhesion of Braun, Lescheke, and Furtwängler to the "one-side" theory, I believe that that which assumes decoration on three sides will eventually be regarded as possessing the highest degree of probability.

§ 4.—Inscriptions.

Pausanias tells us that inscriptions were found only on the first, second, and fourth bands. They were of two kinds, those which gave the name only of the figure to which they were attached, and the metrical inscriptions, in length from one to two hexameter lines, which are found only on the second and fourth bands. Pausanias conjectures (v. 10, 10) that these were composed by the Corinthian epic poet Eumelos, referring to the similarity of style between them and the processional hymn to the Delian Apollo which Eumelos composed for the Messenians. This is clearly a groundless and gratuitous supposition of Pausanias himself. The chronographers make Eumelos a contemporary of Archias, the founder of Syracuse, and date him in the ninth Olympiad. The hymn for the Messenians cannot have been composed after the second Messenian war. But the origin of Pausanias' con-

26 Fisk, Hias, Eikelandt, p. viii; Pregler, Inscriptiones Graecae Metricae (1891), pp. 143-147. See also Kretschmer, Die korinthischen Vasenschriften (K. Z. xxi, 1888, pp. 152 ff.), and Die griechischen Vasenschriften (Gütersloh 1894, pp. 16-59; also Winkel, Die altkorinthische Thanatokhris (Leipzig, 1892), pp. 156-174.
27 Merckel (A. Z., 1890, p. 101 ff.), adopting the "three-side" theory, would go farther and say that they were continued to the front of the chest. In this he is followed by Robert; but proof is wanting, and practical necessity forces us to depart from the principle in the case of the fourth band (Ajax and Cassandra).
jecture is transparent. Eumeleos embodied the legendary traditions of Corinth in his Κορωνθιακά; and it was from a prose paraphrase of this work that Pausanias derived, mediately or immediately, the sketch of early Corinthian history which he prefaced to Book ii. There was however some question as to the genuineness of these works, and so Pausanias (ii. 1) says τά ἐπὶ λέγεται ποιήσαντι καὶ εἰ δ' Εὔμηλου γέ γεγογγαφεί. The hymn to the Delian Apollo on the other hand was admitted to be genuine (Paus. iv. 4, 1 εἴρη τε ὡς ἀληθῶς Εὔμηλον νομίζεται μόνα τά ἐπὶ ταύτα) and Pausanias quotes two lines from it in iv. 33, 2 (= Bergk, P.E.G. iv. p. 6, Kinkel, Ἐπιτομή Ἡρώων Fragementa, p. 193). They run as follows in Bergk’s restoration:—

τῷ γὰρ Θεομάτι καταπῦμος ἐπέλει Μόισα
ἀ καθαρῶ <καθαρῷ> καὶ ἐλεύθερα σάμβαλ ἐχοῦσα.

Doubtless Pausanias, noting the Doric dialect of the inscriptions, combined the fact with his slender knowledge of Eumeleos, whose genuine work was also written in dialect, and whose home was Corinth.

But Eumeleos was, as Pausanias himself tells us (ii. 1, 7), a Bacchiald, and therefore most likely to write for the Kypselid house: and moreover the early dates assigned to him in the received chronology (Ol. IV. Hieron. Eub. Chron. p. 87 Schüe., Ol. IX. id. ii. p. 88 Schüe., προσβότερος ὁν ἔπιβεβληκέναι Ἀρχή τῷ Συρακούσαι κτίσασι Κλεμ. Al. Dion. i. p. 144 Sylb.) receive confirmation from the fact that the προσώπων to the Delian Apollo must date from the days of Messenian independence.

The inscriptions as transmitted by the MSS. of Pausanias bear unmistakable traces of Doric, nor is it difficult, as Fick and Preger have done, to restore approximately their original form. Fick notes the use of οὖτος in a deictic sense as characteristically Corinthian, comparing Simonides Fr. 98 Bgk. (οὖτος Ἀδελμᾶτος—for a Corinthian) etc. and one or two slight errors in the text of Pausanias are due to a misunderstanding of the Corinthian forms of letters. Some of these inscriptions, he tells us, were written in a continuous line, others βουλαργίζων. They were inscribed ἐλεγοις συμβαλλόσεαι χαλεποῖς, which has been interpreted both of the forms of the letters and of the whole inscriptions. The latter view seems more probable. The restoration follows the practice of Attic, Corinthian, and Chalcidian vase-painters in making the inscription take its direction from the figure to which it belongs, whether from right to left or the reverse, as determined by considerations of spacing etc.

The alphabet employed is that of the earlier Corinthian vases and inscriptions. Two points only seem to call for special notice:

(i) φ does not seem to have been regularly written before liquids by Corinthians, but only before ρ and η. There are some exceptions, notably the Tyeus-Esmene vase (M. d. I. vi. 14) which has φαυτός and Ερειδέμενος, but the general rule is as stated above, and if applied strictly would exclude φ from the chest altogether. In view, however, of the appearance of the letter on two important vases in the name of Hector, I have admitted it in that case only.
(ii) Strictly speaking, the symbol Ε in Corinthian represents only 'unecht' η. This principle has been generally applied, but it has been departed from in the case of the termination of the 3rd person singular on the authority of the vase in the Louvre with the inscriptions φεύγει and οὐκέρκει (Wilisch 28), in the name Ἀργεσος from M. d. I. s. 4, and by analogy in the terminations of the names Medea and Hippodamia, and in the form Ἑρμμέας. The Corinthian dialect has been restored as far as is possible with our scanty knowledge. Fick has shown how this may be done in the case of the metrical inscriptions with but little violence to the traditional text; divergences from his restoration are mentioned in the critical notes. The chief stumbling-block is the form ἄρπαξ (v. 18, 2) where we should expect to find ἄρπαξ (as Fick restores). But Fröhner's brilliant emendation—τάν Ἐναντίον for τάν ἐκ ναοῦ—in the same line, while in itself irresistible, makes ἄρπαξ impossible. The restoration of the digamma must be attended with much uncertainty in the case of proper names, except when the monuments guide us (e.g. Ἀλέκας).

Inscriptions have been attached to all figures on bands I., II., and IV., except where their absence is expressly attested or indirectly implied by the words of Pausanias. His phrases are:

1. v. 17, 7 προσβότης ὡσὶ δὲ.
2. v. 17, 9 ταύτης τῆς γυναικός ἐπίγραμμα μὲν ἀπεστίθεν ὡσὶ ἐστὶ.
3. v. 17, 11 θυγατέρες εἰσίν αἱ Πελλοῦν· τὸ δὲ δύσμα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀλκήστιδον ἕγραμμαται μόνη.
4. ὤδ. ἀπε ὧ τῶν Ἡρακλέων ὄντως οὐκ ἀγνώστοι τοῦ τῆς ἀδέλεφτος καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ σχῆματι· τὸ δύσμα οὐκ ἐστὶν ἐπὶ αὐτῷ γεγραμμένον.
5. v. 18, 2 δῶ δὲ ἄλλας γυναίκας... φάρμακα εἰδέναι σφάξας νομίζονσιν ἑπὶ δόλως γῆς οἴδαν ἐς αὐτὰς ἐστίν ἐπίγραμμα.
6. v. 18, 4 ὡσὶς δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ αἴρη... ἡδίς μὲν ἐπὶ αὐτῷ γεγραμμένον ἐστὶν οἴδαν, δήμα ἡς ἐς ἀπανταὶ Ἡρακλέα εἰναι.
7. v. 18, 5 αἱ δὲ ἀδέλφαι Μεδοῦσης... Περσέα εἰσί διώκουσαι· τὸ δὲ δύσμα ἐπὶ τὸν Περσαῖ γέγραμμαται μόνη.

In v. 18, 3 Pausanias carefully says χιτῶνα δὲ ἐσευκονίας ἀ υ ἡ ῥ π τῇ μὲν δεξιὰ κολίκα, τῷ δὲ ἔχον ἐστὶν ὅρμαν, λαμβάνεται δὲ αὐτῶν Ἀλκμήνη. He then explains the scene by reference to the story of Zeus and Alkmene: from which we may infer certainly that Alkmene's name was inscribed, while that of Zeus was not. The principle thus established is of great value in interpreting the words in v. 19, 5, Ἀρτέμις δὲ οὐκ ἠδο μδ σφ' ἐτοι ἀργων πτέρυγας ἐγέρσασα κ.π.λ., which seem to me to point with certainty to the presence of an inscription, and thus to maintain the representation in the importance of which it has recently been attempted to rob it.

The technique of the inscriptions is uncertain. Robert supposed them to have been painted and partly obliterated by time, in order to explain the

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38 Metre is against writing Ἐμβας, as the constant spelling Ἀδβας on vases might suggest.
39 Hermes, xxiii. 488.
difficulties of v. 19, 8: but, as will be seen, a simpler remedy is there to be found, and there is more probability in the supposition that they were inlaid in gold.

§ 3.—Typology and Artistic Affinities.\footnote{The literature is widely scattered; but reference may be specially made to the works of Milchhöfer (Aufsage der Kunst in Griechenland); Leuschke (A.Z. 1876, pp. 108-119, 1881, pp. 29-61; and the three 'Derpater Programmes' of the years 1879, 1880, 1881—Die Beilagen der altgriechischen Basis, Archäologische Minikellen, Bosans und Occithia auf dem Kypselosstadium); Pfautzleig (A.Z. 1888, pp. 185-162, 1884, pp. 99-114; Der Goldfund von Kettersfeld (1883); and Olympia Textband IV, Die Bronze-

The historical tradition, such as it is, and the scanty evidence to be gleaned from the inscriptions, predispose us to believe that the chest of Kypselos was an early Corinthian work of art, dating from the first decade of the sixth century B.C. But the main burden of proof must, in view of the uncertainties of tradition, rest on the internal evidence supplied by the types and technical details. They must be compared with literature and with popular legend; with what tradition and the monuments tell us of the higher forms of art prevailing at the time; above all, with the smaller products of industrial art which have survived the ravages of time in greater quantities, and therefore form the richest mine of information as to early art-types. In the comparisons which it suggests, and which alone can enable us to assign to the chest its place in the history of Greek art, lies the chief interest of Pausanias' description.

The period of Kypselid rule in Corinth is of capital importance in the history of Greek commerce and Greek art. The time of colonial expansion was drawing to a close. Miletus and Megara held the Black Sea and its approaches against all comers, while Corinth and Chalcis, barred from the N.E. route, had taken Sicily and the Tyrrhenian Sea for their sphere of influence, though they could not exclude Megara from Sicily, nor prevent Miletus from communicating with Western Italy by the land route from Sybaris to Laos. Holm\footnote{Lange Tholke (Hist. Phil., Aufsätze E. Curtius gewidmet, 1884).} has ingeniously traced the grouping of the rival commercial powers, and brought the facts into relation with the scanty notices of the so-called 'Lelantine' war. The position of Corinth is with Chalcis and Samos\footnote{The story of Herodotus (iii. 85), whatever be its exact value, reflects only the feelings of Corinth towards Samos in his own time, which we may infer from Thuc. 1. 40.} against Eretria, Miletus and Megara. A contemporary allusion may be seen in the lines included in the collection known as 'Theogonia,' vv. 891—894.

οἱ δὲ Ἴων ἰδαλίες, ἀπὸ μὲν Κύριαθος ἀλοίπες,
Δηλίπον ά γόαθιν κεῖται οἰνόπετον,
οἱ δὲ ἀγαθοὶ φέροντες, πόλιν δὲ κακοὶ διέπουν.

ὁς δ' ἤπειραν χεῖραν ὁλέσεις γένοι.
THE CHEST OF KYPSELOS.

There is no ground for the infelicitous suggestion of Unger, that the destruction of Kerinthos took place at the end of the sixth century in the war between Athens and Chalcis (the Kypselidai being represented by Isagoras); it becomes gratuitous when we recognize that 'Theognis' is merely a collection of drinking-songs of various dates. The lines in question, like the couplet which appearing in various forms is connected with the colossus of Periander, bear witness to the hatred of the Megarian aristocrats for the Kypselid house. Kypselos strengthened the commercial position of Corinth by his colonies: Periander maintained relations with Lydia and Egypt.

The activity of Greek trade with the East had long been reflected in the phenomena of industrial art and its development; but before we examine these more closely, it may be well to note that the period of the Kypselidai saw the beginnings of Greek sculpture. The foundation of Naukratis about the middle of the sixth century, and of Cyrene in 630 brought the Greeks into direct contact with the declining civilization of Egypt. In a few years or at most decades, the impression made on the Ionians in Egypt by the works of Egyptian sculpture awakened the artistic impulse, and the result was seen in the Herakles of Erythrai and the Hera of Samos. Experiments were made in various materials, marble, bronze, wood, but notably gold and ivory. Robert has analysed the traditions which grouped the names of these early artists, so far as they were known from their inscriptions, in a connected scheme under the name of Δαιαλίδαι. It is enough for our purpose to note (1) that Dipoenus and Skyllis, the first really historical names, worked at Ambasma, a colony of Kypselos, (2) that Olympia, besides Periander's colossus of beaten gold, contained works in gold, ivory, and cedar-wood by Theokles, Medon and Dorykleidas in the next generation, as well as by Smythias, the artist of the Hera at Samos, who, as Furtwängler has shown, was doubtless Samian by birth, and should be restored to his place among the earliest of the Δαιαλίδαι. His work, as well as that of Medon and Dorykleidas, stood in the Heraion. In the ὀπισθόσκομα of the same temple stood the chest of Kypselos, likewise made of cedar-wood, ivory and gold. Can we be wrong in connecting it with the Δαιαλίδαι?

It is well to bear this in mind when we pass to the striking parallels to be drawn between the chest and the products of industrial art in metal and pottery, for we must not lose sight of the fact that it cannot be finally judged by the standards which we naturally apply to such work. The significance of this will become apparent as we proceed.


34: Reitzenstein, op. cit.

35: They clearly form a parody of the original inscription, which we can no longer restore.

36: Hist. iii. 63 (though the story itself is of doubtful value).

37: His son was named Pammachus (Stob. lám. 90 = Müller, F.H.G. iii. p. 394 from Ephesos; Artif. Pol. viii. (v) 13155 105).
Greek industrial art in the period of Kypsélos rule at Corinth was emancipating itself from the Oriental influences which had been so strongly felt in the eighth and seventh centuries. When the "second wave" of influence from the East set in, the later forms of "Mycenaean" art and the various "geometrical" schools of work existed at several centres. To fix a lower limit of time at which Mycenaean art ends and geometrical art begins is no longer possible. While the latter—though mainly developed under Northern influence—took over many Mycenaean elements, the old style lived on side by side with it, and influenced it in various degrees at various centres, until itself transformed and thus saved from extinction by fresh contact with the East, the result of which is most strikingly seen in the "Rhodian" and "Melian" fabrics of pottery. The former of these fabrics, indeed, is now held by many authorities to have its home in Argos itself, the seat of an unbroken Mycenaean tradition, since the history of the Rhodian alphabet as determined by M. Selivanoff's publication of early Rhodian inscriptions in the *Athenische Mittheilungen* for 1891 leaves no place for the Argive lambda which appears on the most famous specimen of "Rhodian" pottery—the Euphorbos pinax. I do not consider the argument a conclusive one, or even a cogent one, so long as the finds of the Argolid do not confirm the theory of a fabric of "Rhodian" *تمارع" there established—since we must allow for the individual origin of the artist, and for communication between Rhodes and Argos—but this does not affect the position that the "Rhodian" style is continuous with that of the Mycenaean period. The same continuity is to be traced in a class of monuments even more indestructible than pottery, viz. the island gems, whose fabrication extends over more than half a millennium—down to the sixth century—and whose Peloponnesian origin Mr. Evans has recently demonstrated (*J.H.S. xiii*, p. 220). But while making due allowance for the historical continuity of Greek art, as well as for the possibility of preservation in the case of precious objects, I cannot agree to the conclusion of Schneider, that in reconstructing a work such as the chest of Kypséllos we must reckon with the presence of a long-established industry in the precious metals reaching back into "Mycenaean" times. There is after all a gap between Mycenaean art and historical Greek art, not so much in time as in spirit. It is the merit of Brunn to have made it clear that with all its luxuriance and "naturalistic" character Mycenaean art did not contain the elements which could alone be developed into what Greek art afterwards became; and what is true of Mycenaean art in its best period is still more true of that art in its decadence. The creation of significant artistic types and their development was an achievement beyond its powers. It was left for a new art—the art whose beginnings go back to the eighth, but whose monuments are chiefly of the seventh century B.C. In its earlier period the stock of types which it commands is limited; they are borrowed from the decorative metal-work.

46 To which Mr. Evans (*J.H.S. xiii, 223*) adds that of Asia Minor.

26 *Säk. Berichte*, 1891, pp. 244-249.

of the East, and as yet they serve purely decorative purposes. But even in its most primitive monuments—and for the purposes of illustration the most valuable of these are the 'buccheri neri' and 'red ware' of Etruria and the earliest fragments of gold-work and stamped pottery from Greece proper and the islands—we see selection and modification at work. The alphabet in which Greek art will write its story is being formed. The Centaur, the Gorgon, the Chimera, the Griffin, the Sphinx, and kindred figures are being created, not without the direct influence of Oriental types, but with modifications which stamp them with a definitely Greek character, and often—as in the case of the Centaur—make them practically new creations. Composition, when attempted, is 'paratactic'—i.e. the simplest elements are juxtaposed, as if they were, alphabetically. The simplest case is that of the animal frieze, directly borrowed from Eastern models, but a more human interest emerges in the duel scenes, chariot-races, &c. The representation of mythical action is limited by the resources of the time; the Hesiodic Shield of Herakles—an imitation of the Homeric prototype in the unmistakable style of the seventh century—marks the position of Greek art at its time. Apollo and the Muses—the Lapithae and Centaurs—Perseus and the Gorgons—together with the hare-hunt, the duel scenes and the frieze of chariots—tell their own story. But the progress once begun is rapidly continued. The stock of types increases fast. Mythology makes its way to the front not merely by the inscription of legendary names on scenes in themselves indeterminate (e.g. the duel scene of the Euphorbos pínax or the procession of riders on the pýxis of Chares) but by the most ingenious adaptation of less obvious types to the expression of mythical conceptions. The prisoner bound to the stake of the Phoenician silver bowl (cp. Perrot iii. Fig. 543) becomes Prometheus, the simple 'crouching figure' Polyphemus. In the former case the bird whose ornamental purpose is to fill the blank space in the circular field becomes the vulture; when a larger field must be filled, the archer is added, now specialized as Herakles. Like the Hesiodic poetry, the art of the seventh century bears a distinctly popular character. The brood of monsters and fabulous beings (e.g. Geryon, Typhon, the ἄσσων γῆσων and the Harpies)—the figures of popular folk-lore (Atlas, Prometheus)—the fairy tales connected with them (e.g. from the Odyssey) is selected that of Polyphemus, (cp. Rohde Der griechische Roman p. 173 n.), while the heroic legends of the Ἰλιάδ are less popular, point unmistakably to the source of inspiration. The war waged by the popular heroes—Herakles, Theseus, Perseus—on the race of monsters furnishes a large stock of mythical subjects. The genealogy from the Hesiodic Theogony and kindred sources printed by Milchhöfer, Anfänge der Kunst, p. 155, is a most instructive document to those familiar with the monuments. The earlier of these are too scattered and isolated to permit us to frame very definite theories as to the achievements of the various art-centres: but Ionia, constantly fertilized by the stream of Oriental influence, and Chalcis, the

41 A.Z. (1884) viii. 1, ix. 1.
42 From Rhodes, Milchhöfer, Anfänge, p. 75.
city of bronze, seem to be of cardinal importance. But when the sixth century begins and the monumental evidence before us becomes fuller, we can distinctly trace two schools of art which we may broadly call 'Peloponnesian' or 'Doric' on the one hand and 'Ionic' (including Chalcidian work) on the other. The most characteristic products of the former are the bronze-reliefs which of late years have been discovered at Olympia and Dodona, in Attica and Boeotia. They are known as 'Argive'—chiefly because the Argive form of lambda occurs in the inscription Dominus on one of the Olympian plates—but though this attribution is perhaps uncertain, there is every reason to fix their origin in the Peloponnesus. To the reasons adduced by Mr. Bather in the Journal, vol. xiii. p. 240, it would be easy to add others, e.g. the suicide of Ajax, a type familiar with Corinthian vase-painters (aryballos, Mus. Nap. lxvi, fragment of lekythos, Arch. Anzeiger 1891, p. 116, derived from a Corinthian source by the artists of the François vase), occurs on the relief from the Acropolis (Ath. Mitth. xii. 123, note 3). The 'Peloponnesian' proportions which he notices, following M. Homolle in Bull. Corr. Hell. xiii. 1892, 355, are of the highest importance, for they enable us to assign to this work its place as a parallel development to early Doric sculpture, and to bring it into comparison, for example, with the Selinus metopes. This Doric art has marked characteristics. It confines itself to the narrow limits of the square or oblong field, suggested by Oriental gold-work, and by its imitation in Greece proper, probably in Corinth itself (though something might be said for tracing the gold band, J. Z. 1884, viii. 1, to Chalons)—but in der Beschränkung zeigt sich der Meister. Sometimes the type employed was purely decorative, e.g. the quadriga en face of several bronze-reliefs, of the Selinus metope and the terra-cotta in Palermo, also probably from Selinus according to Kekulé (the type is asserted to be Chalcidian), the Sphinx of another (newly-discovered) Selinus metope, the running Gorgon of the Olympia relief, the 'Persian' Artemis. But the triumph of the school is shown in its power of giving expression by severe compression and concentration to the central motive of a mythological action. Thus the stories of Ajax and Cassandra, of the mourning of Hector, of the suicide of Tenedonian Ajax—all from the tale of Troy—take their place beside the old fairy tales of Prometheus and the vulture, and the wrestling-match of Herakles with the Old Man of the Sea—all told with the utmost pregnancy and in the smallest possible compass.

'Ionic' art is of a different order. The small but striking class of Chalcidian vases, and such precious but isolated monuments as the Phineus kylix of Würzburg enable us—with the aid of inferences drawn from the hydrie of Caere and the poros pediments of the Acropolis as well as from Etruscan art, whose 'Ionic' character is well known—to form a fairly definite conception of its most marked features. Instead of the metope, we find the frieze; instead of compression, diffusion; instead of the severe selection of

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It is highly probable that the finest 'Proto-

corinthischer' lekythos proceed from Chalkis (cf. 31 ff.).
pregnant motives, a broad treatment and lavish detail; instead of a concentrated scene framed with simple ornament, an extended and continuous composition and rich ornamental bands. Perhaps however the most important advance made by Ionic artists is to be found in the substitution of 'closed' for 'open' groups, and the substitution of a more organic combination of figures for the old paraletic compositions. Most significant is the fact that while on Corinthian vases the processions of animals pass on in unbroken files, the Chalcidian or Ionic painter diversifies them with combats between individual beasts or groups in which cattle are devoured by beasts of prey.

It is natural that we should under these circumstances find divergences in the representation of the same subject by the two schools. And that this is the case has been shown in the case of Geryon, of Herakles and the Hydra, of Pelens and Thetis (for details see the commentary on those scenes), to which we may add Herakles and the Nemean lion (Reisch, *Ath. Mitth.* xi. 1887, pp. 121ff.) as a specially marked instance. The history of early art-types cannot be written until monumental evidence is more complete; and we cannot therefore estimate the value of Lischke's suggestion that such types arose in the Peloponnesus in the late Mycenaean period, migrated to Chalcis and Miletus there to be enriched and modified, and returned to find the old forms stereotyped and no longer susceptible of development. A more independent development in both centres seems to me to be in accordance with the facts as far as they are known.

But it must not be supposed that mutual influence and borrowing are excluded by our classification. The reverse is most decidedly the case. Influences from the East penetrate to the Peloponnesian workshops. The bronze-reliefs are the most strictly native product of that art: yet the Olympian plate borrows the ἄλος ἀφορ from the repertories of Eastern artists, and a similar relief from the Ptoon apparently introduces the Ionic scheme of the Hydra-contest of Herakles. The Selinus metopes show Ionic influence: the quadriga on four has been referred to already, and Maltzahn has shown that the Ionic attitude which may be illustrated by Micai, *Storia 36* (Ionic-Etruscan amphora) and by the Thespes of the 'bucchero' vase from Corneto (*A. Z.* 1884, p. 107) occurs on another metope. Most striking of all is the fact that the second series of Corinthian vases—including all the finest *vasi a colonnete*—i.e. Witsch's 'Rotinige Vazen,' are justly pronounced to be under strong Chalcidian influence. The Amphorae vases must no longer be considered a characteristically Corinthian product. Its technique is Chalcidian, and it is closely related to an Ionic amphora found in Etruria (Micai, *Storia 95*, c. infc.). The history, again, of vase-painting in Attica in the sixth century is that of the continuous crossing of Chalcidian, Ionic and Corinthian influences; this is a field which is only beginning to be worked—cp. Hotwerda's article on the 'Corinthis-Attic' vases (*Jahrbuch*...
1890) and Hauser's determination of a similar class under Chalcidian influence in the "Jahrbuch" for 1893.88

Granting the correctness of the foregoing account, what does the internal evidence supplied by the types of the chest of Kypselos enable us to infer as to its date and origin? The following propositions may be laid down with confidence.

(1) The types are with extremely few exceptions those of the art of 600 B.C. The accompanying restoration is the best evidence of this. The exceptions are mainly the following:

(a) Certain free and original compositions—especially in the uppermost band (Hephaestos and the arms, the attendants and their occupations)—also the group of Helen and Aithra. For the rest the process of reconstruction was that followed by the archaic artist in construction—viz. the selection of existing types and their transfer to new associations (so even the marriage of Medea and Jason).

(b) The type of the Kyp —a not very successful attempt at innovation—whose significance will be discussed later.

(2) The types may be separated into an earlier and later group. The first consists of those which occur in the same or very similar form on the Hesiodic "Aeschylos", Protocorinthian or Melian vases, and "buccheri" from Etruria, as well as other early monuments. Such are Herakles and the Centaurs, the duel scenes, the "Persian" Artemis, the groups of Zeus and Alkone and Memelau and Helen, as well as other equally simple groups arising from the combination of ground-types, Apollo and the Muses, Perseus and the Gorgons. To the second group belong the scenes which may be paralleled from developed Corinthian, Chalcidian and Ionic vases or from Peloponnesian bronze-reliefs. Such are the departure of Amphiarao, the funeral games, the Hydra scene, the Phineus scene, Dike and Adikia, Geryon, Ajax and Kassandra, the judgment of Paris; and with them are to be classed those remaining scenes for which parallels are not found—owing to the scarcity of early monuments—before the period of developed Attic b.f. vase-painting. In no case have we to wait for f.s. vase-painting to furnish a pattern.

(3) The artist is not limited by the traditions of a single school. It is most important to make this clear. Leschke and Milchhöfer construct the following scheme:

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/     
Chest of Kypselos (Doric).
  / \
 /  \
 Throne of Bathylkes (Ionic).
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88 The fragments published by Mr. Richards in the "J.H.S" xiii. Pl. xii. are probably not Chalcidian, as Strudwick asserted, but painted in Athens under Chalcidian influence.
Types common to both, they infer, are part of the 'erectes Gut'—of the old stock before differentiation began. This point of view is no longer tenable, and indeed advance upon it is found in such works as Loechke's often quoted dissertation 'Boeras und Oreithyia.' The true position of the chest of Kypselos may be exhibited as follows:—

(a) Composition. Both principles, the 'metope' principle and the 'frieze' principle, are present—the former in bands II. and IV., the latter in bands I., III., and V. As long ago as 1884, Furtwängler indicated this.47 He writes: 'while the earliest decorative art knows only loose, broad frieze-compositions, these are on the chest of Kypselos already in the minority, and are confined to certain places where they fulfill the decorative purposes of continuous bands, while in other parts is unfolded that wealth of single scenes which represent in its most pregnant form the central motive of a mythological action: they were probably surrounded by ornamental frames like the Argive bronze-reliefs.' This statement needs modification—the frieze-compositions are not in a minority—and Furtwängler does not deduce the consequences as to the origin of the chest which follow from it: but it was a most valuable statement in 1884. In 1890 Schneider (Prolegomena, p. 51 note) laid down definitely that bands II. and IV. must be reconstructed in the style of the 'Argive' reliefs, the other three bands presenting continuous friezes. But he erred in regarding bands I., III. and V. as narrow and purely ornamental friezes, intended to set off the broad bands II. and IV. This is contrary to the principles of early art and to the evidence of such works as the François vase. Lastly, in 1893 Furtwängler showed how the language of Pausanias countenances the view that bands I. and V. (as to III. there is no question) were continuous, unbroken by vertical bands of ornament (pointing to the use of the formula ξίνη in transition on those bands only, and to such a phrase as μετά δὲ τοῦ Αμφιαραίου της οἰκίας in the description of I.—and emphasizing the impossibility of the error made by Pausanias as to the chariot of Iolaos on any other supposition).48

(b) Types. Our position is reinforced by the analysis of the types. It is sufficient for our purpose to point to the fact that on the lowest band

(i.) The departure of Amphiarao and the funeral games of Pelias correspond closely with a Corinthian vase admittedly painted under strong Chalcidian influence, and with an 'Ionic' amphora from Etruria.

(ii.) The type of the Hydra-scene is the Ionic, not the Peloponnesian type.

(iii.) The type of Phineus, the Boréads and Harpies is unquestionably Ionic, and corresponds exactly to the Würzburg cylix.

Even in the small scene of Pelops and Oenomaus we meet with a type (winged team) only to be paralleled from the Etruscan 'buccheri' whose stock of subjects represents early importations from Ionia. For bands III.

48 Metternich, p. 727 f.
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* Knolle's discussion of the point (Studien über antikes Kunst in Griechenland, p. 67 note) is quite valuable.
and V. again Chalcidian parallels suggest themselves: the nuptials of Peleus and Thetis form a composition animated by the Ionic spirit; the Centauremachy is familiar from Protocorinthian, i.e. Chalcidian, art. Broadly speaking, then, the frieze-bands are Ionic—the metope-bands with their parallels from Argive bronze-work are Peloponnesian. But even on the latter bands we find the 'closed' types (Boreas and Oreithys, Peleus and Thetis) of Ionic origin intruding among their Doric neighbours—and I have therefore not hesitated to restore Geryon after the Chalcidian pattern under the influence of considerations of space.

For the phenomenon thus presented the most instructive parallel is presented by the François vase, which represents the work of an Attic painter of the first order—but a painter imbued with Ionic tradition. While the spirit of the great friezes is Ionic—while the Centauremachy and the return of Hephaestos to Olympus accompanied by the train of Dionysos and its horse-hoofed 'Ionic' Sileni (so Furtwängler,50 and recently Bulle, Die Silene in der archaischen Kunst, 1893, p. 5) note the significant fact that Sileni are absent from the bronze-reliefs, the Corinthian πίνακες, the metopes of Selinus, and, though Dionysos is represented, the chest of Kypselos—show this in a specially marked degree—the square fields of the handles bear a striking resemblance to the well-known bronze-relief of Olympia (see them placed side by side by Schneider, Sächs. Berichte, 1891, p. 208) and include in their decoration such a distinctly Peloponnesian subject as the suicide of Ajax. Moreover, among the frieze-compositions of the vase there are some which Schneider successfully decomposes into single elements, and of these the 'Dreifrauengruppe,' which appears in somewhat monotonous iteration in the procession of the gods, is now shown to be Peloponnesian by the remarkable relief in Count Tyszkiwicz' collection recently published by Fröhner (La collection Tyszkiwicz (1894) XVI) as to whose provenience the style leaves no doubt whatever. The pursuit of Trellos again, as analysed by Schneider, suggests by its 'paratactic' composition a Peloponnesian origin—and here we have the vase of Timonidas (on which see also Schneider, Prolegomena, p. 53) to confirm our supposition. But on the whole Ionic influence predominates in the François vase: the balance is maintained more evenly on the chest of Kypselos. Löscheke did well to recall the untimely conjecture of Bursian made in 1884 (Ersch and Grüber, art. 'Griechische Kunst,' p. 494) that the chest was the work of a Corinthian artist under Ionic influence, and to show how time had given it a justification which it did not possess when first hazarded.

47 The artist stands in a direct relation to literature. The fact that the chest is not a mere industrial product, but a work of the highest art of its time, together with the presence of metrical inscriptions, would lead us to suppose this, and may well dispense us from discussing—after Luckenbach, Schneider, Löscheke and a host of others—the vexed question whether any

50 Sitzung der Preußischen Akademie, p. 220, tracing Chalcidian influence.
Corinthian vase-painter was acquainted with the literary Epic. The following points may be noted:—

(a) The artist is acquainted with 'Hesiodic' poetry. The direct proof is given by the fact that in the inscription on band II. 9,

"Ατλας οὐρανόν οὕτως ἔχει, τὰ δὲ μάλα μεθῆσαι,
he directly parodies Hes. Theog. 518

"Ατλας οὐρανόν εὐρέως ἔχει κρατηρής ὑπ’ ἀνάγκης,
and the same dependence may be proved for the figure of the Κήρ. In the 'Ἀττικὴ Ἡρακλέως' 240 ff. we read:—

Κήρες κοίνας, λευκοῦς ὀραβευόμενος ὀδόντας ἀιμωτοῖς βλεπούσα τε, δαφνοκέρας ἀπληθοὶ τε ἀβριν ἔχων περί πιπτόντων πάσας ὀρέγει ἑντὸς αἰμα μάλας πλεῖστον ἡ πίπτουσα κοινὴτα τε ροφήματος ἀμφίadia μεν αυτὸς βάλλει δαφνιώσις μεγάλους. Ὑφίκη δ’ Ἀιδώσει κατήγη Τάρταρον ἐς κρυόνθε, ἀνῳοις ἐνεργοῖς ἀνέσι τοὺς αἰματοὺς ἀνθρώπου, τοὺς μὲν βιττασκον ὄψιν ὀλύμπου ἅψε δ’ ὅμαθεν καὶ μάλαν εὐθὺναν αὑτικοί θύναι.

On band IV. 12 we read of a figure ὀδόντας τε ἐγκυσα ὀνίου ἡμεροτέρους θηρίου, καὶ ἄλλως καὶ τῶν χειρῶν εἰσὶν ἐπικαμπεῖς οἱ δράκες. ἐπίγραμμα δ’ ἐν αὐτῷ εἶναι φησὶ Κήρα. No known art-type corresponds to the words of 'Hesiod,' while the function and features of the Κήρ do so exactly.

We may now go a step further. The artist shows his familiarity with the group of conceptions embodied in the Hesiodic Theogony by introducing many of the monsters of popular demonology whose genealogy has been referred to above: in this he follows the art of his time. But he also shows unmistakable acquaintance with another group of figures only partly represented by early monuments. These are the children of Night, who may be presented in the following order—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Θάνατος</th>
<th>Ἰππος</th>
<th>Μοῖραι</th>
<th>Κήρες</th>
<th>Ἑρμος</th>
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<tr>
<td>212</td>
<td>212</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>225</td>
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Γήρας has been included because, although not represented on the chest, it seems probable that it is to be identified with the figure on the Olympian bronze-relief No. 699 (Furtwängler, p. 102)—a type adopted by the artist in portraying Dike and Adikia. The Κήρες have been discussed already. Ἑρμος occurs on band IV. 6. The other figures demand a closer examination.

Fick (Hesiod's Gedichte, 1887) shows that the Theogony is in origin a poem composed in Boeotian dialect by a poet under Delphic influence in

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strophes of eighteen lines, but including in its present form extensive interpolations. We must then hold these elements apart. Brackets indicate the later portions.

1. SLEEP AND DEATH.

_Theog._ 211, 2. Νυξ ζ' ἐτέκε στυγερον τε Μόρον καὶ Κηρα μελαιναν καὶ Θανάτον τέκε & "Τηρον, ἐτικε δὲ φύλου Ὀνείρων.

_[Theog. 756 ff. η ζ"Τηρον μετά χερσι, καισίγιητον Θανάτου Νυξ δλον, νεφέλη κεκαλμεμένη ἱφροειδέα.]

The second passage is from a description of the underworld (720—819) which Fick shows to be a later document embedded in the _Theogony_ (on linguistic grounds). But it seems to have been known to the artist.

2. THE MOIRAI.

_Theog._ 217 ff. καὶ Μοῖραι καὶ Κηρα ἐγείνατο νηλεοποιούνι.

_[Κλωθώ τε λάθεσιν τε καὶ Ἀτρετον αὐτὲ βροτοῖς γειμομέσουι διδοῦσιν ἕχειν ἀγαθὸν τε κακὸν τε.]

The last two lines are not original—though Fick believes them to come from an early Aeolic Epic. They are repeated with slight variations in vv. 905, 6, where the three Moirai are classed with the Orae as daughters of Zeus. This too is a later addition to the _Theogony_. In its original form, then, that work did not contain the names of the three Fates. Now it was probably composed under Delphic influence (cp. Fick, p. 3): at Delphi the Moirai were two; and in the dual number they appear on the chest, in the neighbourhood of Sleep and Death (see the the passages referred to in the detailed commentary). These facts are significant.

3. DIKE is not a child of Night in the _Theogony_, but of Zeus (v. 902); but she is a prominent figure in Hesiodic poetry (especially in the song of Right and Wrong, Fick, pp. 58, 59) and it is therefore most natural to find her among the select 'mystical' types with which the artist commences the second band.

_(b)_ Relation to Homer may be traced in band IV, 8, where the scene with Agamemnon, Iphidamas and Koon is taken from _I_. But it is noteworthy that this is the only scene among so many which is certainly derived from either of the great epic poems; and it consists merely in a duel-scene to which the inscriptions alone lend a Homeric significance. This is quite in keeping with what we know of the industrial art of the time: except for such specialized duel-scenes there is little borrowing from the _Iliad_, and where it takes place, moments widely apart are fused into one (as on the oenochoe published by Fröhner, _Jahrbuch_ vii. 1892 Pl. I—'contamination' of _I_ and _Σ_) and an exact correspondence with the text is hardly ever found. A verbal reminiscence of _I_. 557 may be traceable in the inscription on II. 4, on which see the commentary.

But Pausanias sees a direct case of 'illustration' in the case of the uppermost band. It had no inscriptions, but (he says of the first two figures)
Löscheke (Dorpatser Programm, 1880, pp. 5, 6) shows that this is no proof. In every case we have a choice between various schemes, any of which would satisfy the required conditions; the number may be purely accidental: the scene was not a cave, but the θαλαμος of Circe (κ 349). Nor does the following scene—granting that the interpretation suggested by Pausanias (Nereids, Thetis, Hephaestus with the armour of Achilles) is the true one—correspond with any degree of accuracy to Σ 145 ff. Finally, the so-called Nausica in the mule-car—which Löscheke left untouched—has yielded to the solvent of criticism— and we now recognize one long frieze of figures leading to the cave on Mt. Pelion where the nuptials of Peleus and Thetis are being celebrated. The analogy of the François vase suggests itself at once.

(6) We can no longer trace the relations of the artists to the lost epics. The Trojan cycle furnishes a few subjects—Peleus and Thetis, Judgment of Paris, Achilles and Memnon, Memnon and Helen, Ajax and Cassandra—the Thebaic provides the departure of Amphiaraoes and the duel of Eteokles and Polynikes—while from the Argonautic legend, treated apparently with fullness and freedom by the Corinthian poet Eumelos (Wilisch, Fragmenta des Epikeris Eumelos, esp. p. 19) are drawn the funeral games of Pelias, the Phineus scene, the marriage of Medea and Jason. (For the ἄθλος ἐτερ Ἡλία see commentary and reff.) But it is impossible to lay down any proposition in detail as to the relations between these works and the chest.

For the date of the monument it must be observed as a significant fact that lyric influence is not present, e.g. that of Stesichorus. It is just possible that Alkman may be the source of IV. 7—though our restoration presupposes the contrary.

The issue of our investigations is to prove that the chest is a work of the early decades of the sixth century, the work of an artist standing above the various schools of his time and blending their diverse elements in a
harmonious composition—of an artist acquainted with the epic literature and influenced by the technique of the earliest workers in sculpture. No doubt he surpassed in technical ability the producers of the pottery and metal-work preserved to us; but we cannot estimate his merits. We cannot even determine with certainty the nature of the technical proceedings employed; Milehöfer and Collignon, comparing the open-work bronze plate from Crete representing the hunter with the wild goat (Anfänge der Kunst, p. 165), regard the chest as constructed in the 'Daedalid' technique of inlaying; but the close correspondence of the types to early gold and bronze reliefs, and the existence of relief-work in ivory (e.g. the situla of Chiusi, M. d. L. x. 39a—cp. M. d. l. vi 40), as well as the fact that some of the figures, according to Pausanias, were wrought in the cedar-wood of the chest itself, a most unsuitable material for such treatment, seem to show that the scenes were represented in low relief.

Nor can we determine with certainty the question as to the artistic conception which may have dominated the work as a whole and governed the disposition of the scenes. On such a question it is best to hear one whose capacity for entering into the spirit of early art is unequalled (Brunn, Kunstgeschichte, i. 176) and to admit with him that a detailed proof will never be possible.

About half a century later than the date assignable to the chest, Bathycles of Magnesia reproduced many of the same types on the throne of the Amylaean Apollo. To reconstruct that work from the equally full but more obscure description of Pausanias in the style of 'new Ionic' and Attic art, is a problem of which Furtwangler has indicated a possible solution, but which it must be left to others to attack.

§ 6. PAUSANIAS V. 17, 5—V. 19: FIN.

I owe to the kindness of MM. du Rieu and de Vries, librarian and keeper of the MSS., at Leyden, an exact collation of the MS., known as Leidensis A for this passage, and have given its variants throughout. The readings of other MSS., where given, are quoted from Schubart and Walz' edition.

v. 17, § 5 ... λάμανεῖ κέδρον μὲν πεποίηται, ξύλυα δὲ χρυσαυεῖς ἐπʼ αὐτῆς, τὰ δὲ χρυσαύ, τὰ δὲ καὶ εἴ ἀυτῆς ἐστὶν ἐργασμένα τῆς κέδρου.
§ 5 ἐκ ταυτῆς τῆς λάμανας Κόψηλον τοῦ Κορίνθου τυραννοῦσαντα ἀπεκρυβένη ἡ μῆτηρ, ἡμεᾶς τεχνῶν ἀνεμοῖν αὐτῶν σπούδης ἐποίησε ὁ Βασιλεύς, τῆς μὲν δὴ σωτηρίας ... there is a chest made of cedar-wood, and upon it are wrought figures, some of ivory, some of gold, and some of the cedar-wood itself.

In this chest Kypselos the tyrant of Corinth was hidden by his mother, when at his birth the Bacchiadæ sought to find him. In memory of Kypselos' deliverance, his house,
THE CHEST OF KYPSELOS, 35

called the Kypselidai, dedicated the chest at Olympia; now in those days the Corinthians called chests ‘ὀνυφέλαι’, and hence, they say, the child received the name of Kypselos.

§ 6. Most of the figures wrong. Most on the chest have inscriptions in archaic characters; and some of these proceed in a straight line, while others have the form which the Greeks call ‘βουστροφηδός’. This means that the second line turns backward from the end of the first as it were in the double race-course: the inscriptions on the chest, moreover, are written with windings hard to be understood.

I. 1 lacuall statuit Boekerus—λάρναξ δὲ κέδρων La Vb.; I. 9 βακχίδαι a codd.; II. 15, 16 τὸ παιδι Kypselou La.; I. 16 λέγοντων La. teste de Vries; I. 17 ἐπιγραμμάτων codd., corr. Cornel.; i. 21 ἐπιγραμμάτων codd., correxii; II. 27, 28, ἄλλους, ἐλμοίς, χαλεπούς codd. (ἐλμοῖς ἐμβάλασθαι χαλεποῦ La) corr. Siebelis.

ἀρξαμένω δὲ ἀνασκοπεῖσθαι κάταθεν τοσάδε ἐπὶ τῆς λάρνακος ἢ πρῶτη παρέχεται χάρα. § 7. Οἰνόμασι δὲσκόεις Πέλοτα ἐστίν

§ 5. ἔχουσα ὡποδάμειαν ἑκατέρῳ μεν δὴ τῶν αὐτῶν εἰσὶν ἤπειροι, τοῖς δὲ τοῦ Πέλοτος ἐστὶ περίποτα καὶ πτεραὶ. ἵνα δὲ Ἀμφιλοχόν τῇ οἰκίᾳ πετοῦνται, καὶ Ἀμβρωνίουν.

§ 7. There is Oenomaus pursuing 1. Oenomas and Pelops, who has with him Hippodamia; each drives a pair of horses, and those of Pelops are winged. Next in order is represented the s. Departure of Amphiaraos, an old man (whomsoever she be) is carrying the child Amphilochos: and before the house stands Eriphyle holding the necklace, and beside her her daughters Eurydike and Demanassa, and a naked boy, Alkmassen. § 8. Now Aias in his poems represents Alkmene also as the daughter of Amphiamos and Eriphyle. And Baton, who is
20 ἵππου καὶ τῇ χειρὶ ἔχει τῇ ἐτέρᾳ λόγγχην. Ἀμφιαράω δὲ ὁ μὲν τῶν τινῶν ἐπὶ δίδημον ὅρῳ τῶν ἄρματος, τὸ ἔξος δὲ ἔχει γυμνὸν, καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρόκυρά ἐστιν ἀποστραμμένος ἐξαγομένος τε ὑπὸ τοῦ θυμοῦ, <ὅστε ἐκεῖ, μάλις> ἔθανεν ἐν ἀποσκέψει. § 9. μετὰ δὲ τοῦ Ἀμφιαραίου τὴν οἰκίαν ἐστὶν ὕψων ὃ ἦν Πελίτῃ καὶ ἀθεμένου τούτων ἀγωνιστῶν, πετοῦσι τῇ Ηρακλῆς ἐν θρόνιν καθήμενος, καὶ δι‘ ἐσθερ ἐνυπνὸν αὐτοῦ ταίτης τῆς γυμνικῆς ἐπέγραμμα μὲν άπεστάλη ἔτις ἐστιν. Φηρούσιος δὲ αὐλείς καὶ σὺν Ἑλληνικῶν αὐλείς, ἁμαρτοῦσι τῇ συμβουλή Πίανος ἐστίν ὁ Περιήριος καὶ Ἀστερίων Κομήτης, πλείστης καὶ αὐτοῦς λεγομένων ἐπί τῆς Ἀρχαίος καὶ Πολυδεύκης τῇ καὶ „Αδάμης αὐλείς εἴτι ἐν Θυρσίνας τῶν πλούτων μετοικημένων οὕτως δὲ καὶ τῇ συμ-βουλῇ νικῶν ἐστὶν.

30 Herakles. 35 Chariot-race.

30 Χρόνος ἐστὶν ὁ Περιήριος καὶ Ἀστερίων Κομήτης, πλείστης καὶ αὐτοῦς λεγομένων ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀρχαίος καὶ Πολυδεύκης τῇ καὶ „Αδάμης.

40 ἐν δὲ αὐτοῖς Ἑφήμων, Ἑρακλῆς τὸν κατὰ τὸν ποτίκον λόγον καὶ Ἰάσων εἰς Κόλωνος τοῦ πλούτου μετοικημένων οὕτως δὲ καὶ τῇ συμβουλῇ νικῶν ἐστὶν.

45 Ὁσσον. 50 Wrestlers.

45 § 10. οἱ δὲ ἀποτελομεῖκτεν πυκτεύον Ἀδάμητος καὶ Μόσσων ἐστὶν ὁ „Αμπικος, ἐν μέρος δὲ αὐτῶν ἄνθρο ποιμέν οὐκανίστης, καθαρὸς ὡσ πρός ἄμεσα ἐπὶ τῷ ἄλματι αὐλαίων τῶν πελαθίων χωρίζοντο. Ἰάσων δὲ καὶ Ἡλεᾶτο τὸ ἐργον τῆς πόλεως ἐν τούς καθότον την τηρεῖσθαι. τετοῖοτα δὲ καὶ Ἐπούμενας άμφισβητεῖσθαι, ὡς δὴ αὕτης ἐστίν ἐπὶ διάκῳ φήμης ἴχνος. οἱ δὲ ἐν διόκασι δρομὶς καθεστηκτης Μελανίων ἐστὶ καὶ Νεοθενὶς καὶ Φαλαρέως τέκτατος ἐν Ἀργείοις καὶ Ἰφικλῆος πέμπτων τοῦτο δὲ νικοῦν ἀργείοι τῶν στάφιλων ὁ Ἀκαστός ἐν τῇ ἐν τῷ Πρωτεστάλιον πατέρῳ τοῦ στρατευστῶν ἐν Χλων. § 11. καίπερ δὲ καὶ τρίτων, ἀθλη ὡς τῶν νικήσιν, Amphiaras' charioteer, holds the reins in one hand and a lance in the other. And Amphiaras has already planted one foot on the chariot, and has his sword drawn: and he is turned towards Eriphyle and is beside himself with anger, so that he seems scarcely able to keep his hands off her. § 9. Next to the house of Amphiaras come the funeral games of Pelias and the spectators. Herakles is represented, seated on a throne, and behind him is a woman: this woman has no inscription to tell who she is, but she is playing, not on a Greek, but on a Phrygian flute. Two-horse chariots are driven by Pisos the son of Perieres and Asterion the son of Konetes, who is also said to have sailed in the Argo, and Polydeukes and Admetos, and after them Euphemos, who as the poets relate was the son of Poseidon and accompanied Jason on his voyage; and he is the victor in the chariot-race.

50 Runners. 55 Discus-thrower.

55 § 10. Those who have ventured to box are Admetos and Mopsus the son of Amyx. And between them stands a man who plays the flute, just as the custom now is to play the flute at the leaping-contest in the pentathlon. And Jason and Poleus are evenly matched in the wrestling-match. And Eurybotes too is represented in the act of throwing the discus—whoevever he may be that had this reputation for quiet-throwing. Those who have entered for the foot-race are Melanion, Neothnês, Phalareus, Argeios and lastly Iphiklos; he is the victor and Akastos is handing him the crown: this Akastos is no doubt the father of Proteus who joined
THE CHEST OF KYPSELOS.

καὶ θυγατέρες εἰσέναι ἀπὸ Πελιάου· τὸ 65 δὲ ὀνόμα ἐπὶ τῇ Ἀλεξάνδρᾳ γεγραφ-
ται μόνη, Ἰλασίου δὲ, δὲ δὲ ἐθελοντῆς μετέχειν Ἡρακλέως τῶν ἔργων, ἐστὶν
ἐπισκόπου ἐρυματὶ ἀνήμερας νυκτὸς,
τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄχων μὲν ὁ ἐπὶ 70 Πελία τῇ τίτανι, τὴν ὄδοιν δὲ, τὸ εἰς τῷ παταμῷ τῇ Ἀρμογῇ κηρύχισαν,
糇α διὶ τοῦ Ἡρακλεὼς ὁ δεῖ 
οὐκ ἐρύμοντο τὸν τὸ ἄχων χάρω
75 καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ σχῆμα, τὸ ὀνόμα αὐξ
ἐστιν ἐπὶ αὐτῷ νυκτός ἡ ἐρυμα
gιάνοις τε ἐπὶ ὅρας ἀπὸ, καὶ οἱ παῖδες οἱ Ἡράκλαν τῆς Ἀρμογῆς ἀπὸ αὐτῶν διέκυκλοι.

the expedition to Ilion. And (?) Daughters
of Akastos.

Δ. Herakles and the
Hydra.

2. Phineus,
Boreas and
Harpies.

1. 1, τὸν καὶ Ἰα.; 1. 8, τοὺς Ἀμφ. La, Ἰα.; 1. 8, habet ἤ La, teste de Vries; 1. 10, προσβάσας cods. mell.; 1. 11, ἐροῦλη La, teste de Vries; 1. 15, ἀπὸς cods.; 1. 17, ἐροῦλης La; 1. 21, λόγχην om. La (additur in marg.); 1. 22, τειλῶν La; 1. 23, δὲ om. La, om. τὸ Siebelis; 1. 24, ἐροῦλην La, ἐπιστρ. La; 1. 26, lacunam aliui aliter explevarent, nos Kuhnii rationem paululum mutauimus; 1. 33, ἐπεταῖς cod. (ἐπεταί La, ἐπεταί Va) corr. Siebelis; 1. 43, μετέχεισθαν La; 1. 55, ἀρκεῦν δὲ La; 1. 37, ἐφιδεῖς La; 1. 66, μοῦ om. La; 1. 68, ἀνήμεραν La; 1. 71, ἀμμών La.

NOMINUM PROPRIORUM FORMARUM NOTABILIORIS EX PICTURIS VASCULARIBUS CORINTHIIS RESTITUIAE; 1. 8, et scq. Ἀριστάρχος Μ.Ι. x. 4; 1. 14, Δαμιάνας Μ.Ι. x. 4 (cf. ἡμώνας Va, ἡμώνας Fab). 1. 66, ἐπιθανός Μ.Ι. iii. 46; 1. 78, fortasse Ἀρετίδα Α.Ζ. 1887, ix.

SCHOLIUM. 1. 70, ἀποροῦ ὅτι ὃτι τῇ ὑφαῖν πρὸς τῇ Ἀμμώνῃ φησὶ γενόται, ἀλλὰς λεγόντων πρὸς τῇ Ἁρμῷ (Hermes xxix. 148).

V. 18, 1. τῆς χορᾶς ἐπὶ ἐπὶ τῇ
λάρνακα τῆς δυτικῆς ἐς ἀριστερῶν
μὲν γένοιτο ἐς ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς περιοῦν.
(1) πεπληραίοις τῇ γυνὴ παιδί λευ-
δό κόν καθεύοντα ἀνέχοντα τῇ διέξη
χειρί, τῇ δὲ ἑτέρα μέλαν ἑγεῖ παιδί
καθεύοντι ἐκιεῖτα, ἀμφιτέρους
δειστραμμένους τοὺς παῖδας. ἔνθα
V. 18, 1. In examining the second
field on the chest, we naturally
make the circuit from left to right.
(1) A woman is represented sup-
porting a sleeping child on her
right arm, and on her left a black
child like one that sleeps; both
have their feet turned outwards.

SECOND
1. Night, Death and
Sleep.
THE CHEST OF KYSEPLOIS.

The inscriptions show—though it is easy to comprehend the scene without them—that they are Death and Sleep, and that she who nurses them is Night.

(2) § 2. There is a beautiful woman chastising a hideous one; with one hand she grips her throat, with the other she beats her with a rod. They are Justice and Injustice.

(3) Two other women are pounding with pestles in mortars: they are supposed to be skilled in poisons, for there is no inscription attached to them.

(4) The story of the man and the woman that follows him is told by the hexameter lines, which run as follows:—Idas leads back again Marpessa of the fair ankles, whom Apollo stole from him, the daughter of Euenos, nothing lost.

(5) § 3. A man clad in a tunic holds a cup in one hand and a necklace in the other, and Alkmene is taking hold of them. The Greek poets have told how Zeus knew Alkmene in the form of Amphitrion.

(6) Menelaus clad in a tunic, and holding: a sword, advances upon Helen to slay her—plainly at the fall of Ilium.

(7) Medea is seated on a throne with Jason on her right, while on the other side stands Aphrodite: and there is the following inscription over them: ‘Jason weds Medea at Aphrodite’s behest.’

(8) § 4. The Muses are represented singing and Apollo leading the song; and they have an inscription written: ‘This is Leto’s son, King Apollo that smites from afar; and about him are the Muses, a
Maísaie ε' ἄρφι' αὐτῶν, χαρίεως 55 χορός, αἰσθανόμεθα.
(9) "Ατλας δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ὄρμων κατὰ τὰ λεγόμενα υἱῶν τε ἀνάχει καὶ γῆν, φέρει δὲ καὶ τὰ Θεσπερίδων μῆλα, διὰτι δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ ἄνδρον ὁ ἔχων 60 τὸ ἱπποκαρός καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν "Ἀτλαντα ἐφελμένοι Ἰδία μὲν ἐπ' αὐτῷ γεγραμμένον ἦστιν οὖθεν, δῆλα δὲ ἐς ἀπαντᾷς "Ἡρακλεὶς εἶναι, γέμερσαι δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτοις· 65 "Ατλας υἱὸν ὑστος ἐχει, τό δὲ μᾶλα μαθησίης.
(10) § 5. ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ Ἀρής ὁπλα ἐνδεικνύως, Ἀφροδίτην ἀγῶν ἐγραμμα καὶ ᾿Εὐαλῶν ἦστιν αὐτῷ. 70 (11) πεπόιηται δὲ καὶ θεῖς παρθένο, λαμβάνεται δὲ αὐτῆς Πελεΐς, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς χερσὸς τῆς Θητίδος ὕδων ἐπὶ τὸν Πελεΐς ἦστιν ὀρμῶν.
(12) αἱ δὲ ἀθηναίοι Μεδούσης 75 ἠχοῦνται πετρά πέτρωμενον Περσείς καὶ διακονοῦνται τὸ δὲ ἀθάνατος ὕπο τῆς Περσείς γέμερσαι μάλιν.

THE CHEST OF KYPSERLOS.

September supports on his shoulders heaven and earth, according to the legend, and he also bears the apples of the Hesperids. The man with the sword who approaches Atlas has no inscription to tell his name, but it is manifest to all that he is Herakles. And over these is written: 'This is Atlas who upholds the heaven, but the apples he shall give up.'

1. 1. ἐπὶ τῷ λάρνακε Λα; 1. 15. κοιλίουνα codd. κολύουνα Robert (tentant Schubart); l. 27, Ίδα Λα, Μάρπησαν codd. aliquot; l. 28, et saep. digamma restituti, πόλλων Λα; l. 29, ἐκ ναοῦ codd. Εὐαλὼν Fröhner (Mus. Rhen. xlvii. 1892. p. 291), oteras vn. dd. coniecturas referre supernacumen; πάλιν ἥξει codd.; l. 35, ἐς τῶν λάρνακων τῶν Ἐλλήνων uix saha uidentur" Schubart, Proef. xxii. <ὕπω> suppleti; l. 46, Μῆθαιν Fick; l. 52, γυνταῖς ἀναζ codd., corr. Haupts (Opusc. iii. 466); l. 60, ἀο ἀπο τὸ καὶ codd., delegend Cornel, ἐγραμμέναν Λα; l. 66, μᾶλα μαθησίης Λα τέκσε τῆς Vries.

§ 6. στρατιωτικά δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ τρίτῃ χώρᾳ τῆς λάρνακος τὸ μὲν τολύμεν ἦσθαι ἐν αὐτοῖς οἱ πετόις, πεποίηται δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ συνορίῳ ἴππεις. ἐπὶ 5 δὲ τούσ στρατιωτικάς ἐστιν εἰκάζειν κυκλόην μὲν σφαίρας ἐς μῆκος, συνιέναι δὲ καὶ ἀσπασμόμενοι τὲ καὶ ἀναγραφόμενοι ἀλλήλων. ἠγέται δὲ καὶ ἐς ἀμφότερα ὑπὸ τῶν ἔξοχον· 10 τῶν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐστιν εἰρημένων Αἰτωλῶν τοὺς μετὰ Ὄξυλον καὶ

§ 6. On the third field of the third band. chest are troops of warriors: most of them are footmen, but knights are represented too with two-horse chariots. One may infer that the warriors are marching to battle, but that they will recognize and greet each other. Contrary explanations are given by the interpreters. Some have said that they are the Aetolians who came with
On the fourth field, as we make the circuit from left to right, is Boreas, who has carried off Orei-
THE CHEST OF KYPSIELOS.

THE CHEST OF KYPSIELOS.

(2) And there is the contest of Herakles with Geryon, who is repre-

sented with the bodies of three men joined together.

(3) And there is Theseus with a lyre and beside him Ariadne holding a
crown.

(4) Achilles and Memnon are fighting, and beside them stand Minos,
their mothers.

(5) § 2. And there is: Melanion, Melanion and beside him Atalante holding a
drawn.

(6) Ajax is engaged in single combat with Hector in pursuance of his challenge, and between them stands Eris hideous to look on: like her is the figure of Eris which Kalliphon the Samian painted in the temple of Artemis at Ephesus when he painted the battle of the Greeks at the ships.

(7) The Dioscuri are represented on the chest; one of them is bearded.

§ 3. And between them is Helen. § 3. And Aithra the daughter of Pittheus is lying on the ground at Helen’s feet, clothed in black raiment. The inscription which belongs to them consists of one hexi-

meter line, with a single word added: ‘The sons of Tyndarus are bearing Helen away, and dragging Aithra from Aphidna.’

(8) § 4. Such is the verse; and 3. Agamemnon.

Iphidamas the son of Antenor lies dead, while Agamemnon fights with Koon over his body. And Panic is seen on Agamemnon’s shield, having a lion’s head. The inscriptions are, over the corpse of Iphidamas, ‘This is Iphidamas, Koon is fighting for him,’ and on Agamemnon’s shield, ‘This is the Panic that seizes men,
THE CHEST OF KYPSilos.

and he that yields it is Agamemnon.

(9) § 5. And Hermes is leading the goddesses to Alexandros, the son of Priam, to the trial of beauty. They too have an inscription:— 'This is Hermes who shows to Alexandros for trial of beauty Hern and Athené and Aphrodité.'

(10) And Artemis—for what reason I know not—has wings on her shoulders, and in her right hand she holds a pæon, and the other hand a lion.

(11) And Ajax is represented dragging Kassandra from the image of Athené; and beside him is this inscription:— Ajax, the Lokrian drags Kassandra from Athené.'

(12) § 6. Of the sons of Oedipus, Polynikes has fallen on his knee, and Eteokles advances upon him. And behind Polynikes stands a female figure with mask as terrible as a beast's, and beaked talons on her hands, and the inscription beside her says that she is a Ker—meaning that fate has snatched Polynikes away, and that Eteokles, too, justly met his doom.

(13) Dionysos redines in a cave, bearded, holding a golden cup, and clad in a tunic reaching to the feet: and beside him are vines—vines, apples, and pomegranates.

1 56, δελευσαι codd. δελευστι Fick; I. 58, ἡμας καὶ ἄδαναν La; I. 74, <γυνη> suppleuit Clavier; I. 75, τῆς έρωτας La; I. 80, τόν Πολυνείδιν unicus seculavit Siebelis; I. 87, αὐτός com. Bergk, *A.Z.* 1845, p. 175—β' αι La; I. 87, els codd.


§ 7. ἢ δὲ ἀμφατῶ τῷ χόρῳ, πέπτε

γαρ ἀριθμοῦ εἰσὶ, παρέχεται μὲν ἐπίγραμμα ὅθεν, λέῃται δὲ ἐκεῖνοι εἰς τὰ ἐπειρασμένα. εἰσιν εὖν

5 ἐν στηλαίῳ γυνῇ καθέδωσαν σὺν ἀνδρὶ ἐπὶ κλήνη, καὶ σφῶν Οὐδοσέα ἄριστον εἶναι καὶ Κλήσην ἐδάξαςμεν ἀριθμῷ τοῖς θεραπεύοντι αἰεὶ πρὸ τοῦ στηλαίῳ, καὶ τοῖς ποιημένοις ὑπ' 10 αὐτῶν τέσσαρες τι νὰ ἐρχεῖαι αἰ γυναῖκες, καὶ ἔργαζονται τὰ ἔργα ἐν τοῖς ἐπήσιν "Ομηρος ἔρικε. Κένταυρος δὲ αὐτὸς παντακύριον μὲν πόδας, τοὺς δὲ ἐμπροσθεν αὐτῶν

15 ἔχον ἀνόδως ἐπὶν. § 8. ἔχεις καὶ ἐπτὸν κυνορίδον καὶ γυναῖκες ἐπὶ τοῦ κυνορίδου εἰσὶν ἐκατοντάκτες πετρα ὑπὸ τῶν χορων ἐπτει, καὶ ἀλήθει δίδοσιν δῆλα μείον τῶν γυναικῶν.

20 ταῦτα ἦν τὸν Πατρόκλου τελευτήν ἔχειν γεγονόντωσα Νικηφόρος τὸ ἔργα ἐπὶ τοῦ κυνορίδου εἰναι, καὶ Ὁθέν τι ὀπλα λαμβάνειν παρά Ἰππαίστου, καὶ ἐκ καὶ ἄλλος ὅ τα

25 ὁπλα ὑδόμενος ὡπετὲρ τῶν πόδας ἑπτα ἐπερεμένοι, καὶ ὕπαιθεν ὄλεθρος ἐπεται οἱ πυραγῶν ἔχον. § 9. ἔστησι δέ καὶ ἐς τὸν Κένταυρον ὁς Χειρον ἀπελευγμένος ἡπ' ἀνδρῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἔπικετεν εἰναι σύνακος θεῖος ῥαστύναι τινὰ ἡκοὶ τῶν πένθους Ἀχιλλει παρασκευάσων, παρθένους

30 δέ ἐπὶ ἡμῖνοι, τὴν μὲν ἠχοῦσιν

§ 7. The uppermost field—they *Fifth Band*, are five in number—presents no inscriptions, but we are left to conjecture as to the scenes wrought thereon. Now there is a woman reclining with a man on a couch in a cave, and we inferred them to be Odysseus and Circe from the number of the attendant maidens and tasks performed by them: for there are four women, and they are working the work which Homer assigns to them in his poem. And there is a Centaur whose legs are not all those of a horse, but his forelegs are human.

§ 8. Next in order come two-horse chariots, and women standing in them: and the horses have golden wings, and a man is giving armour to one of the women. This they interpret with reference to the death of Patroklos: for the women in the chariots, they say, are Nereids, and Thetis is receiving the armour from Hephaestus. Besides, the man who presents the armour is somewhat lame, and he is followed by a slave with a pair of tongs. § 9. The Centaur, too, they explain by the fact that Cheiron who had left the ranks of men and was thought worthy to dwell with gods, came to offer some consolation to Achilles.
in his grief. And there are two maidens in a mule-chariot, the one holding the reins, the other with a veil on her head. These they suppose to be Nausikaa and her handmaid driving to the washing.

There is a man shooting Centaurs who has killed some of them: clearly the archer is Heracles and the exploit is his.

§ 10. The name of the craftsman who wrought the chest we were quite unable to discover. But the inscriptions—though another poet might perhaps have composed them—aroused a strong suspicion that Eumelos of Corinth was their author, both on other grounds, and especially by comparison with the processional hymn which he wrote for Delos.

Kalkmann and Robert attribute the foregoing description of the chest of Kypselos to Polemon, with whose περίγραφησις Ἐλαῖδος Pausanias was no doubt acquainted, though opinions differ widely as to the extent of his indebtedness to it. Specific reasons for the theory in this case are hard to find; and indeed nothing further can be adduced than the following facts.

(1) In v. 19, if we read Ἀθάναθε, we may suppose that Polemon so read (or misread) the inscription, and that it was in this connection that he told the story of Theseus, as quoted from him by Schol. P 242, introducing a reference to Alkman. Pausanias may betray his acquaintance with this passage in Polemon's work in i. 41, 4, where he quotes Alkman (from Polemon, according to the theory) for the same story (Robert, Hermès xxiii. 439). Little weight can be attached to this tissue of conjectures.

(2) In the same section Pausanias compares the figure of Ἐρις to a similar figure in the painting of Kallipho of Samos, to be seen in the temple of Artemis at Ephesus. In v. 26, 5 he illustrates the costume worn by Patroklos in Polygnotos' Iluparres by a reference to the same work of
Kalliphan. This latter description is supposed on other grounds to be derived from Polemon: therefore, it is argued, the description of the chest is by the same author (Kalkmann, Pausanias der Perieget, p. 114). To those who believe that when Pausanias wrote ἕτω ἔθεσαμαρη he usually meant what he said, such a combination will have little force.

Gudlitt successfully defends Pausanias from the charge of copying his description wholesale from Polemon (Über Pausanias, p. 165 ff.).

The questions raised by the introductory sections (v. 17, 5, 6) have already been discussed.

FIRST BAND.

The general direction is from right to left, as is shown by the fact that Pausanias proceeds from left to right in describing the second band (v. 18, 1). He seems to describe the figures carefully in their exact order, and thus arrives at the winner in the chariot-race last. This shows that the direction of the race was from right to left, not, as Overbeck restored it, from left to right. The curiously involved terms in which Pausanias describes the scene with the Hydra also point to his desire to mention the figures in their order of position. Restoring the whole band on this principle we find that its movement is predominantly from right to left. There was no division of the separate scenes by vertical bands of ornament (v. 360), and the band in fact served the quasi-architectural purpose of a continuous frieze decorating the 'plinth' of the monument.

1. OENOMAOS AND PELOPS.—The subject is not familiar in early Greek art (a b.f. lekythos, Jahrbuch vi. 1891, p. 134, represents the preceding moment) and is no doubt introduced with special reference to Olympia and the victory of Periander, but is composed of the simplest elements. The chariot drawn by winged horses is a type familiar on 'bucchero nero' (Micali, Mon. Ined. xxxv. 2, 3; cp. the later Etruscan b.f. amphora xxxvii. 1).

2. DEPARTURE OF AMPHIARAOS.—Restored directly from M. d. i. x. 4, omitting the figures not mentioned by Pausanias. From the repeated mention of the house (ἐς ἐς Ἀμφιαράου τε ἐς ἁσίας πεποίηται—μετὰ δὲ τοῦ Ἀμφ., τῆς ἁσίας) Pernice (Jahrbuch iii. 366) rightly concludes that, as on the vase, the palace was indicated at both extremities of the scene. Willsch remarks that the scene is composed of two standing types—a train of women and a chariot about to depart; these are specialized by the attitude of Ampiaras and the necklace in the hands of Eriphyle. Robert notes that no definite moment is represented. The scene occurs in a reduced form on the amphora Micali, Storia 95, which is clearly 'Ionic.' The body of the amphora has three horizontal fields of decoration; on the topmost of these, beside Herakles (club and lion's skin) attacking Centaurs (with human forelegs) is

* Die altorvishischke Theanindustrie, p. 78. Storia 96, Viscana Kunsthistorisches Museum 278, Cabinet des Médailles 349, 373, Louvre
* To this Ionic class belong, e.g., Micali, 634.

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represented the departure of Amphiarao; the scene is composed of the following figures:—old man seated on a folding-stool, putting his hand to his head as a token of grief, chariot of Amphiarao, the naked boy, and a female figure (presumably Eriphyle) extending both hands towards Amphiarao, and standing on an ornament projecting from the handle. The other bands of the vase are occupied by (1) frieze of animals (including griffins and hippocamp) broken by two warriors, (2) race of seven two-horse chariots, which may well be referred to the funeral games of Pelias (p. infra).

Pausanias says that Batn held a lance: the vases give him a goad, which is more natural and has therefore been adopted. Pernice thinks that the seated Herakles described by Pausanias really belongs to the scene, comparing the figure 'Ἀλυσις' on M. d. I. x. 4 and the seated figure of Micali, Stor. 95. But this is wrong, since Herakles' name must have been inscribed, and the flute-player was standing ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ, which words Pausanias adds to show that he is departing from the strict order.

3. FUNERAL GAMES OF PELIAS.—These are combined with the previous scene on M. d. I. x. 4, from which vase the throned Herakles, the chariot-race, and the wrestlers were directly taken (Schneider, Prolegomena, p. 51 note, thinks the chariot-race as there represented impossible in relief, and would therefore restore from Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1887 v., but this seems unnecessary), the rest of the figures being composed in the same style.

Athletic contests were early represented in Greek art (cp. the tripod vase of Tanagra, A. Z. 1881 iii.), and the chariot-race, from its simple 'paratactic' composition, soon acquired decorative importance. A fine 'Protocorinthian' lekythos in the museum at Taranto represents a race of 'παῖδες κέλατικουτες,' with tripods as prizes.

The popularity of the Argonautic legend led to the specialization of such contests as the ἀθλεία ἐν Πόλικα, a subject treated not only by Stesichoros at a date somewhat later than that of the chest, but also by 'Homer' (Simonides Fr. 53 Bk.), i.e. in some early Epic composition. The catalogue of the Argonauts was however not fixed in the popular mind (represented by the vase-painters &c.), still less their assignment to the several contests. In spite of the close correspondence between the chest of Kypselos and M. d. I. x. 4, the names of the competitors are in most cases different. Both however agree in making Euphemos the winner in the chariot-race (whereas Amphiarao was the winner according to Stesichoros). This may perhaps serve to date both monuments some little time after the founding of Cyrene—Euphemos being the mythical ancestor of the Battiai kings and thus gaining a place in the list of Argonauts (Studniczka, Cyrene p. 107). The artist of the chest introduces Pisos because of the connexion with Olympia (Jessen, op. cit. p. 29). Argois, who is a judge on the vase but a runner on the chest, is identified by Robert (A. d. J. 1874. p. 97) with Argos, the builder of the
Argo. Iphiklos (according to Jessen, op. cit. Sententia vi.) is the son of Thoetius the Aetolian, not the Thessalian son of Phylakos. Neotheus and Phalareus are possibly names added without special significance by the artist.

Σπειρεθν γυνη αυτο[[υ]]]. — Bandorf (op. Klein, Kykale der Kykalesen p. 61, note) pointed out that we have here a mistake of Pausanias. The flute-player was male, but wore the long ungirt chiton in which flute-players are regularly represented, and this costume was misunderstood by Pausanias.

Φερνίαν δε αυτο[[υ]] και ανω Ελληνικοιοι αυτο[[υ]]]. — The difference consists in the presence of the curved tip of horn inserted in one of the pipes (Baumeister, Denkmäler p. 560 and Abb. 594).

ἐν μέσῳ δε αυτῶν ἅνθη κατηκόρας ἐπανελεῖ]. — This is the only figure on the chest which—as it would seem—must be restored ex fasce. The artist of the François vase has once attempted such a figure (Dionysos). For flute-playing at a boxing-match cp. Micalis, Mon. Ined. xxxii. 1, 2 (oenochoe of 'bucchero' with figures in relief), and the bronze λέβης from Capua (M. d. T. v. 25).

θυσιαστέρες εἰσιν αἱ Πελοπο[[ν]]]. — Like the tripods, they formed prizes for the successful competitors. Cp. Nik. Dam. Fr. 55 (= Müller F. H. G. iii. 389) τὰς θυσιαστέρας αὐτο[[υ]] ἤγιοντο ὡς ἄν καθαρὰς φάνον οἱ ἀρσενί.

4. HERAKLES AND THE HYDRA.—There are two types of this scene in early art (1) the Peloponnesian type, represented by the Corinthian vases A. Z. 1859 Pl. 125 and M. d. T. iii. 46, 2 — Rossbach, Griechische Antiken des arch. Museums in Berlin (Feptestz zur Görlizer Philologenversammlung 1889), and by the 'Corinthio-Attic' vases Noa. 22 and 60 in Holwerda's list. Both Herakles and Iolaos are actively engaged in combating the Hydra. (2) The Eastern type, of which the best known examples are the amphora A. F. 95, 6—which Klein classed as Chalcidian, but whose provenance has been disputed by Studniczka and others—and the poros pediment of the Acropolis 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1884 vii. Whatever be the origin of the vase—Hauser's combinations in Jahrbuch viii. 1893 p. 100 give reason to believe that it was painted in Attica under Chalcidian influence—the type is undoubtedly 'Eastern.' Iolaos is present, but stands in the chariot and turns to witness the combat. It is possible but not certain that the type is borrowed on another 'Peloponnesian' work—viz. the bronze-relief from the Ptoon, Bull. Cor. Hall. xvi. 1892, Pl. X.

Brunn (Rhein. Mus. v. 1847, p. 336) first pointed out that the chariot of Iolaos was wrongly reckoned by Pausanias to the games of Pelia.

The curiously inverted order of words is no doubt due to Pausanias' desire to mention the figures—ἡν ἀρσεν...Ηρακλῆς.... 'Αθηναῖοι—in the order in which he saw them.

The σγίμα of Herakles to which Pausanias alludes must not be interpreted to include the lion's skin, which, as Furtwängler remarks, is not found

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66 Schol. Αρ. Rh. 1. 45 expressly says, ὀνόμα τον των της 'Αργοναυτών.

THE CHEST OF KYPSELOS.

on any monument earlier than cent. vi. (in Roscher's *Lexikon*, Sp. 2145)—
and on no early Peloponnesian monument. It came from Cyprus, and
appears on early Ionic and Etruscan monuments—e.g. the amphora, Micai
*Storia* 95 referred to above. It is quite in keeping with this geographical
distribution of the type that Peisandros of Kamiros is said to have been the
first to introduce it in the epic (Strabo xv. 688) and also to have given the
*hydra* many heads instead of one (Paus. ii. 37, 4 = *Fr. 2* Kinkel).

5. PHINEUS, BOREADS AND HARPIES.—Directly restored from the
Würzburg cylix, *M. d. T. x. 8*—omitting superfluous figures. Cp. von Duhn,
*Bemerkungen zur Würzburger Phineusschale* (Festschrift zur Karlsruher Philo-
logenversammlung 1882). The myth formed a part of the Argonautic legend,
and thus appropriately finds a place near the funeral games of Pelias.
Phineus was originally an amphibious being with prophetic powers whose
home was on the Thracian Bosphorus, and who might be induced to show
sea-farers the way to the Black Sea. He is to be classed with the various
*Δίως γέφυρας* who performed like functions—e.g. Triton for Jason (Hdt.
iv. 179), Proteus for Menelaos (8 351—490). The Byzantines held that the
*Δίως γέφυρα* par excellence had shown the Argonauts the way (Dionys. *Byz. de
Navigtionis* Bospori p. 20 Wescher, cp. von Duhn, *de Menelai itinere* *Egypto*
p. 34, Furtwängler, *Goldfund von Vetternfeld* p. 29. Escher, *Triton und seine
Bekämpfung durch Herakles* p. 58), but the common account was that
Phineus—originally smitten with blindness for showing Phrixos the way—
directed the Argonauts in return for the service performed by the Boreads
(Schoel. Ap. Rh. ii. 181 and Schoel. p. 69 from Asklepiades). Though the
Ionic type of the fish-tailed *Δίως γέφυρα* 60 penetrated the Peloponnesian
work-shops (Olympia, *Bronzen* 629 with Furtwängler's note), the subject
before us can only be illustrated from the *certaneously* Ionic Würzburg cylix.
The two pairs of wings—a feature said to be characteristic of Ionic art, and
of the Etruscan art which follows it—have been retained.

SECOND BAND.

This band cannot be said to have any predominant movement. It was
composed of detached scenes no doubt enclosed by bands of ornamental
framework, probably grouped in some measure about a centre. If we follow
Welcker, Brunn, Robert and Furtwängler in combining the marriage of Medea
and Jason with Apollo and the Muses in one central scene, the three smaller
scenes which follow on each side seem fairly symmetrical. It would then seem
necessary to break down the partitions between the three first (so-called
‘mystical’) scenes, and form a long scene corresponding to the pursuit of
Perseus (so Furtwängler). Without denying that these conjectures have a

60 *Chalcidian* bronze handles from Italy
(e.g. *Notizie degli scavi* 1881, i.); shrines of
Athena, coins of Cyprian, gold-fish of Vetternfelder,
vases of Dimanler's 'Pontic' fabric, poros poli-
ments of the Acropolis (in one case correspond-
ing to the *hydra* scene), ivory Relief, *M.d.I. vi.*
measure of probability I have thought it better to be rigidly conservative in adhering to the text of Pausanias. Where he uses the particle dia, I place a vertical band of ‘guilloche,’ adapted from the ‘Argive’ bronze-reliefs.

I. NIGHT, DEATH AND SLEEP.—Hes. Theog. 211—2 (original), 766—7 (interpolated), v. supr. Klein would restore Night in profile to right (to give the direction of the band) with the children standing on her arm (op. Apollo and winged figure on coins of Caulonia, Gardner, Types I, 1), but this is impossible. Léschke, A.Z. 1876, p. 113 note, indicated the type in the figure of Leto with her children (A.V. 55, Mus. Greg. ii. 39, with Hermes and Dionysos; cp. Micali Storica 85, with Dionysos and Satyr). In the absence of monumental tradition, Night has been restored with wings—a feature in keeping with the spirit of archaic art, and supported by the later conception (Ar. Ax. 695 Νυξ μελανωπτέρων).

μέλανα ἑξει ταῖδα].—Abstraction being made of colour in the reproduction, no attempt has been made to indicate this. It seems very probable that the figure was inlaid in ebony, a material used by the ‘Daidalidai’—e.g. Endoletes, statue of the Ephesian Artemis, Plin. N.H. xvi. 214, according to most authorities (incompletely given by Overbeck, Schriftquellen 353), and Dipoines and Skyllia’ statues of Anaxis, Mnasius, Hilaria and Philebe (O., S. 324).

καθέωντο οὐκοίς].—There is no need to insert τῷ with Schubart, cp. Verg. Aen. vi. 522 (the converse conception).

διεστραμμένοι τούς πώδας].—The word does not necessarily imply malformation, but may mean simply ‘turned outward.’

2. DEKE AND ADIKIA.—Hes. Theog. 302 ff. (interpolated, v. supr.) makes Δίκη the sister of Νυξ. Cp. Roscher, Philologus xlvii. 1889, p. 709. She is armed with a ρόπτρον by Eur. Hipp. 1171 τῷ τρόπῳ Δίκης | ἐπιτιθεὶν αὐτόν ρόπτρον: A scene corresponding closely to the present 61 occurs on the b. and r.f. amphora in the style of Nikosthenes in Vienna, Oesterreichisches Museum 319 — Fig. 22 in Masner’s catalogue. But the most valuable monument for the restoration of the type is the ‘Argive’ bronze-relief of Olympia (No. 699), probably representing Hekakles in combat with Υπακόη (see Furtwängler’s description and references). The features of the supposed Υπακόη have been reproduced in our representation: I have no doubt that the type was taken over to serve as the expression for the new conception, female figures being substituted for males.

3. THE MOHAI.—Restored with the aid of the lost vase figured by Heydemann, Rinpersis p. 24, from a drawing left by Gerhard to the Berlin Museum: I found a drawing of the same vase in the Institute at Rome (Portfolio presented by Braun v. B 38). It is an Attic amphora (of the class 2 β Gruppe 1’ in Furtwängler’s Berlin Vase-Catalogue). Plate 40 must clearly be the reverse of the same vase, and represents Hermes κρισθήκον followed by a woman in a mantle. This is noteworthy, as it may point to

61 Δίκη wields an axe, otherwise the agreement is exact.
Boeotia (Paus. ix. 22, the well-known cult at Tanagra). On the vase only one mortar is represented—the meaning of the scene having been lost. This is really a reversion to the original Egyptian type (Wilkinson, 
Manners and Customs (ed. 1878) ii. p. 204), which has no mythological meaning. The double pestle, as I am kindly informed by Mr. Henry Balfour, has a very wide ethnographical distribution—Africa (Masai and the Niger district)—North America—the Malay Archipelago (Sumatra) &c. See an illustration in Lander, Alone with the Hairy Ainus, p. 215.

The subject has been determined by Roscher, who refuted an attempt made by Kern (Jahrbücher iii. 1888, pp. 234 ff.) to interpret the figures as Adrasteia and Eide with the aid of passages from the Orphic theogony. It is true that Orphic poems existed in the sixth century (so Kern, De theogonias, 1888, Sussemlidl, Dissertatio de theogoniae Orphicae formas antiquissimam Greiswald 1890, Gruppe, Jahrbücher für klassische Philologie, Supplementband xvii. 1890, who in his second excursus also refutes Kern’s theory as to the scene represented on the chest), but not likely that they would influence the artist of the chest; and the picture drawn by Kern of Adrasteia and Eide beating tambourines with bronze pestles (from Hermias ap. Plat. Phaedr. 148, ap. Apolod. i. 1, 7) is ludicrous. The figures undoubtedly represent the Fates preparing good and ill—ἀγαθὸν τε κακὸν τε Ήσυ. Theog. 219—905 (an interpolated passage). Cx. 230 φάρμακα πολλα μὲν ἔθελα μεμυγμένα πολλα δὲ λυγμένα. The duality is noteworthy. It is proved for Delphi by Paus. x. 24, 4 (ἀγαθαι Μῷρων δόοι) and Plat. de El apud Delphos 2 (v. Mommsen, Delphika p. 101); and while Nicander, quoted by Antoninus Liberalis 29, relates that the Moirai delayed the birth of Herakles, Paus. ix. 11, 3 describes an archeia relief at Thebes representing the φαρμακῖδες who were responsible for the delay according to the local story. This duality may be implied in the original version of the Theogony of Hesiod (v. ναῦρον).


κοίμησαι Μαρτύρσι μαλαισφόρον ἔληργον
τὸν τότε, καὶ φαντας ἕναντι ἐλετο τάξιν
Φαισσίς Ἀπόλλωνος καλλισφόροις εἴνεκα νύμφης.

On the story and (later) monuments see Jahn, Archäologische Aufsätze, pp. 46—55; note that in none of its features the myth is a doublet of the story of Peleus and Hippodamia (Simonides ap. Schol. K 55, Bacchylides ap. Schol. Pind. Isthm. iv. 92).

τὸν Ἐδανόν.].—The MSS. read τὸν ἐκ ναοῦ; but Fröhner (Rhein. Mus. xlvii. 1892, p. 291) restored Ἐδανόν from the passage of Homer quoted above.

5. ZEUS ANDALKMENE.—Löschke (Dionysius Programm 1879) explained the scenes of the well-known Spartan stele (Friedrichs-Wolters, Bausteine 55) as representing this and the following subject (Menelaus and Helen).
Michelhöfer had previously (Ath. Mitth. ii. 462) compared with the stele a group of Etruscan ‘bucchero’ reliefs, which Lüschke reckoned as representing ‘the older general type from which both the mythical subjects of the Spartan stele were developed by differentiation.’ In his later work (Anfang der Kunst, pp. 186—194) Michelhöfer defends the impersonal explanation of the scenes; and this is perhaps equally probable.

The type depicted on the chest is less developed than those of the stele. Its origin may be traced by comparison with the Etruscan ‘bucchero’ reliefs published by Micali, Storico xx. On these reliefs figures are mechanically reproduced in all possible combinations. It is important for our purpose to note the following nos.

1. Two seated figures, each holding one handle of a cantoars.
2. One seated and one standing figure, each holding the same crown in both hands.
3. Two figures seated at table; the cantoars suspended in mid-air to fill the space between them—for which compare the situla from the Certosa of Bologna (Zannen Pl. 35). Just such a simple and symmetrical combination is the type before us; and we may find a close parallel from Peloponnesian bronze-work in the relief from the Ptoon (Bull. Corr. Hall. xvi. 1892, Pl. XI.), where two male figures, symmetrically placed, are connected by means of a crown.

6. Menelaos and Helen.—The earliest occurrence of the type is on the Spartan stele: on Attic b.f. vases it is not uncommon (e.g. Gerhard, Etrusk. und Camp. Vasenbilder xxi.; A.V. 129). This is not the place to discuss the ‘miniature Homeric question’ raised by Robert and Klein as to the existence of a comprehensive Illusopia in archaic times. The truth seems to be that the parts (of which two occur on the chest—the present scene and IV. 11) are prior to the whole. They represent a number of individual types formed in the Peloponnesian school.

7. Medea and Jason.—(This may have formed one scene with the next subject, v. supra.) The subject may be regarded as one introduced by the artist with special reference to his native place, especially as it does not form part of the common stock of early types. In restoring the scene a parallel was sought in the introduction of Herakles into Olympos, as represented on the cymbals from Rhodes (J.H.S. Pl. XLI.); the gesture of Jason is a constant one with Herakles in this scene. I have adhered strictly to the order of the figures as given by Pausanias. Overbeck’s draughtsman declared himself unable to reconstruct the scene with that arrangement, and Overbeck was thus led to believe that Pausanias had mistaken Aphrodite for Medea, and vice versa. But the supposition is gratuitous, and involves the representation of a full-face seated figure, which is most improbable for the chest.

Medea and Jason ruled in Thessaly in the oldest form of the legend, but were brought to Corinth by the poet Eumelos (Wilisch, Fragmenta des

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42 For a further development cf. Schneider, Peloponnesos, p. 47 f.
8. Apollo and the Muses.—Hes. 'Aσπίς Ἡρακλέους 200—202. The subject occurs on a Median vase (Conze Pl. IV.; Apollo and two Muses in a chariot). It belongs therefore to the earliest stock of types, and has been reconstructed in the simplest manner by the threefold repetition of the 'Dreifrauengruppe.'


'H.Aτλας οὐρανον εἰρήν ἔχει κρατοὺς ἅπαν ψηφίσης
[pέρασιν ἐν νηήν πρόπορον Ἐσπερίδου λυγρόνου
ἔστησεν, κεφαλὴ τε καὶ ὑπαμότιοις χέρεσιν]


The inscription

'H.Aτλας οὐρανον εἰρήν ἔχει, τά δὲ μάλα μεθίσει

is a conscious parody (Robert, Hermes xxiii. 440ff).

The current form of the legend, according to which Atlas fetched the apples while Héraclès upheld the heaven, was told by Pherekydes (Fr. 33 Müller), and is represented on a b.f. lekythos (Cent. V.) published in J.H.S. xiii, Pl. III., and on the metope from Olympia (misinterpreted by Pausanias). But the type on the chest—secured against misunderstanding—does not correspond to any known version of the story, nor is it easy to reconstruct an account which will allow Atlas to support the heaven and hold the apples at once. It seems possible that the artist regarded Atlas himself as the guardian of the apples, and placed them in his hands as the simplest method of indicating this, using the types most ready to hand in combination. Thus the type of Atlas recurs as Siyrphos on the Cynæca-cylix, A. V. 86, from which it is here restored with the necessary modification.

οὐρανον τε ἄνεχει καὶ γῆν.—Cp. Paus. v. 11, 2 (painting of Panainos). In both cases the expression is a loose reminiscence of α 52, 3

'χει δὲ τὸ κλωνάς αὐτόν
μακρὰς, αὐτῇ τὸ καὶ οὐρανόν ἄμφιθ' ἔχουσιν.

10. Ares and Aphrodite.—The type = No. 4, the direction no doubt being reversed; see the discussion of that No.

11. Peleus and Thetis.—Two moments are represented in art (1) Peleus lying in wait for Thetis (Jahrbuch i. 1886, Pl. X., and probably the ivory situla from Chiune, M. d. I. x. 309, 1, 19), a 'paratactic' composition, and (2) the wrestling scheme—on which see Graf, Jahrbuch. loc. cit. This Löschcke considers, as a 'closed' type, to be Ionic in origin. Graf and Löschcke suppose the legend to have a local origin and to have been unknown
in literature: to which Schneider, (Protagomena, p. 37 note 4) demurs, pointing out that it may be presupposed by Σ 432 ff. (Thetis is speaking of Zeus.)

εκ μὲν μ' ἄλλων ἄλλων ἀνδρὶ δάμασσεν,
Ἀλκηδήμη Πηλητῆ, καὶ ἐπὶ πάν ἀνθρώπος εἴναι
πολλὰ μιχ' εἶν' ἥθελονες.

The transformations of Thetis are indicated by the snake only (so only Gräf 10 = Compana iv. 563).

12. THE GORGONS AND PERSEUS.—The type and its elements are among the commonest decorative subjects in early art. Hes. Αἴσιος Ἡρακλέων 216—237; the attitude of Perseus (πετέρεμον in Paus.), which is constant on the early monuments, is indicated by l. 217

οὐτ' ἄρ' ἐπιφανῶν ημεῖσι ποιεῖν, ὠθεὶ ἐκὰς αὐτοῦ.

The most important of the early monuments are:
(1) The cylix from Rhodes, J.H.S. Pl. XLIII.
(2) The early Attic amphora, Antike Denkmaler i. 57 (from which the Gorgons are adapted in the restoration): Perseus is absent.
(4) The tripod vase from Tanagra, A. Z. 1881, Pl. iii. (the scene distributed over several square fields).

A comparison of these monuments will show how the type is composed of independent decorative figures. (Löschke A. Z. 1881, p. 31, thinks that the bearded type of Perseus is Corinthian, the beardless type Chalcidian.)

αἱ ὀφλησὶ Μέδουσας].—The words do not necessarily exclude Medusa herself.82a She has been introduced to complete the scene in accordance with the monuments.

THIRD BAND.

We may put aside the mythological excursus of Pausanias, as well as the interpretations of the Olympian ciononi. The band was no doubt occupied by one of those processional scenes which were so well adapted to fill a long horizontal field. Actual scenes of battle—such as those on the cylix of Archilkes and Glaukytes (W. V. 1889 ii.)—seem to be practically excluded by the nature of the explanations given: but there seems no reason why groups of warriors with levelled spears on the point of meeting should not have been represented; e.g. the cylix with Στροβιθις καλὸς, A. V. 190, 191 (v. Klein, Lieblingsmalerei, p. 27). Combining these with, e.g., the processions of chariots on the Corinthian cylix, Tak. Ἀρχ. 1886 vii, and the departure-scene, M. d. I. 1855 xx.—compared with the Chalcidian departure scene, A. V. 190, 191—I have attempted to produce a composition such as

82a Cp. III. 18: 13 Ἡρακλῆς τὰς Γηροδότου δεῖς Ζευσ, where Geryon was no doubt also present.
an archaic artist might have employed to decorate such a surface as that of the third band of the chest. Two points have been kept in view (1) symmetry about the centre (2) gradual progress of the action within the limits of the scene—both of which are characteristic of early art.

FOURTH BAND.

This band has the same general features as the second. Brunn and Furtwängler transpose the Judgment of Paris and Artemis in order to obtain a symmetrical response of the scenes, which then fall into two groups, (a) of 1-2 figures—almost square, (b) of 3-5 figures—oblong, and are arranged alternately about the central group of the Dioscuri, Helen and Aithra.

Thus we get

6. Ajax and Hektor.
5. Melanion and Atalanta.
4. Achilles and Memnon.
3. Theseus and Ariadne.
2. Herakles and Geryon.
1. Boreas and Oreithya.

8. Koon and Agamemnon.
11. Ajax and Cassandra.

I have not however adopted the transposition in the restoration, as my principle has been throughout to adhere as rigidly as possible to the terms of Pausanias' description, while admitting considerable latitude of interpretation. But there is a certain degree of probability in the conjecture: though no reason can be assigned for the transposition of the sections in the MS, and the mistake may be due to Pausanias himself when working up his notes from memory.

1. BOREAS AND OREITHYIA.—As Löschcke showed, the word ὑπηκόος clearly implies that Boreas is carrying Oreithya in his arms. The type thus belongs to the group discussed by Furtwängler, A. Z. 1882, 348ff. and Löschcke, Boreas und Oreithyia, p. 9—who compares three scenes from the throne of Amyclae, Zeus and Poseidon carrying off Taygete and Alkyone, the rape of the Leukippidai, Theseus and Peirithoos ὑπηκόοτες Ελένην—and held by them to be of Ionic origin. Löschcke in his above-named dissertation shows that the myth represented is not the current Attic legend, but an Ionic version. Oreithya is a Nereid in Σ 48 (in a list attested by Zenoäotes as Ἐναδείειν ἔχων χαρακτηρία, and her father Erechtheus (in the Attic myth) is really an Ionic form of Poseidon (von Duhn, Bemerkungen zuv Würzburger Phineusschale 104ff.). The story is really a doublet of that of Peleus and Thetis. A variant of the type occurs on the acroterion of Delos (A. Z. 1882, p. 342) where the horse reminds us of the story of Boreas and the mares of Erichthonios (T 219ff.). For the snake-feet of Boreas we may compare 'Chalcidian' bronze Tritons in the form of decorative handles
2. HERAKLES AND GERYON.—Löschke carefully distinguishes two archaic types of Geryon (the latest discussion in Boreas und Orkhoia, p. 5, and by Furtwängler in Roscher's Lexicon, Sp. 2203f.), of which the first—Geryon winged, one pair of legs—is represented by two Chalcidian amphorae, A. V. 105, 6 (from which the restoration is adapted) and A. V. 323, the other—Geryon wingless, three complete bodies—by the Corinthian and Attic monuments (of which the earliest is the pyxis J. H. S. v. p. 176). Löschke argues that the words τρεῖς ἄνδρες ἄλληλοι προσεχόμενοι imply the Peloponnesian type; but this is not absolutely conclusive: the three bodies are quite distinct, and Pausanias does not, for example, mention the wings of the Boreas on Band 1. 5. The phrase δ' πρὸς Γημόνου ἄγῳ wears the appearance of a summarized description—note that in describing the throne at Amyclaee (iii. 18, 13) Pausanias uses the vague expression Ἡρακλῆσ τὰ; Γημόνου βοῦς ἑλαύνει—and without some extension of the ἄγῳ it is impossible to arrive at a satisfactory arrangement of the scenes to fill the left-hand side of the chest.

3. THESEUS AND ARIADNE.—Cp. Pallat, de fábula Ariadnea, Berlin 1891, p. 7 ff., who thinks that Pausanias may have mistaken the crown for the fillet (?) held by Ariadne on the vase of Archikles and Glaukytes (A. V. 235, 6). But it may simply indicate the musical skill of Theseus. Later writers identified the constellation of the lyre with the instrument of Theseus; so Ἄμαρεον 'ap. Hyg. Astr. ii. 6 = Bergk P. E. G. iii. 280

Ἀγχόν d' Ἀλεξέων Ὀσίεως ἐστὶ λύρῃ.
Milani, Mus. Ital. di antichità classica iii. 274, refers the inner subject of the cylix of Kachrylion W. V.D. vii. to this scene.

4. ACHILLES AND MEMNON.—The first of three duel-scenes on this band derived from the Trojan story. This scene belongs to the early stock of art-types, as is seen from its occurrence on the Melian vase, Conze Pl. III.

5. MELANION AND ATALANTA.—A simple composition, the figure of Atalanta being adapted from one of the early types of Artemis, represented by the Melian vase, Conze Pl. IV. (compare the fragment from Thera, A. Z. 1854, Pl. 61). Atalanta is in fact in origin an Arcadian form of Artemis.

6. AJAX AND HEKTOR.—This scene may possibly have been represented on the Olympian bronze-relief No. 700α (fragmentary inscr., cp. Furtwängler's note). For Ἐφα, who was certainly represented with a Gorgon's
head, see Gerhard, Gesammelte Abhandlungen Plate XI = A. d. I. 1839 tav. P (Chalecidian skrophos).

7. THE DIOSSCURI, HELEN AND AITHRA. Cyp. Dio Chrysostom xi. p. 325 B: ὄσι αὐτὸς ἐφοράται ἐν ὑπὸ Ὀλυμπία ἐν τῷ ὅπωρῳ τοῦ νεότητος δημώδεις τῆς Ἀρρητῆς ὑπόκομης ἁπάντοις ἐν τῷ ἐκλείπον τῷ ἀνατεθείσθη ὑπὸ Κοσμόβου τοῦ Διόσκοροι ἕχοντας τὴν Ἑλένην ἑπιθετηκείσθη τῇ κεφαλῇ τῆς Αἰθρᾶς καὶ τῆς κόρης ἔλευσαν, καὶ ἐπιγραμμα ἐπιγραμμένον ἄρχαιος γράμμασιν.

For this scene only we have the independent description of an eyewitness (Robert attributes this also to Polemon in Hermes xxiii. 488'1). Unfortunately neither account gives us a clear idea of the scene. Robert's suggestion that ἔσκοτος τῆς Ἑλένης implies that the Dioscuri were carrying Helen, and that her feet hung down over Aithra's head while she dragged her by the hair, is ludicrous. The artist was composing freely, not drawing on the common stock of types, and it is impossible to arrive at a satisfactory restoration. But Dio Chrysostom's words ἐπιθετηκείσθη τῇ κεφαλῇ τῆς Αἰθρᾶς must not be taken literally, and if we combine his phrase τῆς κόρης ἔλευσαν with the words of Pausanias ἐστάθης καταθετηκείσθη we may arrive at a result such as that shown in the restoration. As Pausanias does not mention the horses of the Dioscuri they have not been represented: and this seems to have been commonly the case in the Peloponnesian; cp. the relief from Sparta (Ath. Mitth. viii. 1888, Pl. XVIII., cp. Ath. Mitth. ii. 1877 p. 316, No. 17). No attempt has been made to reproduce the black garments of Aithra (v. supra. Band II. 1).

There has been much discussion of late years as to the version of the story represented on the chest: Robert Hermes xxiii. 1888, 436 (and Aus Kydathecn, p. 101, note 2), Masses Purserga Attica (Index Lectioum Greseon, 1889—90) and Gött. Geschehte Anzeigen 1890, p. 556, Töpffer Aus der Anodiea 1890, p. 36 ff., Kirchner Attica et Peloponnesica Greiswald 1890, p. 57 ff., Wagner Epitome Vaticana ex Apollodori Bibliotheca 1891, p. 153 ff., Prigge de Thessalos gesta Marburg, 1891, pp. 35—38, Preger Inscriptiones Graecae Metries 1891, p. 135, cp. Wide Lakonische Kulte 1893, p. 321. The facts are as follows. Allkman is quoted by Paus. i. 41, 4, in the following terms:—Ἀλκμάν ποιήσας ἀσμα ἐς τοὺς Δίοσκοροι, ὡς 'Αθήνας ἐλλοιο, καὶ τὴν Θησέως ἀγαίνουσι μητέρα αἰχμαλοστόν, ὄμως Θησέως φησίν αὐτὸν ἀπειράκι. The scholia on Ι. 242 relate how on this occasion Ἀφίδνα τοῦς Ἀττικῆς πορθεῖτο: they continue οἱ δὲ Δίοσκουρῳ Θησέως μὴ τυχόντας λαφυραγούσι τὰς Ἀθηνάς. (So the Scholia Veneta: the Scholia Didymia have Ἀφίδνας.) The note professes to come partly from Polemon and the cyclic poets καὶ ἀπὸ μίροις παρὰ Ἀλκμάν νῦν λυρικῷ, Bergk (P. L. G. iii 19) would read Ἀφίδνας, in both places and emend the text of the inscription on the chest of Kypselos to Ἀφίδναθεν, thus correcting the faulty metre: he thinks moreover that the artist interpolated

* But cf. v. 17, 7, Πέλας ιχνοτα ισωδόμενος, and the restoration.
the word Ἀκτον in the verse supplied him by the poet—a supposition in which he has naturally found no followers. The reason of the changes is of course that the current version of the story as told by Herodotus (ix. 73), Hellanicus (Fr. 74 ap. Schol. Π 144) and subsequent writers is to the effect that Helen was recovered from Aphidna in Attica. Herodotus tells us that the Deceleans assisted the Tyndaridae and in return received privileges at Sparta, which they retained down to his own time, and moreover that their land enjoyed immunity from devastation during the Spartan invasions in the Peloponnesian war.

A new element was introduced into the discussion by Robert, who called attention to the fact that Stephanus of Byzantium mentions a place of the name Ἀφιδνα in Laconia. Robert argued that an Attic local legend—which he would suppose, following Niese's most improbable conjecture, to have originated during the Peloponnesian war—could not possibly have been represented on the chest of Kypselos. Accepting Bergk's emendation, he upheld that the scene was laid in the Laconian Aphidna. Maass replied that Theseus being an Attic king would not deposit his prize in Laconia, and vigorously defended the reading Ἀδάναβερ, contending that the form of the legend given by Alkmene, in which Athens was sacked, was the genuine Peloponnesian version and therefore represented on the chest.

Topffer defended Bergk's position, and removed the improbability of the presence of an Attic legend on the chest by pointing to the fact that Eumelos, the Corinthian poet, told how Marathon colonized the Tetrapolis from Corinth, and to the relationship between the Philaidae in Attica and the Kypselids.

Wagner supported Maass, and showed that in Apollodorus (iii. 10, 7), where the same confusion occurs in the MSS, as in the case of Schol. Π 242, the newly-discovered epitome proves the reading Ἀθήνας right.

Meanwhile Kirchner—though himself disposed to think that Ἀδάναβερ referred to a version based on the worship of Theseus and Peirithoos at Κολωνίας Πινιας—showed that Theseus has left traces of his presence in the Peloponnesse and particularly at Tegae as well as at Troezen and in Attica. While regards this as a confirmation of the theory that the Laconian Aphidna is the scene of the myth (but does not state an opinion as to the chest). Of the other writers Prigge follows Maass, and Preger Bergk. The latter course seems to me the most reasonable, though the corruption Ἀδάναβερ is no doubt a MS. corruption (as shown by the parallel cases) and not to be explained as a misreading of the inscription. Bergh's theory that the artist altered the poet's verse is quite untenable. It may be impossible to find a satisfactory explanation for the metrical phenomenon, but we must adhere rigidly to Pausanias' account of the facts as he observed them.

8. AGAMEMNON, IPHIDAMAS, Koon.—Ἀ 248—263. The combat over a fallen warrior is a common type here specialized with reference to the Ἡδω.
The description of Agamemnon's shield Λ 36-7, where the Gorgonion is named as the device, while Ψόβως occupies a subordinate position, is interpolated (v. Furtwängler in Roscher's Lexikon, p. 1702). For the lion-headed figure of Phobos the nearest parallel is the Etruscan amphora, Mus. Nap. lxx., for which Furtwängler compares a Cappadocian relief, Perrot, Exploration de la Galatie 48 M. in proof of its Asiatic origin. It was a type eliminated by the struggle for existence in Greek art, like the Κύρος in No. 12.

9. Judgment of Paris.—On the type see Jane Harrison, J.H.S. vii. 196 ff. and Schneider, Prolegomena, p. 21 note 2. Miss Harrison's type b (p. 203) has been reproduced in accordance with the earliest monuments—pínx at Florence (J.H.S. vii. p. 198), and amphora, also at Florence (J.H.S. Pl. LXX.).

10. Artemis.—The type is of wide diffusion in early Greek art. It will be sufficient to name among the earliest monuments the gold pendants from Camirus (Salzmann, Néropole de Camiros I.), the Boeotian 'geometrical' casket (Jahrbuch iii. 1888, p. 357), the 'Inselstein' (Milschöfer, Anfänge 56a), and the terra-cotta relief from Mycenae (A. Z. 1866 A). The two last are wingless.

Knoll, Studien zur ältesten griechischen Kunst, Bamberg, 1830, pp. 58-85, maintains that Pausanias attached the name Artemis to this figure on account of the animals (as the πόρτα τῆς θηρίων), but that in reality the figure was merely a 'decorative Flügelfranz' derived from the Semitic Ishtar. The type is of course principally a decorative one, as is shown by its use e.g. on the handles of the François vase or the gold pendants of Camiros; but there can be no doubt whatever, from the expression used by Pausanias, that the name Artemis was inscribed. The type is commonly known as the 'Persian' Artemis, and compared with the Iranian goddess Anahita; but as Studniczka (Kyrèse, p. 155 ff.) rightly maintains, this identification is wholly untenable. The Greeks borrowed the type of the male figure with animals symmetrically disposed (to the list of such figures must now be added the gold ornament from Aegina of late Mycenaean style, J.H.S. xiii. p. 201, and the bronze-relief of the Acropolis, J.H.S. xiii. p. 259, the first wingless, the second winged) and, changing the sex, transferred the type to their native goddess Artemis. Like Eos (Studniczka, p. 156) she afterwards lost her wings, as well as her heraldic attitude, though as a decorative figure the type remained in subordinate use, e.g. on the diadem of the Nemesis at Rhamnus (Dümmler ap. Studniczka, p. 160)."

11. Ajax and Cassandra.—There are two early examples of the type:

(1) Bronze-relief from Olympia, No. 705, Furtwängler p. 104.

(2) Interior of cylix from Rhodes, J.H.S. Pl. XL, with the aid of which the scene has been restored. The figure of Athena, according to Furtt-

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43 From Boghos Kevi (Ptolema).  
44 The nearest Oriental parallel is a wingless figure on a hematite cylinder from Salamis (Perrot, ill. fig. 428, p. 638).
wangler, is conceived as living. It is hard to say in what school the type—not a very simple one—was created. How meaningless it could become in the hands of an unintelligent artist may be seen by comparing the h.f. amphora, *A.Z.* 1848, xiii.

12. ETEOKLES AND POLYNORAGS.—The scheme of the duel in which one warrior sinks on his knee is familiar in early art. *Cp.* the lower band on the Amphiaros vase, *M. d. I.* x. 4, and the remains of the uppermost scene on the bronze-relief from the Acropolis, *Ath. Mitt.* xii. 1887, 123 note 3. The *Ker,* as has already been shown, corresponds precisely to the description of the *Kypes* on the Hesiodic *Aorpa,* but to no ancient monument. Furtwängler in Roscher's *Lexikon,* p. 1707, holds that it should be restored with the face of a Gorgon, and this is certainly the most obvious solution: but in that case it is difficult to give the figure its due place in the action—that of being ready to seize the falling warrior—and a comparison of the Harpies on the *Aegina* from Aegina (*A. Z.* 1882 ix.) suggests that that type may have been modified by our artist somewhat in the way represented. His invention did not, however, win its way to acceptance by other artists.

13. DIONYSOS.—Note that the train of Satyrs and Maenads is entirely absent; on the significance of which see above. There is no close parallel, but a comparison with the 'Dionysos at sea' of Exekias (*A. T.* 48) suggests itself. For the cave indicated by a rock ep. the cave of Pholo, *J.H.S.* pl. i.

FIFTH BAND.

This was a continuous frieze, like Bands I. and III. (see above). The scene in which Hephaestus hands the armour to Thetis formed a central group. Apart from the mule-car (of Aphrodite?) the movement was divergent on either side of the group.

1. THE NUPTIALS OF PELEUS AND THETIS.—For the subject see above, § 5. The most valuable hints for the reconstruction were obtained from *M. d. I.* vi. 33 (Herakles the guest of Eurystoe etc.). A man and woman share the same *kλιδή* on the similar vase a *colommete* in the Louvre 629. The type of Cheiron (to whom has been assigned the branch with game suspended in accordance with the monuments) remained a standing one even in the fifth century. *Cp.* *J.H.S.* pl. ii. (white-ground oenochoe) and the great Amazon vase from Ruvo at Naples (on the neck). The indication of the lameness of Hephaestus is difficult to carry out. The restoration is of course only conjectural.

47 This is the only serious argument for retaining Patassium’s interpretation, and as such is strongly pressed by Schneider. We should in that case have to reverse the direction. But a scene consisting only of one mule-car seems out of place in the present frieze.
2. HERAKLES AND CENTAURS.—Freely composed, with the aid of such early monuments as:

(1) The Protocorinthian lekythos in Berlin, A. Z. 1883 pl. x.
(2) The Corinthian skyphos in the Louvre, J.H.S. pl. i.

When adapted to a circular field the scene forms a closed ring in which the figure of Herakles acts as a clasp (so Schneider, Sachs. Berichte 1891, p. 217); but the original type is no doubt that of a frieze with Herakles at one end, as here.

The ornament is adapted from the 'Argive' reliefs (the guilloche in its simple form), and from the bronze-work of the Acropolis published by Mr. Bather (J.H.S. xiii. 1892–3, Figg. 22, 24, 26). These were selected from motives of economy and simplicity, but it is likely that beside the simple guilloche used in the framing of the scenes on bands II. and IV. much more elaborate ornament was also employed on the original, Furtwängler's sketch (Meisterwerke, p. 731) will show how this may have been. The use of the Palmette and Lotos chain (Arch. Anz. 1891, p. 125, 12a is a fine specimen) and the ornament figured in Eph. Arch. 1892 xii. 1. 21 (cp. Arch. Anz. 1891, p. 124, 12a) seems to me very probable.

HENRY STUART JONES.

[Note.—Since the above was written, Studniczka has contributed to the Jahrbuch (1894, pp. 51-54) an article dealing primarily with the figure of Herakles on Band 12 (v. 17, 9), whom he regards as introduced to see fair play at the τέμπα of the race-course, like Phoenix in Ψ 358ff. He also (p. 52, note 16) adopts Stitt's view as to the cylindrical form of the κυψέλη, pointing to the fact that the words λάρναξ and κισσωτής are used by Pausanias of the θεία μύστικα preserved at Patrae, of which Imhoof and Gardner trace a representation in the cylindrical object appearing on coins ('Numismatic Commentary' Q. 1-4). He would explain the alternating direction of the περιόδως by the supposition that the κυψέλη was placed so near to the wall that it was impossible to walk round it. S. further suggests that it may have originally formed the base of the golden colossus.]
ANIMAL WORSHIP IN THE MYCENAEAN AGE.

I.—The Cult of the Ass.

ἡν ἄρα καὶ κάνθωσι τῆς χαλεπῆ τε καὶ ἐσθή.

Anthol. Pal. II. xi. 383.

Among the many discoveries made by the Greek Archaeological Society at Mycenae in 1886 there is one which, for the student of primitive religion, possesses a quite exceptional interest—I refer to the strange fresco here reproduced (Fig. 1). It was recovered at the excavation of a chamber belonging to the oldest period. The fresco itself was found on a wall somewhat to the south of this chamber, but evidently connected with the

Fig. 1.

same group of buildings. M. Tsountas, the able director of the operations, describes it as εἰρεθέν κάτω πλησίον τῶν οίκων—οὐχὶ ἐν αὐτῇ—παρὰ τι ἄγγελον ἐκ μολύβδου ἔχον σχῆμα λουτῆρος. It may be well to quote further his own account of the find. “It represents,” he says, “three figures

*Εφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική, 1887, pp. 160-161; Πλ. Σ.

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bearing on their shoulders a pole, which they grasp with their right hands—
the left in each case not being shown. On the head of the central figure
may still be seen an excrescence of some sort, which probably denoted a
tassel of the creature’s hair: the ears slope backwards, and from their roots
depends the rest of the animal’s long tresses, which are plaited; at least,
this I take to be the meaning of the colours employed: they also wear
a girdle about their loins. The bodies, including that of the central figure,
are not preserved sufficiently to enable us to decide whether they are the
bodies of beasts or of men. About the pole is wound a fillet; though its
extremities, from which a pair of corresponding objects was probably hung,
are now lost. The heads are not those of horses but of asses, as is evident
from the long ears and the general outline of the mouth with its lips
and nostrils.

As to the precise significance of these curious figures no very satisfac-
tory conclusion has yet been reached. M. Tsountas himself, and indeed
the majority of archaeologists, is content to refer to Dr. Milchhöfer’s work
Die Anfänge der Kunst in Griechenland as containing a sufficient explana-
tion of the scene. The chapter in question deals with the so-called ‘Island
stones’; and in it the author seeks to prove that a large proportion of the
subordinate Greek divinities—including the Harpies, Winds, Gorgons,
Centaurs, Satyrs and Sileni, as well as Demeter, Erinyes, Pegasus, Areion,
Iris, the Minotaur and the Dioscuri—all group themselves around the
central figure of the Horse, and are in fact differentiations of that same
primitive cult. Whether this is so or not, I shall endeavour to determine
later on. For the present it is enough to point out that Dr. Milchhöfer’s
essay deals only with the Horse,—he does not so much as mention the Ass;—
and therefore he can hardly be said to have provided a satisfactory solution
of the picture before us.

Since the discovery of this stucco-painting at Mycenae a very different
explanation has been offered by Dr. Winter, who regards such figures as
‘mistaken copies of the sacred Hippopotamus, the Egyptian goddess
Thamenis.’ With this interpretation Dr. Walter Leaf was formerly disposed
to agree. But I would urge against it two objections. In the first place
it is hard to see why her figure should have been thus repeated three times
in a single scene. And in the second place we have direct evidence that
Mycenaean art was much better acquainted with the shape of the hippopo-
tamus than this theory would lead us to suppose. For among the terracotta vases found at Hissarlik in the débris of the second city (the Homeric
Troy) were several in the form of animals, one of them giving a very
fair idea of the hippopotamus. In short, though a single figure within the

9 Jahrbuch der K. d. Institute, 1899, p. 108
(Arch. Anzeiger).
10 The hippopotamus Tsa-tir stood for a
typhonous evil divinity, and was more an
object to be prayed against than prayed to.
Its temple was at Paphlagon. Naville calls it
the emblem of impudence. Set took the body
of a red hippopotamus. J. Bonwick, Egyptian
Belief, p. 227, sq.
11 Schliemann’s Excavations, Eng. ed. 1891,
Keller, Thioe des klassischen Alterthums, p.
205.
small compass of a lenticular gem might conceivably be accepted as a
distortion of Thoeris; a comparison of the three lively figures on our fresco
either with the above-mentioned Mycenaean portrait of the hippopotamus,
or with the Egyptian statues of Thoeris herself,9 will make any such ex-
planation appear arbitrary and improbable.

Admitting then that these figures are neither horses nor river-horses,
but simply assins,9 we have to account for their peculiar appearance, and
to offer some solution as to their significance. It will, I think, be well to
remember two facts with regard to their provenance. They were discovered,
as I have said, on the citadel of Mycenae; and connected with the spot
where they were unearthed was a court-yard, which contained remains of an
old sacrificial pit similar to the one disclosed at Tiryns by Dr. Dörpfeld.
There is therefore a certain amount of a priori probability for attributing
to them some religious meaning.

Bearing this in mind, let us turn for a moment to another citadel
of the Mycenaean civilization, the Akropolis at Athens. Here, in the days
when ‘the strong house of Erechtheus’ was still standing, there was per-
formed a ceremony which, thanks to scattered notices in the extant classics,
can be partially reconstructed. It would appear that even in the time
of Aristophanes girls between five and ten years of age were accustomed on
certain occasions to celebrate a propitiatory rite in honour of Artemis
Brauronia. This was done within the precinct of the Akropolis. Clad in
saffron robes, which they afterwards presented to the goddess, they mimicked the
action of bears (ἀρκτεώσται): indeed they were themselves called
ἀρκτοι and their festival τὰ ἀρκτεῖα. Further, it is possible that the saffron
robes were the substitution of a more polished age for the rude bear-skins
donned by less civilized worshippers.9

Applying this analogy to the case before us, we may maintain that
there is no antecedent improbability against the prevalence of a similar
ceremony at Mycenae. And if it could be shown that the ass was an animal

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9 See the Gazette Archéologique, 1888, Pl. 1.
No. 6; Cemela, Olympe, p. 278; Sertor and Chipiez, History of Ancient Egyptian Art, Eng.
vol. i. p. 63, Fig. 42. An Egyptian picture of the ‘Nilford’ may be seen in Keller, op.
cit. p. 296, Fig. 41. Even the Bushmen of S. Africa show greater skill in drawing this
animal than Winter would allow the early Greeks; cp. a cave-painting in A. Lang, Customs and
Myth, p. 295, Fig. 9.

9 Mr. A. J. Evans writes to me that he is collecting fresh evidence against Winter’s theory.
M. Cavvaidias, Peintures de Lycomara, Litr. 1.
p. 12, n. 2, agrees with M. Tsountas in his in-
terpretation: ‘Les figures monstrueuses, peintes
sur un fragment de stucco trouvé dans le palais de
Myccanes, sont, à mon avis, des figures humaines
à tête d’âne, vétées d’une tunique talaine.’

Similarly Parrot and Chipiez, Hist. de l’Art
dans l’Antiquité, vol. vi. p. 385, ‘Ceux-ci ont,
sur un buste et avec des bras d’homme, des
têtes d’âne.’

9 So A. Lang, Myth, Ritual and Religion, p.
215, n. 1: ‘The bear-skin seems later to have
been exchanged for a saffron raiment.’ This
derives dubious support from a fragment of the
figurine peopled belonging to Demophon’s group
of Demeter, Despoina, Artemis, and Aratus;
a female with the head of a bear dances in
company with other animal forms. A parallel
case would be Catull’s picture of the Indian
bear-dance (pub. by Currier and Ives, New
York), which shows a ring of warriors crouching
like bears, some of them wearing bear-skin
masks that conceal the whole head, and one a
complete skin covering back, arms, and legs.
likely to be worshipped by the early dwellers on the citadel, the details of our fresco would receive a clear and simple solution. For I would suggest that we have here a representation of three worshippers, dressed in asses’ heads and skins, engaged in some religious function. The colouring of the skins which they wear on their backs shows them to have been some such conventional substitute as the ἵππος at Athens. 10 The girdle round the waist was used to attach the skins to their bare bodies; and the human head was probably covered by an artificial mask—this is indicated both by the flesh-tint of the face and by the two semi-circular marks under the jaw. 11 Lastly, just as the ἱππος were said ὑμητίριον ἄγειν, so here we may find an explanation of that curious old proverb ὕμητιρια.

This interpretation of the painting is to some extent strengthened by a consideration of certain Island stones. There are at least three gems on which, if I have read them aright, we have scenes from the same ritual. Two out of these three were found in Crete; and though the exact source of the third is unknown, the Cretan goat upon it suggests the same island.

The first (Fig. 2) is a lenticular carnelian, now in the Berlin Museum. 12 It affords in some respects the closest parallel to the Mycenaean fresco. A figure clothed in the head and skin of an ass bears on his shoulder a pole—presumably the ἄρταλλα or ἄρταλλον of Aristophanes,Fr. 113—which he steadies with his right hand, the left not being shown. From the ends of this pole hang two slaughtered quadrupeds, ‘due lioni o pantere ovis’, according to Heibig. The pose of the arm, and the skin coat gathered in at the waist, recall the details of the larger drawing and raise a presumption that here too we have a similar scene portrayed. The second gem (Fig. 3), a lenticular chalcedony, 13 repeats the motive. This time, however, as the victim is not so heavy, it is simply slung across the left shoulder. The girdle is

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12 Sehvel, on Aristophanes Ep. 615.
13 Milchhöfer, op. cit. p. 155. Fig. 115: Mitchell, Hist. of Ancient Sculpture, p. 141; Fig. 71: Maxim Collignon, Hist. de l’art, G. 1. 1. 67, Fig. 35: Perrot and Chipiez, Hist. de l’art, vol. vi. p. 845, Fig. 428, 8; Brunn, Or. Kunstgeschichte, p. 47: Overbeck, Or. Kunstarcheology, p. 483, Fig. 2.
15 Milchhöfer, op. cit. p. 555. Fig. 115: Lajard, Recherches an Mithra, Atlas, P. 45, No. 10.
better shown, and the tassels down the back as well as the crest between the ears again remind us of the fresco. The third gem (Fig. 4), a glandular haematite, also in the Berlin Museum, represents the same figure once more with girdle and decorated skin, but in a different attitude. He is here in the act of presenting a sacred vessel; and this in all probability was another part of the same ritual, for it will be remembered that in M. Tsountas' account close to the fresco was found a strange όργειον ἐκ μολόβδου ἐχον σχήμα λαοῦτρος.

Thus far, then, assuming that the ass was the object of a special cult at Mycenae, we have found an explanation for the figures on the fresco that may at least be called consistent with the representations on the Island stones. But—it will be asked—are we justified in our assumption? Have we a right to assign any religious importance to the ass? Certainly with the Greeks as with other nations that animal was often cited merely as a symbol of stubbornness and stolidity. It is in this character only that Homer, for example, mentions it. Hence too come such proverbs as ἀνθρώπος εἶναι μῦθον ὁ ἄρος ὑπήρειμαι. And Horapollo, whose ignorance of hieroglyphics does not preclude his acquaintance with Hellenic custom, informs us that the Egyptians 'portray with the head of an ass' the man who has never left his own land, as being one who has no turn for enquiry and knows nothing of foreign travel. Cornelius de Fauw, commenting on sundry interpretations of that passage, remarks: 'Asinimum caput pro capite humano surnim tum loco symboli, ad denotandum hominum stupiditatem. Haec aptum. Alii non sunt minus assia.' But a priori argument provokes a priori answer:—

"The gods?
What and where are they?" What my sire supposed,
And where you cloud conceal them! "Till they 'scape
And scramble down to Leda, as a swan,
Europa, as a bull? why not as—ass
To somebody?"

Aristophanes' Apology, p. 87.

At any rate it will be worth while to ask whether ancient mythology attached any peculiar significance to the ass, and if so, how far such significance will explain the details and accessories of our problematic painting.

Now the fact that among Eastern nations the ass possesses a dignity which his Western congener has lost prepares us to learn that in the

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95 Milchinski, op. cit. p. 68; Fig. 46; Mitchell, op. cit. p. 147, Fig. 72; see also Helbig, Bull, 1876, p. 41, and Orebeck, Ἀρχαία φυσιογνωμία, iv. p. 689; Fig. 4. In this the prototype of the St. Petersburg gem published by Miss Harrison in Myth of the Odyssey, p. 70, ii. xx. c—'A human figure with a swine's head, one of the companions of Odysseus. He holds in his hand the fatal cup.
96 Haed xi. 558, ἐν τῷ βίτριον ἀρχιπλατίμων.
97 Hieroglyphics, l. 823.
98 Ed. 1727, p. 46.
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Rigvedas he is invested with supernatural powers, appearing now as a demi-god, now as a semi-demon. He is on the one hand a victorious warrior, terrifying men with his discordant voice, and endowed with generative strength beyond his compoers. On the other hand his demonical aspect is also prominent; he dwells in the darkness of a cavern or the gloom of hell, and this cavern and hell sometimes assume the form of an ass's skin, or of an ass simply.

The conception of the celestal ass as a great warrior was naturally confided to those countries in which the terrestrial ass was employed in war. Aelian, for example, makes the following statement:

"ξρούνταί δ' ὄρνους οἱ πολλοὶ, καὶ πρὸς πόλεμον στάνει τῶν ἱππων ὄρνου τῇ θύουσι τῷ Ἀρεί, δῶτερ καὶ σέβασται θεῶν μόνων, καὶ εἰσι πόλεμματι,

adding that when Darius attacked the Scythians, his contingent of asses proved most effective in routing the enemy's cavalry.

The few traces of the warrior ass that occur in classical literature may be collected here. Eratothenes relates that in the Gigantomachia, when Zeus summoned all the gods to the rescue, Dionysus, Hephaestus, and the Satyrs, came riding upon asses, which, though frightened themselves, so alarmed the giants by their braying that the battle was won."

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11 Rigveda I. xxxiv. 9, Trans. Prof. H. H. Wilson, vol. I. p. 96. 9 When will be the harvesting of the powerful ass, that you may come to the sacrifices? i.e. the ass was the steed of the Avisión.
12 Rigveda I. xxix. 5, Trans. Prof. H. H. Wilson, vol. I. p. 74, Ἀδρ, destroy this ass, (our adversary), praising thee with such discordant speech; and do thou, Ἀδρ, of boundless wealth, enrich us with thousands of excellent cows and horses.
13 The Adivina, Brahmanah of the Rigveda. Trans. Martin Haug, vol. II. p. 273 = Alt. Br. IV. ii. 9, The Adivina were the winners of the race with a carriage drawn by donkeys; they obtained the prize. These (on account of the excessive efforts to arrive at the goal) the donkey lost its (original) velocity. . . . The Adivina, however, did not deprive the sperm of the ass of its (primitive) vigour. This is the reason that the male ass (vais) has two kinds of sperm (to produce males from a mare, and ass from a female ass).
14 Bamiyana ii. 71, Trans. Griffith: Bharat in a dream sees his dead father carried off by a team of asses—a token that portends "departure for the abode of Yamas."
15 De Gebharnn, op. cit. p. 370.
16 de Nat. Anim. xii. 34.
17 XV. ii. 14: ep. Arnobius IV. xxv.: Visis si (sec. Marti) annos ab Caribus, quis ab Scythis animos tamnullos? non principalentes annos ostelis Apollodorum?"
18 Catull. xi. p. 216, ed. West.
Pausanias (X. xviii. 4) informs us that the Ambrakians dedicated an ass of bronze in gratitude for a night-victory over the Molossians, in which the foe had been routed by a timely bray. Similarly in Aesop’s fable of the Ass and the Lion as partners in the chase,

‘auritulus
Clamorem subito totis tollit viribus
Novoque turbat bestias miraculo.’

PHAEDRUS I. xi. 6.

Lastly Pliny mentions the superstition that ‘pellis asini injecta impavidos infantes facit.’

As an intermediate link between Eastern and Western mythology we have the Phrygian legend of Midas. This somewhat complex tale represents Midas as the king and forefather of the Phrygian people. In his childhood ants conveyed grains of corn into his mouth, indicating—says Cicero—that one day he would become the richest of all men. During the progress of Dionysus from Thrace to Phrygia Silenus strayed into his rose-gardens, and bound with wreaths of flowers was brought before him. Midas received the delinquent kindly; and Dionysus in return granted his request that whatever he touched should become gold—a favour that the king was soon glad to have cancelled. It is further stated that Midas belonged to a race of Satyrs. Being visited by one of his kinsmen, who with voice and flute ridiculed him on account of his Satyr’s ears, Midas mixed wine in a well, induced his detractor to drink, and so caught him. This well was still shown at Ancyra in Pausanias’ time, though others maintained that the true spot was near Thymbrium. Better known is the story which tells how Apollo, angered because Midas preferred Pan’s piping to his own harping, changed the ears of the monarch into those of an ass. For a while Midas concealed them under his Phrygian cap. But at length the servant who cut his hair discovered them, and—being unable to keep silence—dug a hole in the ground, into which he whispered the fatal news. The hole was filled up; but reeds springing from the spot betrayed the secret as they rustled in the wind.

These are the main incidents of the Midas myth. It must not of course be treated after the manner of the later mythographers as necessarily a consistent whole. But inasmuch as it regards the figure of the ass-king under several different aspects, it will form a convenient starting-point from

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80 Epictetus says, ‘Pausanias says, “It is true that Midas was once changed into an ass, but it did not happen to him as it did to the king.””


21 Julian, Ver. Hist. xii. 45.

22 de divin. i. 36.

23 Philostrat. Vit. Apoll. xi. 27, 2 tells the tale.

24 Paus. i. iv. 5.

25 Xenoph. Anab. i. ii. 13,
which to consider the various interpretations of this symbolism current among the Greeks.

(1) In the first place, then, we note a certain connection—whether positive or negative—between the ass and music. The Satyr derides Midas oû móon φῶν άλλα καὶ αἰείδων. And it is for his lack of musical taste that Apollo imposes the 'auricales asini.' Elsewhere we learn that the ass was sacrificed to Apollo; Pindar speaking of the Hyperboreans says:—

ταρίτ οίς ποτε Περσεφών ἐνδίκατο λακέτος,
δώματ' ἐστιθάνων,
κλειτάς δ' ὕψος ἐκατόμβας ἐπίτοσσαις θεώ
ῥέοντας· ἀν θαλλαίς ἐπείδου
εὐφαμίαι τε μᾶλλον 'Ἀπόλλων
χαλέου, γελά' θ' ὅρων ὑβριν ὁρθαίν κυνάδαλων.

Clemens too remarks: Λετ the Scythians continue to sacrifice their asses, as Apollodorus says and Callimachus in his line—

Φοῖβος 'Ὑπερβορείων ὄνων ἐπιτελεται ἱερείς—
or again in another place—

τέρπουσιν οὐπαραὶ Φοῖβον ὄνοσφαγίαι.

Antoninus Liberalis is more circumstantial. He tells how a certain Babylonian, Kleinis by name, travelled to the temple of Apollo in the country of the Hyperboreans and—like Perseus before him—saw ἱερογραφημένον αὐτῷ τὰς θυσίας τῶν ὄνων. Returning to Babylon he attempted a similar sacrifice himself; but Apollo forbade it, τὴν γὰρ τῶν ὄνων θυσίαν ἐν ὧν 'Ὑπερβορείων ἀγομένην αὐτῷ καθ' ἱεράν ἐναί. Two of Kleinis's sons disobeyed the command and drove asses to the altar. The god in vengeance maddened the beasts, which devoured Kleinis and all his family. However, before they died, Apollo at the request of Leto and Artemis μεταβαλὼν ἐπιθύμησε πάντας ὄρμηται. Despite Apollo's predilection for the Hyperborean breed there was an annual sacrifice of asses at Delphi; this we gather from an important inscription in which occurs the line—

τὸν φόρον καὶ τὰ ιερία ἄνθροι συναγόμενον, τῶν ὄνος τῶν ἵππων...

Emendations have been proposed; but Boeckh's comment is just: *de asinis non est quod dubites; non Graeci Hyperboreos secessent Apollini sainorum hecatomben offerentes, nisi in Graecia quoque asini mauctati Apollini essent. It may be plausibly conjectured that, just as in the Vedic hymn 'the god Indras...is requested by the poet to kill the ass who sings with horrible

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26 Pyth. x. 31 ff.
28 Ed. Koch, p. 28 ff.
29 This is perhaps due to a misunderstanding of the expression δῶν ηπέρια in Aristophanes. Birds, 721.
30 Boeckh, C.I.G. vol. i. p. 807, line 14.
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voice," so in Hellenic legend the braying ass is devoted to Apollo in his office of μουσαγέτης and λυροκτότης. From some such sense of propriety arose the adage δύος λύρας (ικανός ο άπτεται), and the saying explained by Suidas — δύος πρός αλλάς. In the same vein Plutarch with reference to the Phrygian bone flute remarks that the ass παχύτατος και ἀμυνότατος ὑπὸ τάκτα, λευτεράτων καὶ μουσικώτατων χόρτων παρέχεται. To which Niloxenus replies: Ἀμέλες ταῦτα καὶ ἤμεν τοῖς Ναυκράτιταις ἔγειραμει, Νεοφίτας χρωμαθὰ γὰρ ὄρη τοῖς άντρεσ εἰς τὸν αἵλων έκάτων δὲ καὶ σάλπυγγος ἄμαεσ ἄμετον, ὡς δομή φθειρομένης ὠρομείν ὄνος δὲ ὑπ’ Αἰγύπτων ἴστε ὄνομα διὰ Τυφώνας προσηλκυόμενον. Aelian too informs us that the worshippers of Serapis detest the ass, and that Ochus the Persian, knowing their feelings on the subject, ἀπεκτέεσε μὲν τὸν Ἀταν, ἐβεβαιώσας δὲ τὸν ὄνος, εἰς τὰ ἐχθατα λυπήσας θέλων τῷος Αἰγύπτων ἤπειρος; 'However,' he adds, 'it is said that the ass was τῷ Τυφώνα προσφιλής. These scraps of Egyptian lore are cited by Aelian ἂ προσφοράς of a Pythagorean maxim to the effect that the ass μόνον τῶν ζώων μὴ γεγονόται κατὰ ἀμφοτέρων τῷος τῷος άριστας εἶναι κοφότατος. A striking illustration is supplied by a mosaic at Palermo which represents Orpheus playing, and among the animals listening to him even an ass.

There is therefore a certain amount of evidence for supposing that the ass was traditionally deficient in musical skill. I am, however, inclined to suspect that this deficiency was not primitive, but an effect of later rationalism. Indeed the early mind would be far more likely to consider the ass a great vocalist than to reflect that the notes he produced were harsh and discordant. It is as a popular critic of music that Aesop, for example, makes him judge the contest between the nightingale and the cuckoo; and a genuine love for singing may be detected in his endeavours to imitate the

41 De Gubernatis, op. cit. vol. i. p. 374.
42 Roscher, Lex. vol. 3. 401.
47 Smith, The Religion of the Semites, pp. 444-5.
48 On the ass in Egypt, see J. Bowwick, Egyptian Belief, p. 228. Prof. Robertson
49 On the ass in Egypt, see J. Bowwick, Egyptian Belief, p. 228. Prof. Robertson
50 Ach. Zeitt. 1869; vol. xxvii. 40.
grasshopper by dint of feeding on dew. Phaedrus and the later fabulists adopt the less naive view:

Asinus iacente vidit in prato lyram.
Accessit et temptavit chordas ungula;
Sonuere tactae. Bella rés, sed mehercules
Male cessit, inquit, artis quia sum nescius.
Si reperisset alquis hanc prudentior,
Divinis aures oblectasset cantibus.  

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\text{Phaedr. App. xii.}
\]

But to find the ass as a veritable musician we must go back to the East. In the fifth book of the Panchatantra\(^\text{60}\) the ass Ouddhata plays the tangan along with a jackal. Turning a deaf ear to the arguments and entreaties of the latter he insists upon singing, having first proved his minute and accurate knowledge of musical laws:

'Après que cela fut fait, l'âne tendit son cou et se mit à crier. Puis le garde des champs, quand il entendit le cri de l'âne, grinça les dents de colère, prit un bâton et accourut. Lorsqu'il aperçut l'âne, il lui donna tant de coups de bâton, que Ouddhata, accablé de coups, tomba à terre.'

Again, this animal has been identified\(^\text{61}\) with the Vedic 'gandharvās,' who amongst other offices taught music and dancing to the gods.\(^\text{22}\) Now Prof. Kühn holds that these 'gandharvās' are, both in name and nature, the Oriental counterpart of the Hellenic κένταυροι.\(^\text{33}\) Possibly therefore the Centaurs, who in Greek legend and Greek art are constantly represented as teaching or playing instruments of music, were originally asses. On migrating westwards to a land where the Eastern ass was largely replaced by the horse, their mythical rôle was to some extent transferred to the latter animal. However, popular tradition kept as a collateral type the older asinine beings, calling them ἰπποκένταυροι to distinguish them from the warping ἴπποκένταυροι. They are described by Hesychius\(^\text{44}\) as—τριγλώφες, δαμονον τη γένος, κάθυλος και σκοτεινον τή ἐπιθαμβίας—and more in detail by Krates.\(^\text{45}\)

(2) A second\(^\text{66}\) trait in the Midas legend connects the ass-king with cori and wine. When a child, ants convey grains of corn into his mouth.

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\(^{60}\) Panchatantra V. vii. Trans. E. Lancererou, p. 339 ff. A very similar tale occurs in the Tevdi-Namch (ed. Renou, II. 218), a collection of Oriental myths translated from the Turkish version. Benfey in his Eulalia, to the Pantchatantra (p. 185), p. 463) regards this as the source of the proverb 'Asinus ad lyram.'


\(^{62}\) Monsieur H. Fauche in vol. ii, p. II. of his Trans. of the Ramayana describes the Gandharvās as 'musiciens cètastes, Demi-Dieux, qui habitent le siel d'Indra et composent l'orchestre à tous les banquetas des principales Divinités.'

\(^{63}\) See E. H. Meyer, Gandharzen-Kentomeen, Berlin, 1883, and the authorities quoted by O. Gruppe, Culte und Mythen, 1857, p. 108, n. 2. Are the words sűrtet, earalsa of the same derivation?

\(^{64}\) ed. Schmidl, vol. iii. p. 299.

\(^{65}\) ed. Wachsmuth, p. 69.

\(^{66}\) The link between the ass gauk musician and the ass gauk attendant on the corn-deities is furnished by the recent excavations at Lyconeum. On the border of Demeter's peplos appears a female figure with an ass's head and hands, playing upon the sitara. The same
In later life he treats the flower-wreathed Silenus kindly and is rewarded by Dionysus. He captures the Satyr by mixing wine in a well. These are but slight indications of a wide-spread symbolism. For the ass is regularly associated with the worship of Demeter and Dionysus. Hesychius, in explaining the proverb ὄνος ἀγείς μυστήρια, remarks 17 τοις μυστηρίοις ἰές ἀστεος (εἰς Εὔλεκτρα καμάλους τὰ πρὸς τὴν χρεῖαν δία τῶν ὄνων. τότε μάλιστα ἄγαν τούτων ἄγεις ἑκάθεροριστάς. And a terra cotta from Athens, now in the British Museum, 26 shows the scene: an ass carries certain sacrificial objects, among which are apparently a fish and a ram’s head. Dionysus often employs the ass as a means of transport. In Aristid. Dion. i. 49 we read: καὶ ἐναυστὶ ὁπικο ὁ θεός ὁ θεὸς τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ταύτα τ ReactiveFormsModule for 1863 39 is a vase-painting which shows Dionysus and Ariadne riding together on an ass. Inghirami 42 mentions several analogous vases; and Mionnet 46-47 describes coins of Mende and Nakova, which represent the wine-god mounted on or attended by an ass. The example set by Dionysus was followed by his satellites. Atheneus (v. 196 b f.) describes a Dionysiac procession in the time of Ptolemy II at which hundreds of Sileni and Satyrs were carried by asses. Indeed Silenus is commonly 40 represented as riding ‘pando asello’; and in the collection at Marbury Hall (Cheshire) is a small marble group of a Satyr on an ass, from the Villa Mattei: nor can we forget the Xanthias of the Frugs. A Bacchant rides the same beast in Müller-Wieseler, Denkmäler ii. no. 576, Inghirami, Vasi Pittiti, vol. iii. pl. CCLX, and elsewhere. 48 Similar scenes are sometimes portrayed on sepulchral

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double reference distinguishes a carnarium in the vidoni collection (Wieseler, Denkmäler, ii. no. 513): in front of a rock on which is a small shrine of Dionysus or Priapus sits a Silenus playing the lyre, while an ass accompanies the music with his brays.

17 ed. Schmidt, vol. iii. p. 209. The schol. on Aristophanes, Frugs, 159, has almost the same words: see also Stithius, vol. ii. col. 1128.

26 Terra cotta Room: central case, No. 19.


Atlas, Pl. V. No. 3. These parallels are cited, Compte Rendu, p. 229, n. 3.

46 Vasi Pittiti, vol. iii. Pl. CCLXII—CCLXVIII.

48 Vol. i. pp. 477-478: suppl. vol. iii. p. 82; Pl. VII. 1-4.


50 See e.g. Müller-Wieseler, Denkmäler der alten Kunst, ii. No. 574, and the literary ref. collected in the Compte Rendu for 1863, p. 239, n. 4.

51 Further exx. in the Compte Rendu for 1885, p. 238, n. 1. In the Brit. Mus. (T.-e. Room, central case C) there is a fragment of a moulded vase which has the same design.
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reliefs. A sarcophagus in the Berlin Museum shows a crowd of Bacchants and Sileni drawn by a pair of asses, stumbling under the load. Otto Beundorf, who discusses this 'argumentum' in the Arch. Zeit. for 1864, quotes two parallels: one from a sarcophagus in Paris, on which a number of Erotes are shown playing with Dionysiac animals—three of them being drawn in a car by a pair of asses: and a second from a sarcophagus-frieze in the Vatican, where several Bacchic revellers are similarly escorted. Of Lytterses, another harvest divinity, it is said on the authority of Sositheos the tragedian;

\[ "Εσθες μὲν αὐτὸς τρεῖς δόρους κασθῆλιον τρις τῆς βραχείας ἡμέρας τίνες δὲ ἐνα καλὸν μετρητὴν τῶν δικαίων τίθην. \]

But if the ass be thus appropriated to the service of the corn-deities, it might be argued that we have here on Greek soil an instance of the corn-spirit being represented—as it was represented elsewhere—by an ass. A clearer example of this is the Roman custom of leading in procession an assdecked with leaves of bread and flowers. Joannes Lydus (de mens. iv. 59) describes the scene:

\[ τῷ πρὸ πάντας Εἰδώλιος ἑορτὴ τῆς 'Εστίας. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐστρατεύον ὁ άρτος, διὰ τῶν ἀργαλῶν τῶν ἄρτων ἐν τοῖς ἀρείοις τῆς 'Εστίας κατασκαλύπτειν ὁνοί. \]

And Ovid brings it into connection with Lampsacene ritual:

Lampasceum hoc animal solita est maecare Priapo:
Apta asini flammis indicis exta damus.
Quem tu, diva (i.e. Vesta), memorum de pane monilibus ornas,
Cessat opus, vacua sancta mala.

Lactantius corroborates the poet: 'Aptam Lampasacum Priapo litabilis victima est asellus; eius sacrificii ratio in Fastis hacce redditur.' After telling the Ovidian story he continues, 'Hac de causa Lampsacenos asellum Priapo, quasi in utrione, maecare consuevisses; apud Romanos vero omniem Vestalibus sacrarum in honorem pudicitiae conservatae panibus coronari.'

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47 Vol. xxii. Pll. CLXXXV—CLXXXVI.
48 Athen. 415 a.
49 J. G. Frazer, The Golden Bough, vol. ii. p. 22: 'Other animal forms assumed by the corn-spirit are the stag, see, sheep, bear, ox,' etc.
50 In the Arch. Zeit. for 1864, vol. xxii. col. 244. Anseiger, a gem is mentioned representing 'einen weiblichen Figur mit schultrhohen Haupte, Scepflir und Parese, die auf einem Thron sitzt,' neben den zwei Eosstaten.' Brunn conjectures that this is Vesta, R. Peter that it is the goddess Epops. O. Wimana in the Annali dell' Inst. for 1853, pp. 160–164, quotes a considerable number of Pompeian pictures and one marble relief that bear out Brunn's supposition.
51 Fasti, vi. 345 supp. and 313, 'quae coronatis panto caput asellus.' Cp. Prop. V. l. 21, 'Vesta coronatis panopiae gaudet asellus.'
The mention of Priapus and the context of the passages quoted warrant us in passing from this custom to the ass as a phallic animal. Cornutus has a suggestion worth recording: τάχα δ' ἂν χαλόν τοιοῦτο ὤμολον διόνυσος διὰ τὸ ὁχετικόν εἶναι τὸν τρίγωνον, ἀφ' οὗ καλὸν ὤμος ἐν ταῖς ποιμαίοις αὐτοῦ θαμίζει. I have already observed that this side of his nature was prominent in the Hindoo mythology, and traces of the same are not wanting in Greece and Italy. Lactantius in the chapter quoted above comments on a phallic contest between the ass and Priapus. Plutarch in answer to the question Ἡ παρά Κυμαιῶν όνοβατίς; describes a custom observed till within recent times in some parts of Europe; τῶν γυναικῶν τὴν ἐπὶ μοχέα λυφθέσαν ὁμογένες εἰς ἑγοράν...ἄμβλαξον ἐπ' ἄνον, καὶ τὴν τόλμη κυκλο περιαχθέσαν...ὅνοβατίν προσαφερομένων. Perhaps Suidas Σ.Β. ὁ ὤμος εἰς Κυμαιῶν hints at the same practice when he says; τὸ ἐπ' ἄνον φέρων τῶν γυμνῶν τῶν ἀτριμῶν ή μεγίστη Παρθανίας νεύμησα. Again, the priests of Cybele—the Galli—made their drums of asses skins. Palladius preserves a curious piece of superstition which bears on the point; seed sown may be kept from harm by putting up an ass's skull as a scare-crow.

'Item equae calvaria sed non virginis intra hortum ponenda est, vel etiam asinae. Creduntur enim sua praesentia secundare, quae spectant.'

This affords a clue to the meaning of the tale told by Diogenes about Empedokles—

ἐτησίων ποτὲ σφοδρῶς πρεσβύντων ὡς τούς καρποὺς λαμβάνειν, κελεύονται ἡ νοῦς ἐκδάρμην καὶ ἀσκοῦν ποιεῖσθαι περὶ τῶν λόφων καὶ τῶν οἰκοειδῶν διέτειν προς τὸ συλλαβεῖν τὸ πνεῦμα λυγαμίαν ἐκ, Κολυμνῶν ἐλπίδαν—

and tallies with the evidence of Pausanias—

τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν Ναυπλίῳ λεγόμενα ἐς τὸν ἄνθικον τῶν ἀνθοφόρων ἄμπελον κλάμα ἀφθονότερον ἐς τὸ μέλλων ἀπέθεσθαι τῶν καρπῶν, καὶ ὄνον σφάζει ἐν πέτρᾳ πεπονημένον διὰ τοῦτο ἑστιν ἀτε ἀμπέλον εἰδίκειας τομήν, παρισμένος αὐτῷ ἀμβώλοιγα ἤργαμενοι.

The fertilizing powers of the ass may also be inferred from the love-charms described by Pliny (N.H. xxviii. 251 and 261). For the testimony of the vase-paintings see a black-figured lekythos mentioned in the Arch. Zentr. vol. vi. p. 296 n. Bachofen conjectures that no. 35 (p. 24) of the Marmor Taurinianum refers to the same trait. Visconti discusses an inter-
esting sarcophagus-relief, which shows Prometheus making the first woman, and adding to his handwork the characteristics of the various animals; an ass and a bull are standing by, marked ASIJNS and TAVRVS: the former may well relate to the erotic propensities of the ass. Finally, it is on this aspect of the assine nature that the entire plot of Apuleius' novel 'The Golden Ass' is based. The hero, one Lucius, is owing to the magic ointment of his mistress transformed into an ass (Bk. iii.). After passing through sundry striking adventures, he at length regains his human shape by dint of eating rose-leaves (Bk. xi.). The whole tale is, except for the famous interlude of Cupid and Psyche, a mere expansion of Lucian's story Λοξίτεος Ἡ Ὀφες, where the hero bears the same name, undergoes the same metamorphosis, and meets with much the same adventures. Among his numerous escapes is one occasion on which he carries off a certain virgin from a band of robbers; they are recaptured, and the robbers propose to punish them by sewing up the virgin in the skin of the ass. Lucius, her face alone being left visible. 50

(3) Thirdly, 50 the Midas-myth displays some touches of Chthonic import. The Satyr was caught by wine mixed in a well, which well was afterwards claimed by the people of different localities. The attendant, too, who discovered the secret, dug a hole in the ground and buried it there:

'...secedit, humumque
Effodiit, et, dominis quales aspererit aures,
Voce refert parva terraque immmuniam haustae;
Indiciumque sane vocis tellure regesta
Obruit, et scrobibus tacitus discedit opertis.'

OVID, Met. xi. 185-9.

With regard to this underground affinity, it will be remembered that in the Hindoo poems the ass dwells in the darkness of a cavern or the gloom of hell. Greek mythology preserves the tradition. Aristophanes more than once mentions a certain gnome or goblin called Ευμοῦσα, and the scholiast on two passages 97 remarks that she is known also as 'Ονόσκελης or 'Ονόσκελας. Eustathius, commenting on ΘI. xi. 634 μη μοι Γαργείην κεφαλήν κ.τ.λ., makes the following statement: 'Persephone sends a Gorgon-head to terrify men just as Hekate sends Empusa. For Empusa, they say, is a demonical phantom sent by Hekate, which some call 'Ονόσκελας and others 'Ονόσκελης. In the Tageniastae' (frag. 426) Aristophanes goes so far as to identify Empusa with

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52 Similarly in Perrault’s Popular Tales (ed. A. Lang, pp. 83-105) the princess Peau-d’Âne is asked to embrace the importunities of the king dans this strange disguise:—

"Pour vous rendre moins mangeable
La dépositaire de l’âne est un masque admirable ;
Cacherez-vous bien dans cette peau,
On en croira moins, tant elle est effrayable,
Qu’elle renferme rien de lézard."

50 Again, a connecting link between the phallic and the chthonic nature of the ass is not absent. Plutarch (Parallel. 29) claims the authority of Aristotle for the statement that a certain misogynist ἡμιομοιεταῖος κατὰ κήρυκαν ἤττον κήρυν εὐθυτάτης, Ὀσκίςκελας τερών. Cp. also the legends of Tages and Oknus mentioned below, and the quotation from the book of the Mainye-i Khurd on page 98.

53 Eclog. 1586 and Rav. 398.
ANIMAL WORSHIP IN THE MYCENAEAN AGE. 95

Hekate herself. The former was wont to appear in many shapes, one of which was that of a mule and a second that of a woman. Lucian, relating an adventure supposed to have befallen him on a certain small island, says: *I then saw that the legs were not those of a woman, but the hoofs of an ass ... And she, sorely against her will, admitted that her tribe consisted of ladies of the sea called Οὐρακελέα, and that they were accustomed to devour such strangers as came to their coasts.*

The Chthonian character of the ass finds further support in the legend of Tages as told by Cicero in his de Divin. II. xxiii. 59,—

Tages quidam dicitur in agro Tarquinici, quem terra araretur, et sulcus altius esset impressus, exatitisse repente et eum affutus esse, qui arabal.

For among other deeds this terrae fillius taught man to preserve their crops from blight by fastening up the skull of an Arcadian ass—

'Hic caput Arcadici nudum cute fertur aselli

Tyrhennus fixisse Tages in limite ruris.'

COLUMELLA x. de cult. hort. vv. 344-5.

It is perhaps as a Chthonian animal that the ass possesses oracular powers. Aristophanes, who makes one district of Hades Όνου Πόκας (Frogs, 186), mentions also ὁν οὐρακελέα (Birds, 721). The scholiast ad loc. comments:

λέγεται γὰρ τοιοῦτον, ὡς συμβολικόν (i.e. a soothsayer) ἐρωτώμενον περί ἄρροστου εἶδεν ὄνον ἐκ πτωματος ἀναστάτα, ἀκήκου ὑπὲρ ἄρροστον λέγοντος, βλέπε τὸν ὅνον ὅπως ἀνέστη. ὁ δὲ ἔφη, ὁ ὀστῶν ἀναστήσεται. καὶ ἀνέστη.

The same predictive function is recognized by Plutarch, who in his Life of Antony (lxv. § 2) gives the following incident:

Kαίσαρι δὲ λέγεται μὲν ἐτι σκότου ἀπὸ τῆς σκηνῆς κύκλῳ περιμόντα πρὸς τὸν ναὸν ἀνθρώπου εἴλαντος ὄνον ἀναστήσει, πυθόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦν ἱερῶν γραφήσεις αὐτοῦ εἰσίν. Ἐμοὶ μὲν Ἐπικαρδος ὄνομα, τῷ δὲ ὃν Ὀικιν. Διό καὶ τὸν ἐμβολίον τῶν τόπων κοσμοῦ ὑστερον ἔστησε χαλκοῦν ὄνον καὶ ἀνθρώπος.

Similarly in frag. xxxiii. 8 (ed. Dübner, p. 50) he says of Tiberius:

Ἀλλὰ καὶ Τιβέριῳ ὄνοι... ἐτι μειρακλὶ ὄρτι, καὶ ἐν Ὄρῷ ὅτι λόγος ῥητορικὸς διατρίβουτι, τὴν βασιλείαν διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ παθήματος προειρι-

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89 Per. Hist. ii. § 40.

90 Müller-Wiesner, Dogh. ii. No. 91b, a gem in Berlin Mus. — Demeter crowned with torch in hand; behind her a corn (see pages 142 ff.) in front an ass or mule.
And in his *Life of Alexander* an ass which kills a favourite lion with a kick is accounted an evil omen. Such superstitions lasted on into mediaeval times. Johannes Sarrisiberiensis mentions the ass as a 'Wegthier,' which it is unlucky to meet.  

The most satisfactory evidence on the point is, however, the occurrence of the ass as a stock denizen of the underworld. Photius *op. cit.* quotes Aristarchus' solution of the phrase: διὰ τὸ Κρατίνου ὑποδέθαι ἐν Ἀίδου σχοινίον πλέκοντα δῶν δὲ τὸ πλεκόμενον ἀπεσθίσατα.  

The scene was painted by Polycnatus as part of his Nekyia in the Lesche at Delphi. Pausanias (X. xxix. 1-2) gives a description of it, together with a suggestion as to its meaning:

μετὰ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀμή ἦστι καθήμενος, ἐπίγραμμα δὲ ὁ Όκνος εἶναι λέγει τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπειταίρητα μὲν πλέκον σχοινίων, παράστηκε δὲ θηλεία δικαὶ ὑπεσθίοντα τὸ πεπλεκόμενον φυτεύον ὁ τού Άιδου φίλημα ἑαυτὸ τοῦ σχοινίου. ὁ τὸν Ἀιδον φιλήματα μίας ἐργαζόμενον, ὅπου δὲ καὶ ἱππὸ τοῦ ἀοίδου, φημὴ δὲ τοῦ τὸν τούτον εἰρεμένον, ὥσ τὸν ἄνδρα αὐτοὺς συνιζῆ τὸν ὁ ἄνδρα τὸν οὐδηγησέ τὸν ὁ Όκνον τὴν θαμγία. ὁ Όκνος δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ μαντὴ τοὺς φημίσεις καλοῦσι τινα ὀρμίθα, καὶ ἐσύνα αὐτὸν ὁ Όκνος μέγατος τοῦ καὶ κάλλιστος ἐρμόδιον, ὧδε δὰ λας τὴν ἀρείδου, σταύνοις ἦστι καὶ αὐτὸς.

Pausanias' interpretation, whatever its source may be, seems based on the phallic nature of the ass. But the reference to a particular man Oknos and the moralizing turn given to the whole indicate the invention of an age that had half-forgotten the meaning of its mythology. A safer conclusion may be reached from a consideration of the company in which Oknos and his ass are found. Baumeister reproduces the sculptured mouth of a Roman spring, which shows Oknos plaiting his rope and the ass devouring it; behind the animal stands a Danaid with a water-pot on her head. Another illustration was published by Camps in 1841 from the frieze of a Roman tomb: Oknos and his ass are here put into a division of the painting: separate from, but adjacent to, that of the Danaids. A third representation was found in 1832 on the frieze of a Columbarium near the Porta Latina; the Danaids are no longer visible, unless the female figure to...
the left formed part of their group. In a fourth picture, drawn by Visconti\(^\text{65}\) from the bas-relief on a round marble altar, Oknos twisting a rope and his ass grazing occur in company with the Danaïds and their πιθος πετρυμένος. Finally, Oknos and the ass occupy the whole scene on a wall-painting from the Columbarium of the Villa Panfilì.\(^\text{67}\) So far all has been correct, conventional, Roman. Oknos and his ass are stereotyped figures traditionally associated with the daughters of Danaus. If an older version of the myth is extant, it must be sought among the treasures of Greek ceramic.

Now an archaic black-figured vase in the Munich Museum\(^\text{68}\) represents four winged εἰδωλα καρπάτων emptying pitchers into an enormous jar sunk in the earth. Their characteristics as Danaïds are at a minimum, and—were it not for the statements of later mythographers—they would have been compared to the souls of the departed as shown on the Greek funeral jars. The explanation thus hinted at is confirmed by a lekythos\(^\text{69}\) found in a grave near Monte Saraceno, and now in the Museum at Palermo. This most instructive picture is apparently conceived in a spirit of caricature: it represents men and women hastening in comic attitudes to empty amphorae into a huge vessel. The vessel disappears behind the figure of an ass, which is kicking lustily as one of the male water-bearers plucks its tail. In front of the ass sits a man looking in a distressed way at four lines—possibly strands of a rope.\(^\text{100}\) Here at least it is evident that the water-carriers are not Danaïds, or not Danaïds alone. They recall Pausanias' description (X. xxxi. 9-11) of the figures at Delphi:

\[\text{ai dé...φέρουσαι μὲν εἰσὶν ὄδορ ἐν καταγώγοις ὀστράκοις: πεποίηται δὲ ἢ μὲν ἢ ἐκ τῆς ἡλείας, ὡς ἐκ δέκα τῶν ἡμερῶν προϊόντων: ἢδη μὲν δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπρομαμα ἡτί ἐκέτερα τῶν γυναικῶν, ἐν κοινῷ δὲ εὐτίκως ἐν ἀμφοτέρως ἐναι σφακίᾳ τῶν ὦν με μενεμένων...ἐστι δὲ καὶ πίθος ἐν τῇ γραφῇ, προσβύγις δὲ ἀνθρώπος, ὡς ἐκ ποιοῦν καὶ γυναῖκες, νέα μὲν ἦν τοῦ τῇ}

\(^{65}\) Danaïs Pie-Cion, vol. iv. pp. 204 ff., Pl. XXXVI.
\(^{67}\) Jahn, Columb. Paus. p. 245; Sack, loc. cit. 1886, p. 247, Pl. II., III., Buchner, op. cit. Pl. II., 4; III. 1. The last writer discusses all five designs and gives a valuable collection of literary ref. He units to represent Visconti's altar: it appears, however, on a reduced scale in Smith, Sm. Classical Dict. s.v. Danaus, p. 137, without the figure of Oknos.
\(^{68}\) A mural painting from Ostia, now in the Lateran Museum, shows Oknos and his ass together with Platon, Orpheus and Kurudite, etc.—the Danaïds being apparently absent (Musa. delt. Jut. 1866, vol. vii. pl. 25, 1). The design is, however, somewhat fragmentary, and their absence cannot be proved.
\(^{69}\) Inghirami, Fasti Atti, n. 132; Pansa, Nuñ. Bloeim, Yi. IX.; Baunmüller, Donkmayer, H.S.—Vol. XIV.
\(^{100}\) Personally I do not feel at all sure that the common interpretation of these four lines is correct. I surmise that Oknos is looking in this distracted fashion at a stream (the veranda of Paus. X. xxvii. 1) flowing past—"rurisimus expectat"—and that we have here an earlier and more interesting variant of the legend. The parallelism between Oknos and the Danaïds indicated below would then be more complete than ever. At the same time I cannot follow the view first put forward, I believe, by Dr. Waldstein that ΟΚΝΟΣ = ΟΚ[ΕΆ]ΝΟϹ, the ΕΑ having been accidentally obliterated in some work of art.
With which agrees Plato’s account in the Gorgias, 493 A, B:

οὗτος ἀθλοῖτατοι ἄν εἰδεν οἷα ὅρη τοῖς καὶ φοροῖεν εἰς τὸν τετρήμενον πίθον ἦδορ ἐντέρα τοιοῦτο τετρήμενον κοσκίνω.

In short, it seems highly probable that the Danaid myth originated in the belief that those who did not take part in a certain mystic όρθοφορία on earth would hereafter be condemned to it as a perpetual punishment.

But—it may be asked—what has all this to do with the ass? How is it that Oknos and his beast are associated with these λοιπόν λόγοι? Two answers to this question suggest themselves. On the one hand the water-bearers of the lower world are probably engaged in the λοιμοῖο χτίσμα of Euripides Phoen. 348, the well-known marriage ceremony, which they have neglected during their lifetime: and we have already seen the ass symbolizing sexual relations. That a phallic animal should appear in such company is surely more than a mere coincidence.

On the other hand the ass was traditionally connected with water in general, and the water of the underworld in particular. How that connection arose we have no means of determining. It may have been strengthened by the employment of the ass as a water-carrier; and by the observation that it commonly avoids treading in water, being, as Aristotle says, ψυχρὸν ἅπανσε ἐΔηφύς τὴν φύσιν. At any rate it is certain that Hellenic superstition did associate the ass with water. Plutarch seeks to explain the alleged

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1 Atmosphere—Atmosphere.
2 Phileas, N.H. viii. 169. "Si rivas minime intestiti, horrendum ut pedes omnino cessent tinges, nec nisi assectes potant fontes, quae sunt in pescariis, atque ut sicco transit ad potum cant, nec jatae transaxt, per rotationem cornu transdecens fluvius miramque dictus, situant; sed immutatam aquam, ut sibi aut cognaea extraerandra sunt." Cp. the θεὰ δαίμον αγίων τῆς θεᾶς Ρώμης in Hom. iv. 159.
3 de vulg. B 743B 33.
4 So in the mythology of other Aryan peoples. Prof. A. A. Bover tells me that in the Book of the Manoyo-Kharch, a Persian catechism of about the sixteenth century A.D. (col. West, ch. xii. 6, 36-27), "The Sage asked the Spirit of Wisdom... where stands the use of three feet..." The use of three feet stands in the middle of the sea of Vackash; and water of every kind, which rains on a corpse, and the menstrual discharge, and the remaining corruption and putridity, when it arrives at the sea of three feet, with watchfulness he makes every kind clean and pure." This "Khar i so phāt" (three-legged, i.e. lame, ass) is further described in the Bundeesh (xvii. 3-21, 19 = ch. xxx. of Ferdinand Justi’s trans.), which observes that, among other peculiarities, the three-legged ass has a horn of gold wherewith he demolishes the animosity of all evil monsters. In the Zendic Yasna, xii. 23, "by prayers he terrifies the monsters and prevents them from contaminating the water." (De Gab., op. cit. i. 379; ed. Spiegel, p. 169). Again, the Kharnah (Ahr.-fish) is "the chief of water creatures and fish, ten of whom... swim around the Khm trees" (Mainyo-Khar, ed. West, p. 124).
5 Sympos. iv, Quast. 5, ii, § 10.
Jewish worship of the ass by saying: τὸν ὄνον ἀποφήμαντα πυγήν αὐτοῖς ὑδάτος τιμῶσιν. And Tacitus\(^{106}\) expands the same idea: 'Nihil acque (Iudaeos in deserto) quam inopia aquae fatigabant. Iamque hand procul exitio totis campis procubuerant, cum grex asinorum agrestium e pastu in rupem, nemore opacam, consequit. Secutus Moses concecuta herbīli soli largas aquarum venas aperit...Effigiem animalis, quo monstrante, errorem sitīmque depulerant, penetrali sacravere.' Aelian\(^{37}\) relates the fable—belonging to the Promethean cycle—of the ass, which desires to drink at a snake-guarded fountain and pacifies its protector by means of a φάρμακον γίγνος ἀμφιτρήρων. It was indeed customary among the Greeks to have drinking-vessels shaped like an ass's head.\(^{108}\) In the second Vase-room of the British Museum\(^{109}\) is an archaic Kantharos, the form of which is merged in that of an ass's or mule's head; it is decorated with a painting of Dionysus astride a mule, attended by Satyrs and Maenads. This seems the prototype of the later forms.\(^{110}\) In the third Vase-room\(^{111}\) is a fine sample of the rhyton shaped like the head of an ass or mule. And in Vase-room four is a similar, though poorer, specimen adorned not inappropriately with a figure of Eros.

But especially was the ass connected with underground waters. I have already alluded to the well of king Midas and to the orifice of a Roman spring. References of a more directly Cithonian character are to be found. Aelian\(^{112}\) states that—

ἐν τῷ Σκυθία γῇ γίνονται ὰνοι κερασφόροι, καὶ στέγει τὰ κέρατα ἐκεῖνα τὸ ὄδωρ τὸ Ἀρκεδίκον τὸ καλουμένων τῆς Στυγός, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἀγγεία διακοπτεῖ πάντα, καὶ ἡ σιδηρά πεποιμένα.

Sopater, he says, brought one of these horns to Alexander of Macedon, who dedicated it to the Delphian Apollo\(^{113}\) with the legend:

σοι τὸ 'Ἀλέξανδρος Μακεδών κέρας ἄνθετο, Παῖαν, καθιθανος Σκυθικός, χρῆμα θαδιμόνων, δὶ Στυγός ἀχριστόν Λυμεκίδος οὐκ ἐθαμάσθη ἱεράτευς, ράσταξεν ὑδάτος ἀποθέη.

Philostратες\(^{114}\) tells a somewhat similar tale about the horned ass of India. And Plutarch\(^{115}\) has a variant that is free from such geographical restrictions:

τὸ περὶ Ταίναρον, δ ἡ Στυγός ὄδωρ καλουσίν, ἐκ πέτρας γλυκίσχοι συλλεβόμενον οὕτω ψυχράν ἔστειν, ὅστε μιθαν χρείαν

\(^{106}\) Hist. V. iii. 3, 4 : cp. Tertullian, Apol. cap. 16.
\(^{107}\) de Nat. Anim. vi. 51.
\(^{108}\) As theosi.\(^{109}\) As theosi.\(^{110}\) As theosi.\(^{111}\) As theosi.\(^{112}\) As theosi.\(^{113}\) As theosi.\(^{114}\) As theosi.\(^{115}\) As theosi.\(^{116}\) As theosi.\(^{117}\) As theosi.\(^{118}\) As theosi.\(^{119}\) As theosi.\(^{120}\) As theosi.

CXVIII., and the further εἰκ., cited in the Compte-Render for 1885, p. 341, n. 8.
\(^{111}\) de Nat. Anim. x. 49.
\(^{112}\) As theosi.\(^{113}\) As theosi.
\(^{114}\) As theosi.\(^{115}\) As theosi.\(^{116}\) As theosi.

H. 2
Admitting, then, the close connection between the ass and the water of the underworld, we can see a further reason why Oknos and his beast should be always found associated with the ‘Danaids’ and their punishment. The two stories are but different modes of expressing the same idea. Those who on earth have deferred (ἀκρινεῖσθαι) initiation into the mysteries of a certain hydraphoria, οἱ ὁ μεμνημένοι, are after death condemned to be ever pouring their jars into a well that is never satisfied. In symbolic language, Prorastilation (Ὀκνος) must constantly feed the Ass of the nether waters. But why feed him in this peculiar fashion? Why make him swallow a rope for all eternity? Not, I think, because the rope signifies the endless generations of men; nor because the μυθοπράγματι has misread the μυθογράφος, but for the simple reason that the ass denotes the well, and that when the bucket is lowered into it, the ass is said to swallow the rope.

Having completed this survey of the symbolic meanings attached by the Greeks to the figure of the ass, we are now in a position to settle the significance of the fresco from Mycenae. We have seen the ass on Greek soil (1) as a musician, (2) as a servant of the harvest-gods with phallic aptitudes, and (3) as representing the waters of the underworld. To which of these aspects can we refer the Mycenaean figures?

Topographical considerations suggest the last. Mycenae is about twenty miles from Lake Styphaloa, and thirty from Pheneos where the Στυφαλός βάθος took its rise. Plutarch’s legend that this water could only be held by a ἀπλή ἐνοῦ accords well with the ὑδροφορία represented on the Berlin inscriptions (p. 84), Helbig’s ‘pezzo obolego di metallo’ (Bull. 1875, p. 41), which shows an ass-figure in the act of carrying a sacred vessel: it also explains the bowl found near the fresco on the citadel. To determine the exact nature of the ceremony is at present impossible in view of our limited data. But the fact that the ὑδροφορία at which Oknos and his beast assisted was almost

118 Miss J. E. Harrison, Myths of the Ovidian, p. 90, Pl. XXVI.a, gives a Roman design from the tomb of Quintus Naso on the Via Flaminia, representing Hades, in which 'the soul in the form of an ass is drinking the waters of Lethe.' This has, however, been interpreted as a satyrspsychosoma-soma.

119 As Boucheron, op. cit., suggests.

119 Miss Harrison, in lecturing on Greek vase-painting at Cambridge some years ago, suggested that the rope was originally used by Oknos to drag the ass after him, the notion about the ass swallowing it being a mere misunderstanding. I suspect that this explanation of myth-making by means of graphic misinterpretation is being carried too far.

118 As a possible survival of this primitive belief, I would call attention to the design on an ass-head rhyton in the British Museum (Vase-room III., case 13, no. E 477), mentioned above. It is a fine specimen of polychrome Hellenic pottery, belonging to the best period (c. 440-320). On the upper part of the animal’s head are painted two draped figures: the one holds a rope, and behind the other is a wall-pulley. If, as seems probable, the designs on these rhytons may have reference to their ritual shapes, it would appear that on this vase we have a reminiscence of the ass in its character as a wall-demon.

119 Acclian, de Nat. Anim. x. 40.
certainly a bridal rite raises a presumption that the action of the Mycenaean asses had a kindred significance.

Again, the ἄνοικος κεφασφάριος of Aelian (p. 99) and Philostratus, and the golden horn of the three-legged ass in the Bumlehest (p. 98, n. 104), remind us that in the Mycenaean painting there is an excrecence between the ears of the assine heads, 124—and serve to strengthen our case, inasmuch as the horned ass is everywhere associated with the nether waters.

Another point in the picture becomes clear when viewed in this connection. Over the shoulders of the assine figures passes a twisted rope, which they are grasping with their right hands. Archaeologists, misled by the analogy of the ἄνοικος, have called this “a pole used to carry the spoils of the chase”; 125 but the markings clearly indicate a rope. It may perhaps be a representation of the well-rope, the ημονα of the later 126 Greeks, which would naturally enter into any ritual connected with a well. Whether the rite here enacted had reference to the celebrated spring at Mycenae, known as Persia, 127 must remain uncertain. I should, however, point out that it very possibly gave rise to the κόρεσ τον κόρεσ dance of after-times. The passages descriptive of that dance are collected by Blaydes on Aristophanes’ Clouds, 537. I notice four points of resemblance between it and the fresco in dispute:

(i.) The figures on the stucco are wearing masks: and Theophrastus 128 condemns the man who can ὀρχεισθαι νήφοι τῶν κόρεων καὶ προσωπίων μὴ ἔχων ἐν κορύκι χειρός.

(ii.) The rope plays a prominent part in both. The Mycenaean rite corresponds in some sort to an Egyptian custom described by Diodorus Siculus (i. 97): ἐν μὲν γὰρ Ἀκανθων τόδε...πίθων εἶναι τετρημένον, εἰς ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐξήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίων καθ’ ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ὕβορ φέρειν εἰς αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν Νελον. τὸν τε περὶ τῶν Ὀκυνοι μεθοποιαί δεικνυάταη πλησίον κατὰ ταῖα παννήφιμοι συνετελοῦσιν, πλέκοντος μὲν ἐνὸς ἄνδρος ἀρχής σχολιοῦσιν μακρὰν, τολλῶν ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπόσιν λυώντων τὸ πλεκόμενον.

And Harles (ed. Ar. Nub. p. 101) describes the κόρεσ as “Saltatio...in qua præsulitor ductitabat restim (hinc εἰκυναν δίδηκε Coriscus 129), et reliqui eum sequabantur tenentes manibus caudem restim.” Terence (Adelphi, IV. vii. 34):

124 A similar excrecence occurs on the ass-head rhyton in the British Museum. It is, I think, merely—as M. Toumaus suggested—“a tassel of the creature’s hair”: the special sanctity assigned to it will be explained later (page 132f.).
126 Non longe pervenit.” Since writing the above I find that M. Paul Girard, in his book Les Pelouses Antiques (p. 59), published the year before last, also takes this to be a rope.
127 Hieroi. v. 11, τὴν ἴσαριν σὺν κάδαν. Mr. Carr Osmanli compares Bandhurt and Nisander’s Nürsü (Bdīlumāl-Tegus, pi. 1. Figg. 115, 217.
ANIMAL WORSHIP IN THE MYCENAEAN AGE.

has 'Tu inter eas restim ductas vel saltabas', and Petr. Frug. Trog. p. 35 'Cordame melius nemo ducit.'

(iii.) Prof. Percy Gardner 127 observes: 'The ancients regarded the dance cor backdrop as imported into Greece from Phrygia by Pelops.' Now the ass-king was according to the legend (p. 87) forefather of the Phrygians: and that Phrygian influence in general was strong at Mycenae is abundantly manifest.

(iv.) Both the cor-dance and the Mycenaean mummary appear to partake of a religious and perhaps phallic character. The upright posture and lolling tongues of the asses on the fresco are aptly described by the ᾱραξ ἐφθανον κουδαλον in which Apollo delights. And an inscription 128 has been found within the walls of Apollo's temple at Minas, which mentions κορακεν in honour of that god. 129

'Aγαθή τῆς [α] οι | [κορδακιστα] | τῶν περι] ὁν Πανθ- | [ου] Ἀπόλλωνα | κορ- | δάκων | [Ποῦστ]ειμον δ', θέσει δ' | [...ου], φιλοσέβα- | στου, τῶν ἑαυτῶν | [εν- | [εργετης], χορηγῆσαι- | [τα], ...

A detail that still calls for explanation is the fact that on two at least of the Island stones the ass-figures have the legs of lions. This combination will however, become more intelligible when we have discussed the nature of the leonine cult (see p. 1196). For the present I merely note that it is by no means unique, and will be found to support that connection between the ass and the water of the underworld, which is illustrated by both the fresco and the gems.

This much at least we may claim to have rendered probable: that on the citadel of Mycenae and also in the island of Crete there existed in pre-Homeric times the cult of a Chthonian deity—a well-spirit—conceived as embodied in the form of an ass. The devotees of this deity were wont to dress themselves in artificial masks and skins, thereby symbolizing their relationship to him. 130 Their ritual involved on the one hand a mystic hydorphoria—perhaps a marriage custom—and on the other a ceremonial rope-dance. 131

127 'Neue Chalcedon in Greek History, p. 82. Op. the Delphine Terence, vol. ii. p. 765 n. — 'Lineas est natura, ut referit Donato, ab eo num, quae seignus Graecorum in Troiam introductus est.'


129 With this we should compare the 'Ἀγαθὴ | Κορδακεν at Elie (Paus. VI. xxi. 1). The adoption of such a rope-dance by these deities may be explained by the principle of 'contamination,' though Artemis at least has distinct claims to be considered as a 'Quell- und Fluss-göttin' (Boeckh, Lex. coll. 559—561).

130 'The ordinary meaning of skin-wearing in early religion is to simulate identification with the animal whose skin is worn.' Prof. Robertson Smith, The Religion of the Semites, p. 454.

131 Another Cretoan rope-dance connected with animal worship may underlie the legend of the Minotaur. Bemboff supposes that the former 'clue' was the rope used in the xopas of Ariadne (II. xvi. 390).
II.—The Cult of the Lion.

*αὐτῇ θύης θάνατο.*

Aesch. Agam. 1258.

In the preceding section I have dealt with a figure that appears comparatively seldom in the art-remains of the Mycenaean epoch. For more frequent is the representation of a fiercer animal, the lion; so frequent indeed that one cannot help suspecting the existence of some symbolical association to account for its constant recurrence. But here caution is needed. For most nations in their earliest artistic efforts have shown a taste and a talent for animal life; and it is certain that down to quite classical times lions survived in the more desolate parts of the Greek peninsula. Pausanias speaks of them as still to be found in Thrace. Herodotus mentions them in Macedonia; Aristotle, in the region lying between the rivers Achelous and Nessus. At a remote date they must have been more widely distributed—witness the legends of formidable lions at Megara, Nemea, and Mount Olympus. Again, the history of Greek Archaeology should warn us that esoteric meaning is not to be imported into scenes of a simple and natural character unless circumstances not only justify but render strictly necessary such procedure. Nevertheless it may fairly be doubted whether—even as early as B.C. 1400—the lion was sufficiently common in Greece and the Archipelago to warrant its persistent use as a motive for all decorative purposes. And the conjecture of an underlying religious cause rises into certainty when we consider some clearer claims to symbolism, which have recently come to light.

In the first rank of importance must be placed the fragments of a bronze bowl, brought by Cesnola from Cyprus, and now in the New York Museum. They comprise a rim and two handles attached to it, all being neatly decorated with repoussé designs. Round the rim runs a row of oxen apparently pursued by a lion. On each handle are three θεωράτα, and above them six lion-like figures arranged in pairs. These figures stand upright facing one another in heraldic fashion (Fig. 5); they bear in their hands pitchers, and seem to be wearing a kind of ornamental back-covering or cloak, which at once recalls the garb of the Mycenaean asses.

It has been held by M. Perrot that 'ce sont des lions, mais qui portent sur le dos une peau de poisson, comme le dieu assyrien Anu... On

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183 Paus. VI. v. 4.
184 Herodot. vii. 125, πορομένω καὶ ταῦτα, λέοντα καὶ θανάτους κ.τ.λ. This is confirmed by the type of the coins of Akanthos—a lion devouring a long-horned bull. See Head, Historia Numorum, p. 182.
185 Arist. Hist. An. 579h 7, and 606b 14, 1v 57. Λιοντας μεν δι' της Ελαφινης μάλλον, και της Ελαφης εν της μεταξι του των Αχλαδων και Νήσου. The statement is transcribed by Pliny N. E. viii. 46.
dirait, à leur attitude, qu’ils remplissent une fonction religieuse." Similarly M. E. Babelon says: "Ces sont des lions, debout sur leurs pattes de derrière, tenant des conchoées, et vêtus d’une peau de poisson, comme le dieu Anou dans la symbolique assyro-chaldéenne." But, though it is known that worshippers of the god Dagon or Anou used to robé themselves in the skins of fish, I am unable to adopt this explanation of the Cyprian figures. For, in the first place, Anou’s worshippers wore not only the skin, but also the head of a fish, as may be seen from any manual of Eastern antiquities. And, in the second place, there is no very obvious connection between a fish and a lion.

Rejecting therefore the theory that the curious coat in which these creatures are dressed was intended for a fish-skin, I would again suggest that we have here worshippers of the lion clad in the skin and called by the name of the animal which they worshipped.

This suggestion will probably be criticized on two heads. It may, on the one hand, be urged that the coat in question does not resemble the shaggy hide of a lion any more than it resembles the scaly skin of a fish. But I maintain that it is quite conceivable for an artificial lion-skin to have been represented in this conventional manner. The first step towards it is seen on a very archaic fragment from Mycenae, now in the British Museum, which "appears to have been part of a triangular relief filling the space above a doorway." It shows the head and shoulders of a lion clad in the skin and decorated with a fish-skin.

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138 Manuel d’Archéologie Orientale, p. 308.
139 See Minani, Grecques Orientales, vol. ii, p. 63 ii. : The Religion of the Semites, p. 274, 416. Philestrat. 'Vit. Age. iii. 65 quod si sui των Βάρβαρων ἠγαγεῖν, ἀδικέων εἰς Στρι-βρα, Λυθήματος η τετειθείς Στριβρα, περι-των Στριβρα perhaps refers to the same custom.
139 Syrian queen-goddess Atargatis: see Roscher, Lex. col. 94 a.r. Icthya.
standing upright on its hind legs. Upon the hide of the beast are still visible the engraved lines which marked out a quadrifoil pattern, and were doubtless originally filled with colour. Later art sometimes adorned the lion's skin with similar spots. On a vase by Sosias, for example, it is marked like a panther's hide. 144 Another instance of the same process of conventional metabolism is afforded by Athena's aegis, which—though it began as a mere goat-skin—came to be portrayed with fish-scales of silver. So too Plutarch 145 considers the Jewish High Priest a devotee of Dionysus because he was νεβρίδα χρυσόπαστον ἐνμένοις. There was in fact a decided tendency among the Greeks to embellish the simple garb of skin. And this tendency was strong in Mycenaean times. Two terra-cotta oxen from Ialysus, presented by Prof. Ruskin to the British Museum, are painted with zebra-stripes. The same collection 146 contains early Athenian models of a horse and a dog decorated with parallel bands of colour. Even the human skin, to judge from a fragment of vase-painting found at Tiryns, was not free from a similar tattoo adornment. 147

On the other hand it may be objected that what we have here is not a worshipper dressed in a lion's skin but a lion dressed in a lion's skin, which is—as Prof. Robertson Smith remarks—much like 'gilding gold.' To this I would answer that the worshippers, as we shall afterwards see, were themselves called λεοντες; and that consequently the artist symbolized them as actual lions, while yet—in order to distinguish them from merely natural lions—he retained their sacrificial garb and ritual act.

The first part of this argument may be established by a couple of analogous instances. A Greek stele published by Le Bas 148 has a fine bas-relief of a lion, bearing the legend ΛΕΩΝ ΣΙΝΩΠΈΥΣ. And Pausanias (I. xxiii. 1) narrates that on the Athenian Akropolis was a bronze lioness erected to the memory of a certain woman, Leaina by name. Now if a man called Leon and a woman called Leaina were represented as actual lion and lioness, worshippers called Leontes might very possibly be portrayed in similar fashion.

My further contention that the artist added the ceremonial cloaks and vessels in order to differentiate these worshippers from ordinary lions is less easy to prove. A case in point, however, is the πρόβαταν κωδίς ἐκεντα-
μὲνων which, according to Joannes Lydus (de mens. iv. 45), was sacrificed to the Cyprian Aphrodite. I take it that the sheep dressed in the sheep-skin was the substitution of a later age for a man called a "sheep" and dressed in a sheep-skin. Such substitutions for human sacrifice \(^{144}\) are not unknown on Greek soil. Panaxiadas (IX. viii. 2) preserves the tradition that at Potniae in Bocotia it had formerly been the custom to sacrifice to the goat-smiting Dionysus a child, for whom a goat was afterwards substituted.\(^{146}\) And a similar practice seems to underlie the legend of Iphigenia at Aulis.\(^{147}\) Now if a man called a "sheep" and dressed in a sheep-skin was thus replaced by an actual sheep in the old sacrificial feceo, theiconic worshippers at their ritual observance may well have been depicted as we see them on Cesnola's bowl. I would also draw attention to the fact that the sheep-cult in question prevailed, according to Lydus, in Cyprus; and it was from Cyprus that Cesnola brought the lion-bowl; so that the comparison here instituted between the two is not without some geographical warrant.

I shall again seek support for my interpretation among the extant examples of the Island gems. The Εὐφημείς Ἀρχαιολογικῆ for 1889\(^{148}\) published a couple of stones found in the Vaphieio tomb near Amyclae. One of these (Fig. 6) is a lenticular agate representing, according to the account of M. Tsountas, \(^{149}\) two lions standing upright on either side of a tree. Each

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144 Why a human victim called by the name of the sacred animal should have been sacrificed rather than the sacred animal itself, is not clear. As regards the lion-cult an obvious explanation would be that the lion is an animal not readily to be obtained; but this of course will not apply to the sheep, the goat, or the stag. Prof. A. A. Baynes's suggestion that in the text of Lydus we should read τριβάτων καλύτερον τετραμένων σωλήνων (they sacrificed a man clothed in a fleece) leaves this difficulty untouched. And Prof. Robertson Smith's correction τετραμένης τετραμένης the particle describing the worshippers,—though it gives good sense and accords with known custom (The Religion of the Semites, p. 450 ff.)—introduces grammatical difficulties; the singular καλύμα for the plural καλύτερα would be unusual, and the transcriber's alteration of τετραμένης to τετραμένως unexplained if not inexplicable. On the whole I incline to keep the MS. text as sound, and to suppose that the human victim called by the animal name was sacrificed to the animal god in order to cement a supposed relationship between the god and the worshippers. Some-what similar is the sacrifice of the human Ταπε (described on p. 137) to the wolf-god, though in that case there is no question of relationship.

146 See the vase-painting described on p. 135;
and The Religion of the Semites, p. 390—"The annual victim at Lacedaemon was a sheep, but the story was that in former times a boar was sacrificed."
147 PI. 10, Nos. 33-6: Percov and Chipko, Hist. de T'Art, vol. vi. p. 843, fig. 426, 16, and p. 847, fig. 431, d.
lion holds aloft a ewer (πρόχοινς) with both forepaws, wearing a girdle about
his loins and an ornamental hide over his back. The tree is a palm-tree,
and seems to grow from a vessel placed on a plinth; the only analogy to
it that I know in the circle of Mycenaean remains is the silver cup
described in the *Mittheil. des Inst. Athen.* for 1883, pl. I. These representations must
have some mythological meaning. The two lions holding their vessels above
a tree may be most plausibly interpreted as δαίμονες τὸν ὑδόητον.160 In
addition to M. Tsountas’ remarks I may point out that the skin coat worn
by these figures terminates in a crest between the ears similar to that which
we noticed on the asses’ fresco at Mycena. On and on Lajard’s chalcedony
(p. 84).184 The second Vaphio gem (Fig. 7) is a glandular sardonyx showing
a single lion of like aspect.160 He stands upright bearing a vase in his paws
and clad in a coat of shaggy skin. The girdle is here not very clearly distin-
quished; nor has the engraver marked the two crescent-shaped lines under
the jaw, which I take to indicate both in the Mycena fresco and on the
first Vaphio stone the fact that the head was only a mask; further, the small
curly line on the shoulder, noticeable on the last gem,161 is absent in this
case. With respect to the watering of a sacred palm-tree, I observe that
a gold ring from the same tomb portrays what is apparently an incident from
tree-ritual.162 On the left grows a palm-tree from some large vessel. A man
wearing nothing but a girdle approaches it in an attitude of adoration.
Behind him dances a woman; and lastly, a large shield with the man’s
raiment (?) occupies the right hand side of the picture. Again, Milchhöfer
as early as 1883 was able to cite185 a conical steatite from Cyprus, now in the
Berlin Museum, which—coming from the same island as Cesiola’s lions—
reproduces the same design (Fig. 8). For, though Milchhöfer in his *philoscopia*
assumed that it depicted the horse, the leonine mane is unmistakable and
conclusive. The hide is covered as before with a decorative pattern. It is
probable too that the verde antico gem from Salonica,184 also in the Berlin
Museum, represents once more a man dressed in a lion’s skin with a deal
of slain across his shoulder (Fig. 9). Different again is the pose of a leonine
figure on a carnelian found at Athens, which seems to represent an animal
dance (see p. 116). In brief, we have found the lion appearing in the same
three postures as the as: bearing a slaughtered beast; presenting a ewer;
and taking part in a mimetic dance.

From the foregoing evidence I gather that in the Mycenaean age
there still existed an actual lion-cult in which the worshipper, 'captive

160 A coin of the gens Cesiola, figured in
Murell’s *Thebaeae Num.* Tab. iii. 1, shows a
lion-headed goddess between whom stand there is
a similar *exterminad.*

160 Le lion, qui est instable, ressemble souvent
un chien ou un renard.’ M. Reimach, *Etudes Archeologiques,* p. 117.

184 Cp. the shoulder of the water-bearing ass
on p. 84.

184 *Eph. *Akh. 1883, Pl. 10, No. 30: Perrot
and Chipiez, *Histoire de l’Art,* vol. vi. p. 844,
‘une omen d’un culte orguine.’ Cp. a vase
from Philoira discussed by M. Louis Cousin in
the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hébédique* sax
1899, p. 25 f. Pl. III.

185 Anzaflige der Kunst, p. 68, fig. 465.

186 Milchhöfer, op. cit. p. 55, fig. 44d.
humernis capitique leonem, performed various ceremonial rites. Apart from the mere offering of animal victims, he seems to have carried a sacred vessel, and—in one case—watered a sacred tree. It is at least clear that both water and palm-tree were connected with his cult. To elucidate that connection we must examine the traces of lion-worship which survived the Dorian invasion.

(1) In the first place it will be remembered that the lion appears repeatedly as the symbol of Dionysus—a god of vegetation. The seventh Homeric hymn tells the tale of Διόνυσος ἐρυθραμαύος who was captured by pirates: ὁ δ’ ἔριχτραμαύος ἐν τοῖς ἀνακάλλαξις ἀεί ἔστηθεν, while the vessel was filled with spreading vine-leaves and clambering ivy. To him the chorus in Euripides (Bacchae 1017) pray:

φάνηθι ταύρος ἡ πολέκρανος ἡδέων ἀράκων
ἡ πυρφλέγαρ ὁμ ContentType: TO

And Agave when she returns with the head of Pentheus faints in her madness that she holds an ἄγαλμα λευτομαύα (Bacchae 1190):

ΚΑ. τίνος πρὸς τὸν δήν ἐν ἀνακάλλαξις ἔχεις?
ἌΓ. λέοντος, ὥς γὰρ ἐρασκόναι αἱ θηρίωναί.

Toil. 1278—9.

Nonnos (Dion. I. 10) declares with reference to the same god:

ἐν δὲ λέοντος φρενίτερ, ἐπαυγέλυντο ἠπήκα σείνοι,
Βάλλετον ἄνευς ἰδιομήρα, Βεστυρία ὑπὲρ τήθεαι Ἄγαλ
ματὸν ὕποκελπτοντα λευτομαύα θεάνης.

And Horace (Od. ii. 19, 23) adds by way of eulogy:

Ῥοζεματον τερσαστι λεονία
Unguibus horibilique malum.

Bentley’s objection to the last line misses the point altogether. Nikil verba haece vetant, quin verum Leonem intelligas; quales cum Tigridibus et Pardis multos in comitatu habere solitus est Bacchus. It is true enough that lions regularly take part in Dionysiac processions. But they do so because Dionysus was himself conceived as a lion. At Samos there was a temple κεχωρίατος Διόνυσον. Pliny (N.H. viii. 56—58) relates the story of

126 The Louvre, among other Cyprian monuments, has the upper portion of a limestone statue, which represented a man standing with his hands raised to his head; the human head is supplied by that of a lion (see Perrot and Chipiez, Phœnicia and the Dependencies, vol. ii. p. 143, fig. 94). It is possible that this unexplained type refers to the ritual of lion-worship: sp. the description of ἄρτι νομωρόν on p. 117f.

127 The artistic evidence for Dionysus Leontomorphus is collected by Dr. Sandys in his edition of the Bacchae, pp. e x l i l l .—e x i l v.

128 Adam N. t. 48. Clemens Alex. Protr. p. 22 (ed. Pott) saev γέγονεν τὸν Διόνυσον ἄρα Ἀπόλλωνα, pue. by a mere slip. De Geburtstgl. op. cit. vol. ii. p. 163, states that Apollo passes into the form of a lion to vanquish the monster—but I do not know on what authority
its foundation. A certain Samian, Elpis by name, encountered a lion on the
African coast, and fled for refuge to a tree, calling aloud on Liber Pater.
The lion lay at the foot of the tree moaning with pain, till the Samian
descended and plucked out from its jaw a bone that was troubling it. 'Qua
de causa Libero Patri templum in Samo Elpis sacravit, quod ab eo facto
Gracchi κεχυρὸν Αυκόνου appellavere.' Aelian, after narrating the legend
of Androcles and the lion, alludes to the Samian tale as told by
Eratosthenes, Euphorion, and others also. That it is an aetiological myth, pointing
to a worship of Dionysus in lion form, can hardly be doubted. The
currency of Samos from as early as B.C. 875 bore a lion's scalp as its constant
device. Again, the story emphasizes the connection with the tree-god,
Fronto mentions 'arborum multorum ramorum, quam ille sumum nomen
catuscarnam nominavit': L. Peller explains the word as a corruption of
(δέκαρον) κεχυρὸν or κατακεχυρὸν. However that may be, the lion as a
tree symbol is known from other sources. M. de Longpérier published the
so-called 'Boucher d'Amidale,' a large silver disc, the central space of which
represents a lion standing in front of a palm-tree. This design was perhaps
copied from the reverse of what Mr. Barclay Head calls 'the finest known
coin of Carthage.' It is possible, then, that the palm-tree watered by lions
on the first Vaphieo gem may find its nearest analogue among the coast-
dwellers of North Africa.

(2) In the second place the lion, as the strongest and most terrible
of beasts, denoted death and the powers of the underworld. This
accounts for its occurrence on sepulchral monuments of all sorts. In 1881 Prof.
Ramsay discovered near the Phrygian village of Ayazeen a relief of two
the statement is made. Reuwer, Lex. col. 444
shows that the griffin (= Lion + Eagle) was an
Apollo's attribute, but not the Lion alone.
However, see Head's Hist. Num., pp. 120-131.
and 236, on coins of Leontini; Syrac
us, Milesia, and Apollonia.

Aelian, l.c. Schneidér (ed. Calim. vol. I,
p. 438) on the 4th Epigram of Callimachus
εγκλήματα των θεών, ἐμπροσθένειν διοίκησιν εἰρήνην
—writes: 'Sinnum dedicavit Dionysii (sic) συχνορίατο
tragum personam enique magni hiatri
consignavit, qui hiatus duplo maior facto
quem habebat Ακτειλον (sic) συχνόρια,
cri
templum Elpis, Semius dedicavit.'
Lion
monuments of this sort occur as vase-decorations,

See for exx. Head, Coins of the Ancients,
Pl. 5: 11: 25; 11: 26: XIX. 25: XIX.
53.

120 See for exx. Head, Coins of the Ancients,
Pl. 5: 11: 25: 11: 26: XIX. 25: XIX.
53.


122 See Head, Coins of the Ancients, Pl. XXVI. 41.

123 Among the Mycenaean intaglias is one
which represents two lions standing on either
side of a tree (Eph. Arch. 1888, pl. 10, No. 16),
and another of two lions and three palm-trees
(ibid. No. 26): see further Perrot and Chipiez,
Hist. de l'Art. vol. vi. p. 433, fig. 426, 2, 6.
On several exx. the lion appears along with a
palm-branched, e.g. one drawn by Otto Roschke
in the Arch. Zeit. 1883, Pl. XVI. 8. M.
Reinach, Eugygnios Archéologiques, p. 43, gives
an early example, now in the Louvre, on
which is engraved 'un lion,' tenant une
branche d'arbre entre ses pattes.' And on the
triangular sepulchral relief from Mycenae in
the Brit. Mus. a much occupies the corner behind
the lion. In all these cases the tree or branch
is probably to be explained as a λαοκον-type
symbol for a landscape background: see the
collocation of 'lions and palm-trees,' in 1 Kings
vii. 36.

124 In districts where the lion was unknown
the next formidable animal would be chosen.
On a tomb-painting from Orvieto, Hades (Rita)
appears in a cap made out of a wolf's (or lion's?)
head: see Reuwer, Lex. col. 1895 with fig. on
col. 1907-8.
lions rampant guarding the entrance to a grave; and near by the fragment of a second tomb surmounted by a colossal lion’s head. The resemblance of these figures to the Lion-gate at Mycenae is so striking that a common explanation must be postulated. If the lion symbolizes Chthonian power, it is probable that the relief over the gateway was intended to put the citadel under the protection of the Chthonian deities—a supposition that agrees well with the Mycenaean cult already investigated. In the British Museum there is a collection of archaic sculptures brought by Sir Charles Fellows from Xanthos in Lycia; the best known of these are the slabs that decorated the famous ‘Lion Tomb.’ On the south side was a lion recumbent; on the north a lioness playing with her cubs; and in one division of the west side a naked man contending with a lion. Fragments of four other Lycian tombs show portions of lion or lionesses. Cyprus too has furnished several analogous examples. Pliny (N.H. xxxvii, 66) states that on the tomb of Hermias in that island stood a marble lion having ‘inditos oculos ex smaragdibus, ita radiantis osten. in gurgitem, ut territi refregent thynni.’ And modern excavations have brought to light a considerable number of Leonine monuments. The Athéna surphagus in the New York Museum has a lion couchant at each corner. A limestone lion in the same collection formerly stood on a Cyprian grave. The top of a sepulchral stela found by Cessola shows a pair of recumbent lions back to back. The same custom had spread to Etruria at a very early date. In the necropolis at Vulci several stone lions have been found; and Jules Martha states that ‘Des lions de pierres sont souvent placés, comme de féroces sentinelles, à l’extérieur des tombeaux étrusques.’

It is perhaps as a death-dealing goddess that Artemis is called a lioness. Homer at least seems to indicate that this is the reason when he makes Hera boast:

χαλασάς τοι ἐγὼ μένος ἀντιφέρομαι
τοξοφόροι περ ἑούση, ἐσένε χέοντα γμαναίς
Ζεὺς θηκα, καὶ ἐδοκεὶ κατακάμεν, ὅποι κ’ ἐθήλησα.

Dr. Walter Leaf ad loc. observes: ‘Death is commonly personified under the form of a lion in Semitic mythology,’ and some traces of this appear even

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126 J.H.S. vol. iii. p. 53 ff. with Quarto Plates XVII–XVIII.
127 Sehrt’s drawing of this is reproduced in the Brit. Mus. Cat. of Greek Sculpture, vol. 1, Pl. II.
129 Frey and Chipiez, Phonacæ and its Dependances, vol. ii. figs. 143, 144, 145.
130 Ibid. vol. ii. p. 197, fig. 331.
131 Cessola, Cyprus, p. 110. In Miscall. Monum. Inediti, Pl. XXII. 1, a funeral-arch is backed by a gable on which sit a pair of lions.
132 L’Art Étrusque, 1889, p. 210, figs. 147, 168.
133 Hild xxxi 482. E.
134 Bronzo masca di leoni’ ha da un frequent ornament of Sidonian sarcophagi (Frey and Chipiez, Phonacæ and its Dependances, vol. 1, p. 199, fig. 137). It is worth mentioning, however, that in the Tomb of Caius (ed. Gilmour, p. 152) ‘αὔτε χαλασάς μεγάλωτεραι ἐνάφθει καὶ ἐν τῷ θρόνῳ ἐν ἀβυσσῷ νύν ἄνεμεν διὰ πόνον· οἱ δὲ ἄγριοι κατοικισάν τε ὁμοίως τε ἐξαίρεσιν ἐκπληγώσατο τε τοὺς μετακάλεσεν ἀλλ’ ἐκλεκτοῖς πικρώς’.
in Greek symbolism, of which the present passage is the clearest. For Artemis as a death-goddess see Z. 205, 428 &c. She is said to have been worshipped in Ambrakia in the form of a lioness.\(^{127}\) Aeschylus\(^{128}\) mentions her as delighting in θόρης καὶ μαλερὸν λεοντών: Euripides\(^{129}\) speaks of her as σχήμα λεοντης | ἐξαλλάξας: and Theocritus\(^{130}\) tells how a devotee of hers—

ηυρία πολυπεύνεκε περισταθήν, ἐν δὲ λέανα.

A tangible commentary on such passages may be found in several archaic representations of the goddess. On a bronze plate discovered at Olympia,\(^{131}\) and on one of the handles of the François vase,\(^{132}\) the so-called 'Persic' Artemis stands upright holding in either hand a lion. A remarkable series of Artemis terracottas has been found at Corfu in an ancient precinct of the goddess; she is represented as attended by various animals, and among them 'a lion a four-eyed monstrosity different.'\(^{133}\) In the Ephesos 'Archeologos'\(^{134}\) for 1895 Dr. Paul Wollter discusses an early Bocotian vase on which Artemis appears with a lion rampant on either side, though she is not actually grasping them. It may however be doubted whether this animal as an attendant of Artemis is not due to her character as πόνης θυρών (ll. xxi. 470), protectress of wild beasts in general, rather than to any special thought of her death-bringing visitations.\(^{135}\)

Less questionable is the lion as servant and symbol of the Chthonian Cybele. The cult of this goddess spread westward from its original home in Phrygia and Crete. The name 'Cybele' is itself a Phrygian word denoting 'caverns';\(^{136}\) and in a cavern on Mt. Dindymon near Pessinus was her most sacred image—a meteoric mass. The tendency of her worship was to dwell on the opposites of birth and death; as is seen in the Phrygian story of\(^{137}\) Atys, and the Cretan tales of the birth and death of Zeus. Her connection with the lion was a commonplace in ancient art, and appears in orthodox tradition. Hippomenes and Atalante, who profaned one of her cavern-shrines, were transformed into a lion and lioness:—

Luminis exigui fuerat propi templo recessus.
Speluncae similis, nativo punico tectus,
Religione sacror priscis,
Hunc init et vetito tenerant sacraria probos.
Sacra retroserunt oculos; turritaque Mater,
Au Stygia santon, dubitavit, merguerat unda.

\(^{127}\) Apoll. 141. Alciat praus, &c. probably refers—so Mt. Farnell states (Greek Lyric Poetry, p. 310)—to a Macedon.

\(^{128}\) Hellen. 354. Hermes ed. 1694, p. 271, has a characteristic comment: 'Pyrgina Leonessa, c.s. Ursus!'

\(^{129}\) Iphig. ii. 68.

\(^{130}\) Roscher, Lex. col. 264. Also on gold plaques found at Cumaeus: Salzmann, Nécropole de Cumaeus, Pl. 1.

\(^{127}\) Baumeister, Diensmter, pl. 74 & c. Mi-
call, Monum. Aegiti, Pl. 1. 3 and 23.


\(^{130}\) Col. 219 ff., Pub. 10-10.

\(^{132}\) On the lion as associated with Artemis, see further Friedrich Marx, paper in the Arch. Zeit. for 1885, vol. ii. col. 273 f.

\(^{134}\) See art. 'Cybele' in Encyl. Brit. ed. 9.

\(^{135}\) Cybele is associated with Atys on a Greek votive relief: Roscher, Lex. col. 728.
Poena levis visa est. ergo modo levia silvae
Colla iuba velant, digiti curvuntur in uinges,
Ex ueteris armi flunt, in pectora totum
Pondus abit, summae caussa verrumur harencae.
Iam vultus habet, pro verbis murmur a reddunt,
Pro thalamis celebrans silvas: alisque timendi
Dente premunt domito Cybele's frena leones.

Ov. Met. x. 691—704.

In short the lion is a recognized emblem of the Chthonian powers. As
such it not only protects tombs and attends the deities of the underworld,
but also stands sentinel over the springs and fountains through which
subterranean waters are discharged. The λέων κρυμοφιλαξ, 185 a bronze
lion placed above the spring which supplied the Klepsydra at Athens,
typifies the performance of this duty. The outlet of a Greek fountain
frequently took the form of a λιοντάρχας, and is very commonly repre-
sented thus on the vases. It was also the conventional shape for the
gargoyles along the top members of temple entablatures. This usage may
have originated in more tropical lands. Horapollo states that 'the rising
of the Nile is denoted by three large vases; and also by a lion, because it
attains its full height when the Sun is in that sign of the Zodiac; for which
same cause the spouts of the sacred lavers are made in the form of lions' heads.' 186 His explanation is, as usual, mere conjecture; but the fact remains
that Oriental as well as Hellenic custom associated the lion with water,—
probably because springs and fountains have always a Chthonian character,
and the lion is the guardian of the Chthonian interests.

One other development of this symbol in Greece must be noticed.
Herakles, although he appears at times as κάρποντας the Locust, and
Κτσαρονος the Slayer of the canker-worm, 187 was ordinarily conceived as a
hero or even a god 188 wearing a lion's skin over his head and shoulders. 189 It
is noticeable that the nearer we approach to the Mycenaean age the more
lion-like does he become. In late art he merely has the skin clasped round
him as a cloak or wrapped about his arm; but as we recede into the past,
the necessary nature of this cloak becomes evident. Red-figured and black-
figured vases show increasing ferocity. On a small Sicilian amphora, 190 for
instance, of about B.C. 500 he approximates to the leonine aspect. And a
specimen of the Island stones, acquired not long since by the British
Museum, shows him clad in a complete lion's skin: the head of the beast
covers his hair; the forepaws are fastened round his neck; the hind legs

185 P. 109.
186 Strabo. 613. Apollo also was Φακτογερας:
188 v. Herakles, MuSy and Rüdell on (Sisy. xi).
189 J.H.S. vol. viii, p. 70.
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protect his thighs; and the tail hangs down behind. Cyprus too has yielded a series of early stone statues of Herakles, ranging from the more refined type of the fragment in the Louvre to the colossal of Amathus, about which 'il y a encore quelque chose de difforme et presque de bestial.' Now it might be argued that, just as Juno Sospita who is depicted on the coins of the gens Thoria wearing a goat's skin and horns over her head was originally no more than a sacred goat, so Herakles who on the coins of the Macedonian monarchs appears with a lion's skin for a head-covering was the outcome of some primitive lion-cult.

And if this be so, the connection with the lion as a Chthonian animal is not hard to trace. For Herakles has much to do with waters and the underworld. The Amathusian colossal, his acknowledged prototype, served as the orifice of a fountain.

The only Heraklean exploits related by Homer are the fight with the sea-daemon and the descent into Hades to carry off Cerberus. These affinities reappear in subsequent tradition. On the one hand, we have Herakles employing the rivers Alpheus and Peneus to cleanse the stables of Augcas; wrestling with the bull of Acheleous; capturing the bull that Poseidon had sent out of the sea to Minos; saving Hesione from a seastorm; slaying the Hydra that haunted the swamp near the well of Amymone; and crossing the waves in the golden cup of Helios. Monuments of the best artistic period repeatedly connect him with springs and baths; indeed the phrase 'Πράξανθον λουτρό' passed into a proverb. On the other hand, his underground achievements—the bringing back of Alcestis, and the capture of Cerberus—were not less notorious; he crushed Antaeus whose strength lay in contact with the earth; and his own home with Eurytheus, king of Mycenae and Tiryns, is represented as a large jar sunk in the ground. Lastly, both traits unite in the draining of the Stymphalian marsh, a task most appropriate to one whose relations were at the same time aquatic and chthonic.

Here we may pause to apply our results. The lion has come before us as a symbol (1) of vegetation, and (2) of the nether springs. If we glance back at those relics of Mycenaean art which furnished our point of departure, it is evident that they illustrate the second of these two aspects. For almost without exception the leonine figures are represented as bearing vessels of water.

On one of the Vaphio 189 In the Bulle. de Corr. Hell. 1892, p. 315, pl. 1, M. Hennessy describes a relief, which in point of style is intermediate between the Mycenaean and the Egyptian. On it occurs a lion standing by the side of a 'vase sphérique, sorte d'argille.' This type seems to have survived long after its significance was forgotten. See Voyage Archéologique de M. le Roi, vol. i. pl. 108, a bronze standard found at Athens, which is topped by two lions heraldically placed, 7. and 1. of a large urn.


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stones, however, these ἱδροφόροι are watering a sacred palm-tree. And the question arises whether this is an example of 'contaminatio,' or whether there is some essential connection between the vegetative and the chthonian aspects of the symbolism. Personally I incline to the latter opinion. It seems to me a prima facie probability that the animal, which watches over the water gushing from the rock, should also represent the palm-trees and vines springing from the soil. In view of its chthonian character both functions are explicable. There are, moreover, two considerations which tend to substantiate the view. In the first place the leonine Cybele was not only a cave-goddess, but also 'a goddess of vine-growing and agriculture' closely connected with Dionysus. And in the second place the same double support may be traced in the legends of Herakles. His connection with waters and the underworld we have already seen. As regards vegetation, Pollux (i. 30—31) has some interesting remarks. 'In Boeotia,' he says, 'they sacrifice μίλα to Herakles. I do not mean the poetical word for sheep, but the fruit of the tree. The custom originated as follows. The festival of the god had fallen due, and the time for the sacrifice was at hand—the victim being a ram. Those who were bringing it were delayed against their will, because the Asopus had swollen with a sudden flood and could not be crossed. However the children playing round the temple performed the wonted rite. For taking a ripe apple they propped it on four straws by way of legs, adding a couple above for horns. And according to the poets [Boeotians] they said that they were sacrificing the μίλην as a πρόβατον. The story goes that Herakles was pleased with the sacrifice, which is still kept up.' This singular legend, which is given with some variations by Hesychius s.v. Μύλην Ἡρακλῆς and Suidas 5. Μύλην Ἡρακλῆς, certainly points to a connection between Herakles and the apple-tree: with it may be linked that hero's expedition in search of the golden apples of the Hesperides. Nor is it with apples alone that Herakles has to do. Theocritus (ii. 121) calls the white poplar Ἡρακλέους ιερόν έρως, and the Scholiast ad loc. (ed. Dübner, p. 25) gives the reason:

κατελθὼν γὰρ ὁ Ἡρακλῆς εἰς ἕδρα διὰ τοῦ Κέρβερον, ἀνήγαγε καὶ τῷ φίτῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀχέρωντος· οἱ δὲ ἅπαντες εἰς γυμνάσια ἐστέφοντο ἐξ αὐτῶν, ἐπὶ τῇ θήρῃ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους, καλείται δὲ καὶ Ἀχέρωντι θεόν.

Here the chthonian and arboreal traits of Herakles' character appear to be closely connected. Again, Pindar (Ol. iii. 13-34) relates how Herakles was the first to bring the olive-tree from the land of the Hyperboreans and to plant it at Olympia:

Τὸ καὶ κείναν χθόνα πνοιάς ὑπεθεὶς Βορέα
ψυχροῦ· τῷ δὲ δάφνει θάμβαειν σταθεῖς,
τὸν κιν ἀλκυόν ζερέον ἑαυτῷ δώδεκάγραμμον περὶ τέρμα δρόμου
ἐπιπον φυτέωσαν.

108 Διογές, Κτή., s.v. 'Cybele.' 109 Cf. quotation from Nonnos on p. 108.
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This repeated mention of trees and tree-planting is surely no fortuitous combination, but an essential feature of the myth. It is moreover conceivable that Herakles' club, the famous ῥόταλος, τὸ οἷον ἰχαίδαις δεξιτερὰ χειλά, was originally the symbol of a tree-god. We know that Hera at Samos was a beam, and Hermes on the Athenian Akropolis a log concealed by myrtle boughs; so that a priori indignity can hardly be urged. And by way of positive evidence the following epigram of Callimachus merits attention:

Τίν μὲ λεοντάγχονα, σποκτόνα, φύγινον ὃγον
θηκε. Τί: Ἀρχίνος. Ὅιος; ὁ Κρῆς. Δέχομαι.

On this φύγινον ὃγον Δ. Fabri comments—'sagina clava Herculem alloquitur.' It may be added that on many coins Herakles' club resembles a tree-trunk in size and shape, and that a coin of Selge, the obverse of which gives a bearded head of Herakles, has on its reverse a club and a tree planted in a vase.

These considerations, though far from amounting to a proof, certainly strengthen the conjecture that the lion as tree-symbol is akin to, if not identical with, the lion as warden of the underworld and its waters.

But whatever may be the precise relation between the two aspects of lion-worship, that worship was not yet obsolete in Mycenaean times. In point of savagery it furnishes a parallel to the cult of Artemis Brauronis

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188 Theocrit. Id. xii. 57.
189 Ed. Ernæus, Epigr. xxxvi.
1 See e.g. Mavell's Thesaur. Num. 'Gnms
who "had a shrine near the grave of Kallisto, bore the title of Kalliste, and was herself a bear." To press the analogy; just as Artemis the Bear had a festival at which human ἄρτειοι danced the ἄρτεια, so the cult of the Lion may have involved a dance on the part of human λέοντες. A slab from the frieze of the Assyrian king Assur-nasir-pal I represents two men dressed in the heads and skins of lions apparently engaged in a mimetic dance (Fig. 10): one holds a whip in his right hand, and grasps his jaw with the left. The second clasps his hands in front of his breast. A similar piece of ritual may well have obtained among the inhabitants of Cyprus and the Archipelago. For its existence in Mycenaean times the only direct evidence I can cite is an unpublished seal of which Mr. A. J. Evans kindly sends me an impression (Fig. 11). The stone, an engraved

![Image](image_url)

Fig. 11

carnelian, was found at Athens in 1884 and shows two figures much contorted in order to fill the circular field. The one to the left in the cut has the legs of a man joined to the upper part of a lion by means of a girdle: the other resembles it, except that the upper part is that of a goat. Now Atheneaeus in enumerating sundry kinds of dances observes: ἐτὶ δὲ μορφασμόν, καὶ γλαυξ, καὶ λ ἐ ὶ ν, ἄλφιτον τε ἔκχουσιν, καὶ χρέων ἥποκοτή, καὶ στειχία, καὶ τυρρίγα. His words are cleared up by a passage in Pollux, which informs us that "Morphasmos" meant "a mimicry of all manner of animals" and adds—ὁ δὲ λ ἐ ὶ ν ὁρχήσεως φοβερᾶς ἐἴσον ὡς δὲ τινα καὶ Λακωνικα ὁρχήματα ἑαυτίλη. Σηλήνην ὡς ἔσαν, καὶ ὑπ’ αὐτοῖς Σάλτυροι ἐπ’ ὑπότροφα ὁρχυμονεῖοι καὶ ἵβυμβιον ἢπὶ Διονύσου, καὶ καρναπιοὺς ἢπ. Ἄρτειμ. Thus the context of the passage from Pollux suggests that this dance called ὡ λέον had some religious (Dionysiac) significance; and we may provisionally assign it to the lion-cult which we have detected. In favour of a Dionysiac interpretation is a curious vase-painting (Fig. 12) published in 1869 by M. de Longpérier with the following description:

"Amphore de terre rouge à couverte noire...Homme à tête de lion, avec pieds de lion et queue de cheval. Il est agenouillé; ses reins sont entourés..."

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"Miss Harrison, Mythology and Monuments, p. 402.


11a. Layard, Monuments of Nineveh, 1. Pl. 30. The third figure to the left is playing a musical instrument of some sort, with streamers attached.

221 In Monuments of Nineveh, 1. Pl. 32, Layard shows a somewhat similar relief as an armed human figure with the head of a lion; it was "found lying between the winged bulls forming the entrance to a chamber at Kan-yunjik." At the same place he discovered two reliefs of winged men, lion-headed and eagle-footed, armed with dagger and lance: see Nineveh and Babylon, p. 462.

222 Athen. 629 E.

223 Pollux, IV. 136, 104.

224 Musée Napoléon III, Choix de monuments, PI. LIX."
No explanation of this strange figure has hitherto been offered; but I think that the elements for explaining it are now to hand. The horse’s tail points to the Dionysiac circle; Sileni and Satyrs—even when they have goats’ ears and horns—wear equine tails. The lion’s mask suggests an animal-disguise; and the crouching posture forcibly recalls the Brauronian bear-dance. Putting these factors together, I see in this vase-painting a representation of a ceremonial dance in honour of the leonine Dionysus—Δίωνος κεχνός—in which the celebrant was dressed up to imitate a lion in form and features. There is an interesting passage in Porphyry which mentions a similar practice among the Mithraici:—The doctrine of

metempsychosis," he says, "is a tenet of all primitive peoples. And this is apparently the meaning of the Mithraic mysteries. For, hinting at our fellowship with the lower animals, they represent us human beings by means of these animals. Thus the mystics who share in the same rites are called by them νιόνι, while the women are known as 'hymenas' and the attendants as 'ravens.' The same holds good in the case of their parents, who are spoken of as 'eagles' and 'hawks.' Further, the man who joins in these

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229 That the head-covering is a mask is indicated by the lines on the cheek: cp. the crescents mentioned on p. 107. I am not sure that M. de Longpérier is right in remarking 'plata de leon'; the feet may be human, though somewhat distorted by the pose of the whole figure. The closest parallel I can cite is a sarcob of green jasper from Thasos in Samian [Brit. Mus. Cat. of Gems, No. 178, Pl. C] on which a man with a lion’s skin over his head crouches, drawing a sword from his sheath: this can hardly be Herakles, as Herakles on early gems has always a club, or at least a lance.

230 De Atlantidio, iv., § 18.

114 Xenaros has been plausibly conjectured for Helaeon.
Pallas in his work on Mythras explains the custom (popularly supposed to allude to the signs of the zodiac) as in reality a reference to the human soul, which they say is enclosed in all manner of bodies. For certain of the Romans also in their own language speak of 'boars,' 'scorpions' (?), 'lizards' (?), and 'black-birds' (?); and have given these names to the attendant deities—to Artemis the name of She-Wolf; to the Sun that of Lizard or Lion or Snake or Hawk; to Hecate that of Horse, Bull, Lion, or Dog. There is in the Louvre collection a bronze-plaque (Fig. 13) which—if I am right—aptly illus-

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311b Relying on this passage Reinælius amended Apul. Metam. 21, 257: 'et lernaria dependebat, pene tegunum, tabarum tenus postico chlamyda, quaquo tamen visera, colora vario circumnotatis insignis animalibus, hinc dracones Indici: idque Hypermestri: quae in species pinumarum altis generat mundos alter. hume Olimpiadum stolam sacrati amemant.' But I suspect that his conjecture Lacticea (see Delphin ed. of Apuleius, vol. i. p. 890) is misleading, and that the robe in question, worn by those initiated into the mysteries of Isis, was merely an example of the 'tunicas varistate leoninae effigiales in species animalium multiformes' affected by the luxurious (see the self collected by Erardt. on Ammianus Marcellinus, xiv. 6, ed. 1808, vol. iv. p. 37), and named after the Eran Zeus (Paus. V. 11. i. 73) λακτινας κατ' τῆς ἱερας τῆς κρίνε ἱερατικας...
trates this passage from Porphyry. It has been described by M. Clermont-Ganneau as ‘une représentation de l’enfer assyrien.’ Beneath certain figures emblematic of the stars (i) is a procession of long-robed beings with lionine heads: they lead up to a funeral scene in which two priests of Anou stand on either side of a corpse. Lower still is a monstrous form, grasping two serpents and suckling a pair of diminutive lions; it kneels on the back of a horse in a boat crossing the sea. At the edge of the sea is another monster; and farther off trees and the remains of a banquet. I take it that the whole plaque, surmounted by a lion’s head and paws, is of a funerary character. The first row of symbols denotes the heaven, the next two the earth, and the lowest space the underworld. The mourners are arrayed with lions’ heads, being in fact the Mithraic λέοντες who in their ritual thus symbolize the metempsychosis of the departed.

It would appear that the Mycenaean lion-cult involved not only an animal oblation and a δέροφορα or λουτροφορα—in one case for the purpose of watering a sacred palm—but also a mimetic dance. The performances of these several offices were dressed in artificial lion-skins, and probably called by the name of λέοντες.

Few features in the symbolism of the Lion are more striking than its resemblance to that of the Ass. By comparing the foregoing statement with the results reached on page 102 we see that the ceremonial observances connected with the latter closely correspond to those connected with the former. And the similarity of ritual is due to similarity of nature. Both animals are sacred to Dionysus; both represent the waters of the underworld. This parallelism is graphically exhibited in a vase-painting from the Vatican collection, which portrays men and women symmetrically arranged filling their pitchers from jets of water that are issuing out of two lions’ heads and two asses’ heads. Again, Midas the ass-king is said to have built the first temple at Pessinus to Cybele the lion-goddess. And Cybele employed the humber beast to bear her image from town to town. But if the leonine and asinine functions are thus coincident, we can account for what has been called the original myth of the ass-lion, a myth that may be traced as far back as the Vedic scriptures. The deity which appeared at one time as an ass, at another as a lion, would readily be conceived as twy-natured. Hence by a compendious symbolism, which occurs more than

223 Rev. Arch. 1876, p. 287; Pl. XXV.
225 As with the ass, so with the lion, rhythmic exist moulded in the shape of its head, etc., in Vase-room III. of the British Museum (cima 41 and 42).
226 Lenormant and de Witte, Rites des Monuments, vol. i. p. 150.
227 De Gubernatis, op. cit. vol. i. p. 379. Bailey in his Kitābān the Parsi Akshara, p. 466, § 182 collects the authorities for the fable of the Ass in the Lion’s skin. The same two animals are associated in other apologies, e.g. the Ass and the Lion hunting together (Plin. H. N. 11; Plin. Natural. Hist. 260; ed. Halmi, No. 258; op. 260, 323). Oriental sources are quoted by Bochart, Hieroglyphs, ed. Rosenmüller, vol. i. p. 189. M. de Longpérier, Guerra, vol. iii., Pl. IX. published a large silver bowl on which the Ass and the Lion are shown together.
228 Chelius Rhedigianus ii. § 6, says: ‘Qui vero imagoe at arida frequentant, corporibus arcensculibus (animo medi integrissi) permansuntur qui sunt asinins cruribus’ haec magis pliurum
III.—THE CULT OF THE BULL.

'Semibovemque virum semivirumque bovem.'

OVID, Ars Am. ii. 24.

Another animal, which rivals the lion in the frequency of its appearance both on the Island stones and on the metal-work of Mycenae, is the bull. In this case there are of course numerous representations of a purely pastoral character. Many of the gems, for example, show a bull grazing or recumbent in a simple posture which would render any symbolic interpretation far-fetched and therefore false. But there are also a few tokens that the weavers of these gems regarded the bull as an object of religious veneration. It will be convenient to present them in tabular form:

A. The *Annali dell’Istituto* for 1885 published an Island stone, found at Orvieto but apparently of Greek workmanship, which represents (Fig. 14) a couple of bulls in much the same attitude as the lions on Ceaola’s Cyprian bowl. They are clad in coats of hide and have girdles about their waists. They stand facing each other, and carry vessels in hands, which seem to be human. Between them is a man who grasps one horn of each bull: he wears nothing but a cinure. To right and left of the group are palm-branches.

Again, there is in the British Museum 210 a lenticular gem of serpentine or green porphyry, which originally came from Crete. On it (Fig. 15) are the legs of a man combined with the forepart of a goat and the forepart of a bull. This curious figure, which Tzetzes would term a *βουτραγοφ
ANIMAL WORSHIP IN THE MYCENAEN AGE.

ταυρόποσις, has not yet received any adequate explanation, but may—I think—be attributed to the designer’s imperfect skill in perspective drawing. He wished to represent two men, one with the head and shoulders of a goat, the other with the head and shoulders of a bull. But being at a loss to find room for both of them in his limited space, he made the legs of the one serve as the legs of the other also. An exactly similar instance of artistic economy is seen on certain gems cited by Milchhöfer, and a couple engraved in the ‘Εφημερίς Αρχαιολογική for 1889. It is noticeable that the British Museum stone shows the same girdle and lappet of skin covering the man’s thighs that we have already remarked in the case of the Ass and the Lion.

Among some intaglios found at Mycenae in 1888 is one which has been described as: Τέρας, οὖ τὸ κάτω σῶμα ἀπὸ τῆς ουσίας ἀνθρώπινος, τὸ λαιτῶν λέοντος, σπασίσαι αἰγαρχον, οὐ μόνον ἡ κεφαλὴ καὶ ὁ λαιμὸς φαίνονται. The illustration here appended (Fig. 16) will suffice to prove that the upper part of this τέρας is bovine, not leontine; the long curved horns can hardly be mistaken. The author of the foregoing description must have been misled by a few straight cuts of the graving-tool on the neck of the animal, which at first sight suggest a mane. The design seems to represent a human being who wears the προσωπή of a bull over the upper half of his body, to which it is fastened by a thick girdle. This personage stoops to raise by means of his mouth and arms the head and neck of a Cretan goat.

There is, if we argue from analogy, a likelihood that these three Island stones depict symbolically and actually bull-worshippers in full sacrificial costume.

B. Sometimes the human form has only the head of a bull. In the Annali for 1885 Carl Purgold engravés a bull-headed statuette of Mycenaean style; and Ceanola found at Citium a clay idol of the same type. Perron and Chipiez, too, draw a Cyprian sculpture of a man wrapped in a mantle from which protrudes a bovine head; they add—Une seconde variante du même type montre ce même personnage portant les deux mains à son musée; il fait le mouvement de quelqu’un qui se préparerait à enlever une tête postiche, un masque. Ce geste nous explique peut-être le vrai caractère de ces images... Il se pourrait que, dans quelqu’un des fêtes qui se célébraient autour des temples, on se fût affublé de masques d’animaux. This explanation is, I think, confirmed by a larger statue found at Golgoi, which holds in its left hand the head or mask of an ox.

C. Thirdly, there are many cases in which only the βουκράνιος is represented. Foremost among these is the magnificent specimen now in

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229 Milchhöfer, op. cit., p. 73, erroneously takes them for a pair of bulls.
230 Milchhöfer, op. cit., p. 82, Fig. 54a, b, c.
231 Pl. 19, Nos. 9 and 10.
232 Εφημερίς Αρχαιολογική, 1888, Pl. 10, No.
233 Vol. 57, Pl. 11.
234 Ceanola, Ορφέας, p. 51.
235 Hist. de l’Art, vol. iii. p. 606, Fig. 414.
the Schliemann collection at Athens. It was obtained from the largest and richest of the Mycenaean shaft-graves, and displays a bull's head of silver (purple patina) with horns of gold; traces of gilding are also to be seen on ears, eyes and muzzle; and upon the forehead between the horns there is a large gold rosette. As to the meaning of this really fine work of art Dr. Schuchhardt writes: 232 On some Egyptian wall-paintings we see among the tribute brought by foreign nations to the Pharaoh the head of an ox, 233 and on some other similar paintings we again meet with it, used this time as a weight in a scale. 234 However these analogies have as yet afforded no satisfactory explanation of this Mycenaean ox. Perhaps the head was hung up in the grave as a dedicatory offering. This last view appears to me very probably correct. We know from Theophrastus 235 that to hang up the actual head of the sacrificed ox was a common practice among the Greeks: the man of 'petty ambition' is eager ὅποιον θάνατος τον προμετωπίδων ἀπαντικρίνει τῆς ἀνάκυκλος προστατατολόσαι. But I think we can go a step further. The use of the word προμετωπίδων, which 236 elsewhere denotes the complete skin of the animal's head worn as a mask or helmet, suggests that the Mycenaean ox-head which is hollow and light may have been a sacrificial mask worn by the buried chiefman during his life-time. At any rate, that it had some such religious import seems clear from the following facts:

(i.) Fifty or more 'small heads of oxen, with a double axe between their horns, cut out of gold plate,' 237 were discovered in the same tomb.

(ii.) The horns are of gold; for which practice as applied to oxen for sacrifice cp. Homer, Ill. x. 294 and Od. iii. 382—

σοὶ δ᾽ αὐτόν μέξον βοῖν ἡπὶν ἐν φυμετωπίον,...

τῷ τοῦ ἐγὼ μέξω χρυσῶν κέρασιν περιχέεια.

Also Od. iii. 425-438: Aesch. 77, 12: Plat. Ađε, II. 140 C.; Plut. Mor. 184 E; 238 vit. Aem. P. c. 33: Verg. Aen. ix. 627. Similarly it is said that the bull killed at the Tauroboli had its horns gilded.

(iii.) The rosette between the horns denotes perhaps the tuft of hair to which special sanctity was attached. Thus in the case of an ox Homer, Od. iii. 445, says:—

ἔχει τᾷν ἀπαρχόμενον, κεφαλῆν τρίχας ἐν χρυσοὶ βαλλων.

Euripides, El. 701f.—

μοσχὶν τρίχα

τεκνών, ἕφ' ὀργὴν πῦρ ἐνδυος δεξιά.

232 Schliemann's Excavations, p. 249.
233 See the Journal des Savants for May 1885, p. 277, fn. t: Perrot and Chipiez, Hist. de l'Art, vol. I, p. 339, where it is stated that the shapes and colouring of the animal-heads prove them to have been made in metal.
234 See Prof. Ridgway's Origin of Currency and Weight Standards, 1882, p. 128, fig. 19.
236 Hamdorl. vii. 70.
237 Schuchhardt, op. cit. p. 349, fig. 249.
Vergil, *Aen.* vi. 245:—

"Et summam carpens media inter cornua saetas
Ignibus imposuit sacris, libamina prima."

The same custom was observed in the case of a *goat* (Hom. Η. xix. 254), and in the case of *sheep* (Hom. Η. iii. 273). It will also be remembered that there are representations of both the ass and the lion in which the forelock is distinctly emphasized.\(^{233}\)

The device of a bull's head with a *rosette* or ornamental pattern on the forehead is known also as the shape of a Mycenaean vase from Carpathos drawn by Mr. Murray.\(^{235}\) Max Müller\(^{236}\) cites a similar example of the potter's art. In the *Jahrbuch des k. d. Arch. Inst.* for 1892\(^{237}\) is a woodcut of a Mycenaean cup from Egypt, adorned with bulls' heads—rosettes being inserted between the horns. The tradition lingered on into much later times. In the Terra-cotta Room at the British Museum is a lamp in the form of a bull's head with a palm-leaf ornament between the horns and a rosette on the forehead. Conze in an exhaustive essay on *Griechische Kohlenbecken*\(^{238}\) depicts several examples of this design serving as mere ornamentation on the handles of Greek amphorae,—a usage perhaps to be connected with the ox-heads that decorate the handles of Cernola's bowl.

*Without the rosette the βουκώνιον is a still more frequent motif in Aegean art.* The Έσφυμερος Αρχαιολογική for 1888\(^{239}\) published a vessel from Mycenae, the rim of which is embellished with a whole series of them. They appear on several samples of Island stones in the British Museum;\(^{240}\) also on certain steatite and haematite cylinders from Cyprus.\(^{241}\) In metal work too they furnish a frequent pattern; sometimes forming the whole design—as on a Rhodian trinket discovered by Messrs. Salzmann and Bilotti; sometimes being mere stop-gaps—as on a gold plate figured by Dr. Schuchhardt.\(^{242}\) "Nor must we omit the important gold ring from Mycenae on which are three unmistakable heads of oxen, with long curved horns."

To recapitulate: the extant remains of Achaean art comprise, in the first place, one Island stone portraying skin-clad bulls engaged in a ceremonial presentation of oenochoes, another showing a man disguised by the head and shoulders of a bull, and yet another representing a similar personage raising a slain animal from the ground; secondly, several terracottas and stone statuettes depicting bull-headed humanity; thirdly, numerous instances of the bull's head used alone, either with or without a rosette between the

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\(^{233}\) See pages 81, 84, 101In. 121, 106. And for *horn*, p. 138.


\(^{236}\) *Athen. und Europa nach Althegyptischen Denkmälern*, 1888, pp. 344-9.


\(^{239}\) Pl. 7.

\(^{240}\) Cat. Nos. 65, 68, etc.

\(^{241}\) Ferret and Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art*, vol. iii.

\(^{242}\) *Op. cit.* p. 260, Fig. 261.
horns. It remains to elucidate the nature of the cult or cults to which these diverse relics bear witness.

Now it will be observed that one of our three Island stones came from Crete, the home of the Minotaur. According to consistent tradition this monster was the offspring of Pasiphae and the bull that Poseidon sent out of the sea in answer to Minos' prayer. The antiquity of the whole myth is beyond question; it is—says Miss Harrison—undoubtedly the oldest that is connected with Theseus; in fact, the only one of his series which occurs on black-figured vases. And the said vases, despite Milchhöfer's desperate attempt to claim the Minotaur as ein pferdeköpfiger Dämon, represent him as clad from head to foot in a bull's skin with an undeniable bull's head and tail. In later art too he repeatedly appears as a man with a bovine head.

To trace his pedigree further back may prove instructive. Minos, Pasiphae's husband, was the grandson of that Minos who judged in the nether world; and in turn was the child of Zeus by Europa. It was to the same island of Crete, and under the same disguise of a sea-faring bull that Zeus carried off Europa. The story went that he wedded her near a spring under the Gortynian plane-tree, which in token of the event is ever-green. And the beautiful series of Cretan coins, which represent Europa sitting amid the branches, shows that the sacred tree is an integral part of the legend.

Recollecting yet further, we learn that Europa was daughter of Agenor, king of the Phœnicians; and that Agenor was the offspring of Poseidon by Libya. Poseidon—it is well known—had strong affinity with the bull, which in Homer appears as the victim especially devoted to his honour. That he sent a bull out of the sea to Minos, we have already observed. On another occasion he dispatched a similar emissary to slay Hippolytus. Indeed he is himself described by Hesiod as

\[ \text{ταύρειος Ἐννοσίγαμος,} \]

\[ \text{ὁ Θήβας κρήνημον ἔχει μύτη τοῦ πόλυα.} \]

[Στ. 104.]

Tzetzes ad loc. comments: ἀπὸ τοῦ θυσία ταύρου ἐπιτελείν τῷ Ποσείδον ταύρειος ἐλληνὸς Βοιωτικὸς—an obvious assumption of effect for cause.

To resume our genealogy: Libya, the wife of Poseidon, was the daughter...
of an Egyptian, Epaphos by name. And once more we are met by the same symbolism; for Herodotus identifies Epaphos with the bull Apis.

Lastly, Epaphos is the son of Zeus, whom we have seen already under the disguise of the sea-bull, by Io, who through fear of Hera was said to have been changed into a cow. For the sake of clearness I append the stemma in full, marking in Clarendon type those persons who were partially or entirely bovine:—

![Diagram of the stemma showing the relationship between Zeus, Poseidon, Epaphos, and Io, with Io changed into a cow on account of Hera’s jealousy.]

The prominent figure throughout this whole legend is the sea-bull of Poseidon, which weds the daughter of Epaphos, seduces Pasiphae, and slays Androgeneos. Why ‘the Greek god of everything liquid’—as Seyffert well terms him—should have been represented by a bull, is not altogether clear.

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138 Herodot. ii. 158; i. 27, 98.
139 It was Hera who also struck with her eyes the three daughters of the Argive king Proetus, so that imagining themselves to be hid—implausibly false mutilations agree. These legends throw light on the traditional epithet ‘beamless.’ I may add the conjecture that Argos of the hundred eyes was a leopart. The possession was said to have derived its tail from him (e.g. Mosch. ii. 38): but that he is not to be identified with that bird is clear from the legends of his prowess; he did to death a fierce bull which ravaged Aeternia, a satyr who robbed and violated persons, the serpent Echidna... and the murderer of Apis’ (Smith, Dict. Biol. and Myth. vol. i. p. 222 b.).

In Ranke’s ‘Deutschland,’ vol. i. p. 753, we have him portrayed wearing a leopard’s skin, the spots of which are continued as eyes over the male parts of his body; and Reisch, Lex. col. 274, gives a vase-painting in which he wears an animal’s hide over his shoulders.

According to Strabo's conjecture, the symbolism was meant to recall either—
'\textit{The bellowing voice of boiling seas}': or—\textit{The wave-worn horns of the}
\textit{echoing bank}.

Strab. X. ii. 19.—\textit{ταῦρος μὲν ἕοικότα λέγεσθαι τῶν Ἀχέλων φασὶ,
καθάπερ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ποταμών, ἀπὸ τέ τῶν ἤχων καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὰ}
\textit{ρεῖθρα καμπῶν, ἃς καλοῦσιν κέρατα.}

Others have detected allusions still more recondite, \textit{e.g.}:

\textit{Smith, Dict. Myth.}, vol. iii. p. 284 \& 29. \textit{Taurocephalus}': \textit{to indicate}
their fertilizing effect upon countries.'

But, rationalism apart, it will not be denied that the connection between
water and the bull was intimate. \textit{Oceanus} is by Euripides (\textit{Orestes}, 1378)
called \textit{ταυρόκρατος}. And river-gods were commonly conceived as tauriform:
M. de Longpérier, whose knowledge of ancient vase-paintings was extensive
and reliable, has left an elaborate list of the extant types; arranged in
order of theriomorphism they are these—

\begin{align*}
\text{River-god} &= \text{A bull.} \\
& \quad \begin{align*}
\text{i.} & \quad \text{A bull.} \\
\text{ii.} & \quad \text{An androcephalous bull.} \\
\text{iii.} & \quad \text{A taurocephalous man.} \\
\text{iv.} & \quad \text{A horned man with fish's body and tail.} \\
\text{v.} & \quad \text{A youth with horned head.}
\end{align*}
\end{align*}

To the examples of the earliest types cited by the French savant should
be added an \textit{androtaurian} vase from Kamiros, now in the British Museum.\textsuperscript{225}
It represents the head of the local river-god; the horns are green (\textit{i.e.}
discoloured blue?), and a blackish face peers out from the \textit{πρότομη} of a bull.
An aryballos\textsuperscript{234} of the same provenance in the form of a bull's head also
deserves mention.

Admitting then that to the Hellenic mind there was some primitive
connection between water and the bull, the question arises whether that
connection can furnish an adequate account of the intaglios above
described.

To deal first with the Orvieto gem. \textit{Its main design is flanked by two}
\textit{palm-branches—the conventional abbreviation for a landscape background}\textsuperscript{226}

\textsuperscript{225} \textit{Gowers, ed. Schlumberger}, vol. iii. p. 125; \textit{cp. vol. ii. p. 121.}
\textsuperscript{226} \textit{Terra-cotta room, case 8.} = \textit{Brit. Mus. Vase-room I. case 57.}
\textsuperscript{227} \textit{Other exx. of this ideogram on bull-gems are, a lenticular crystal in the Brit. Mus. = Cat.
No. 72, two bulls back to back with a palm-branch between them: a glandular hematite
from the same collection = Cat. No. 74, a soldier driving off a couple of oxen, a tree-
branch in the field; a fine specimen of rock-crystal from Ialyssos (\textit{Rev. Archæol.} for 1878,
Pl. XX. No. 8) = Cat. No. 107, Pl. 4, a bull
standing by a full-grown palm with a large
shield between his legs. In fact, the bull and
the palm-tree formed a fixed 'schema' in
Myceanean days. As with so many of the gem
engravings, this device reappears among the
coin-types of the fifth century B.C.—\textit{e.g.} a
\textit{derachme of Mythlene (Coins of the Ancients,
Pl. XI. No. 28) has two calves' heads face to
face with a tree between them. Also a \textit{Naxian}
ampora in the Brit. Mus. (Lenormant and De
Witte, \textit{El. Gr. ii.} Pl. 54) shows a palm-tree
disappearing behind a bull.}"
—and represents a human being with a girdle about his horns grasping by the horn two bovine figures. The nearest analogue to this strange composition will, I think, be found in contemporaneous pictures of the ταυροκαθάψις, a very ancient custom which is delineated on the following remains of Mycenaean manufacture:

(1) A fragmentary fresco found at Tiryns. This 'chef-d'œuvre of the wall-paintings,' as Dr. Schuchhardt, calls it, depicts a man in the scantiest garb, who with his right hand clutches the horn of a rushing bull; whether the artist intended to portray the man as actually on the animal's back, or only on the far side of it, is uncertain.

(2) Two gold cups from the Vaphioia tomb near Amyclaia show scenes of bull-hunting and bull-taming, in which men take part who are 'naked except for a thick projecting girdle, from which hangs a little apron both before and behind.' These cups obviously illustrate the same pursuit as that evidenced by the Tirynthian painting.

(3) A green jasper found at Mycenae in 1892 exhibits a man wearing a girdle only who has grasped by the horn and twisted backwards and downwards the head of a powerful-looking bull.

(4) A lenticular haematite in the British Museum, published by Mr. A. S. Murray in the Revue Archéologique for 1878, shows a nude man in a much distorted position holding the horns of a bull.

(5) A similar haematite, also in the British Museum, published by Mr. Murray in the Jahrbuch des k. d. Arch. Inst. for 1890, represents a long-horned bull mastered by a couple of unclad men, who have seized it by the horns. One of the two, placed above the bull's back, closely resembles the so-called 'aurobat' of the stucco from Tiryns.

(6) On a gem of somewhat later workmanship, previously drawn by Dr. Heydemann in the same Journal, a nude man in an almost horizontal position grasps with his right hand the horn of a bull; the field is occupied by a tree-branch, again a symbol of open-air scenery.

(7) A fragment of Achaean pottery from the excavations at Mycenae.
repeats the motive. A bull, charging at full speed, has just tossed a man who falls through the air face uppermost. His head-dress is of a decidedly unconventional sort, being to all appearance made of lattice-work and ornamented with a pair of curved appendages that may be meant for imitations of the horns of a bull. But in view of the extremely decorative style of the design, it is difficult to pronounce upon details with any certainty.

(8) Finally, on part of a small round pyxis, discovered at Mycenae, a man with the same girdle and apron is seemingly tossed by the horns of a bull. In the absence of any contrary indication, this fragment may be classed with the preceding designs.

All the above representations have with great probability been referred to the ταυροκαθάστρα, a ceremony possibly alluded to by Homer, Η. ΧΧ. 403-5:

\[ \text{ἡριγεν ὁς ὤτε ταῦρος} \]
\[ \text{ἡριγεν ἐκόμενος Ἐλισάκιον ἀμφὶ ἄνακτα} \]
\[ κούραν ἐλάσιταν} \]
\[  ἦσαν δὲ τοῖς ἑνστρεφον. \]

and certainly described by several authors of a much later date. Pliny, for instance, (N. H. viii. 182) says:—

'Thessalorum gentis inventum est, equo iuxta quadrupedante, cornu intorta cervice tauros necare; primus id spectaculum dedid Romane Caesar dictator.'

and Vailant remarked that his words explain the 'taurus sacerdotes' that appears on some of Caesar's denarii. Again, Suetonius (v. Claud. c. 21) relates that Claudius Caesar renewed the experiment:—

'praeterea Thessalos equites, qui ferus tauros pur spatia Circi agunt insiluitaque defessos et ad terram cornibus detrahunt.'

Die Cassius (lxi. 9) adds that Nero followed suit:—

ἐν δὲ τινὶ θεῷ ἀνδρεῖς ταῦρους ἀπὸ ἱππον συμπαραθεόντες σφιοτε κατάστρεφον.

Later references to the same or similar forms of sport occur in Helioc. Ath. x. 30, and the Anth. Pal. ix. 548 (ed. Did.). These passages are quoted by Mayer and illustrated by a marble relief, which bears the inscription ταυροκαθάστραν ἠμέρας 8'.

Between Myceanean and Roman times our evidence is confined to a few inscriptions, and the coin-types of Thessaly. On the currency of

380 Morrell, Thomasius Numm. p. 213a, b. Tab. julit. vi. 3.
381 Salter, R.E. ii. 123, 124. The rev. to Helioc. and the Anth. Pal. are given by L. and S. a. a. ταυροκαθάστρα.
Larissa, for example, (B.C. 480-430) there is a nude "Thessalian youth restraining a bull," which he holds by the horns; and on that of Cranon (B.C. 480-400) a "naked Thessalian subduing bull," the struggle being here more marked. These coins, in some respects approach more nearly to the primitive custom than the spectacular displays of Rome: for, whereas in the latter the huntsmen rode on horseback and were presumably clad, the coins of Thessaly "show an unclad combatant tackling the bull on foot." Extant inscriptions prove the existence of the rite at Aphrodisias (Boeckh, G. I. G., vol. ii. p. 1109, No. 2759b), Smyrna (ib. p. 740, No. 3212), Ancylus (vol. iii. p. 88, No. 4039, line 46), and Sinoe (ib. p. 119, No. 4157).

On the whole, we have adequate evidence for the assertion (a) up to and even during the Christian era this practice of ταυροκαθήξια obtained among the Thessalians; and that (b) it can be traced back into the earliest period of Aegean history, when—to judge from the provenance of our data—it prevailed over a much wider area.

But how does this bear on the bull as emblem of the water-god? By way of answer I may quote Mr. Head's Historia Numorum, p. 246: "Poseidon," he writes, "was very generally revered in Thessaly as the creator of the national soil, as well as of the celebrated Thessalian horses which grazed in the rich alluvial plains...As Poseidon ταύρος (Preller, Gr. Myth. i. 448) games were held in his honour, in which the youth of Thessaly exhibited their skill in seizing wild bulls by the horns...These peculiarly national religious festivals were called ταύρεια (Preller, l.c. note 1) and ταυροκαθήξια, and their prevalence throughout the land is amply proved by the coins, on which we see a Thessalian youth pulling down a raging bull, while on the reverse is usually the horse of Poseidon.

The ταυροκαθήξια, then, constituted a religious or semi-religious rite, which took place in honour of Poseidon Tauroës. If, bearing this in mind, we return to a consideration of our Orvieto gem, its meaning is no longer enigmatic. The two bovine figures dressed in bulls' hides and carrying cornucopiae in human hands are representatives of the bull-god Poseidon. That they could be portrayed with the legs of bulls, implies that they were themselves called ταύροι; and most fortunately Athenaeus (425 C) has preserved a record of the fact—

273 Head, Hist. Num. p. 234, Fig. 175.
275 The coins of Catana (figured in the Jahrbuch des k. u. c. Arch. Inst. for 1889, p. 119), which show a man-headed bull with a figure surprisingly like the acrobat of Tityra on its back! (Schuchhardt, op. cit. p. 120), have been otherwise explained by Miss E. Sellar, who points out that the river-god is a mere badge, not an integral part of the design.
276 If Mt. Tauroës on the coins of Tauroësium is regularly denoted by a bull; and if even the H.S._VOL. XIV.

Roman gens Thurio could adopt the same "type paean"; surely those human ταύροι, of whom Athenaeus speaks, might well be depicted as actual oxen, while at the same time their ritual garb was retained to distinguish them from ordinary cattle. I conceive that, as far as artistic representation is concerned, they furnish an exact parallel to the bovine θανάφεια on the Cyprian bowl. Those who performed the λαύραι were called λαύρειοι and portrayed as lions: those who danced the θανάθεια were known as θανάθες and dedicated statuettes of bulls: those
ANIMAL WORSHIP IN THE MYCENAEAN AGE.

The details of this Ephesian cult, though not fully known, seem to have resembled those of the *taurokathphía*. Artemidorus (*Onesisor.*. i. 8) observes:

\[ \text{ταύρος έι κατά προαλμεσίν \ εν Ιωνίᾳ παιδες Εφεσίων \ ἄγριες χείται, καὶ εἰς Αιτικὴ πάρα ταῖς θείαις \ εἰς Ἑλευσίν \ καὶ τοὺς Αθηναίους περιτελλομένους ξενιώτους. καὶ εἰς Δαρίσσῃ πόλις \ Θεσσαλίας οἱ τοις κατοικοῦσιν εὐγενεστάτοι \ εἰς τῇ θαλάσσῃ οἰκουμένῃ \ τὰ αὐτὰ τοῖς ἐπὶ θανάτῳ κατακριθείσι συμβαίνει.} \]

Similarly on the Orvieto gem, the athlete grasping the horn each representative of the divine ταύρος probably denotes an actual custom. Is it rash to conjecture that both here, and wherever the *taurokathphía* are found, we have a primitive religious rite intended to symbolize, if not to secure, man's mastery over the waters of Poseidon?

With regard to the second gem, the serpentine from Crete, I should not hesitate to refer it to the same cult, were it not for the presence of the goat-garb in addition to that of the bull. The two animals would hardly have been combined on a single stone, if the respective rituals which they imply had been wholly independent. And, since Poseidon Tauromos was never, so far as we know, represented by a goat, we are driven to seek some explanation of the bull that will account for the simultaneous appearance of the goat. Now the genealogy given above associated the former animal in Crete not only with Poseidon but also with Zeus—Zeus Kretagenses as the coins call him.\(^{26}\) It was the bull-Zeus who wedded Io, begat Epaphos, and carried off Europa. And we observed that this last occurrence was intimately connected with the sacred plane-tree at Gortys, which in memory of the event was ever-green. Whether this connection between the Cretan bull and vegetation is accidental or essential cannot be decided off-hand. It is known that Demeter among the Boeotians was worshipped as Tauropolos.\(^{27}\) It has been proved, too, by Mr. Frazer that Dionysus was often conceived as a bull\(^ {28}\) and that his bull-form is 'an expression of his proper character as a deity of vegetation.'\(^ {29} \) But Demeter and Dionysus are not the Cretan Zeus, and parity of reasoning is apt to deceive.

There was, however, an interesting ceremony yearly performed on the Athenian Akropolis under the name of Bouphonia or Diipolla, which may serve to establish our connection. The custom, we are told, was introduced...
by an alien called Sopatros, who having murdered an ox had fled to Crete, and could only be induced to quit that island on the assurance of the Athenians that they would become partakers of his guilt. From this we may perhaps infer that the practice thus instituted was originally a Cretan one. Moreover, the name Diipolia suggests that the ox represented Zeus; and Zeus as a god of vegetation; for the details of the ritual indicate that the ox which tasted the barley-cakes was in all probability viewed as the corn-deity taking possession of his own.

If this be so, we have on the one hand the legend of the Gortynian plane and on the other the ritual of the Diipolia as evidence that the Cretan bull-Zeus symbolized vegetation. The evidence, though by no means conclusive, may be provisionally accepted for what it is worth.

We next note the fact that the goat as well as the bull was a recognized emblem of Zeus Kretagenses. According to Hesiod, Theog. 484, the infant Zeus was hidden Aijalos το όρνη, and tradition told how he had been nourished by the divine goat Amaltheia:—

"Huic fuit haec forum mater formosa duorum,
Inter Dictaeos conspicienda greges,
Cornibus aeriis atque in sua terga recurvis;
Ubere, quod nutrix posset habere Iovis."

Ov. Fast. v. 117 ff.

In memory of this tutelage the moneys of several Cretan towns, regularly employed the forepart of a goat as their device. Thirdly, it is just possible that the notched shield between the legs of the goat-man indicates an orgiastic dance in armour, such as was said to have been performed by the Curetes to drown the cries of the infant Zeus.

Putting these stray hints together, I infer as probable, though far from certain, that the second gem represents a mimetic dance by two worshippers of Zeus Kretagenses, one clad in a bull's skin, the other in a goat's skin. That such religious mummeries were actually in vogue among the Cretans is proved by a marble slab to be noticed later on.

Whether the third gem, the πίσαξ from Mycenae, illustrates the cult of Poseidon Tauroei, or that of Zeus Kretagenses, or again some further

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290. Coins of Phaestus, on the gulf of Isma, show a deity 'standing on base placed between two balls: his head is bowed, and he holds a fulmen and an ear of corn,' *Head, Hist. Num.* p. 661. This description would suit a bull-Zeus as a vegetation-god.
292. See for ex., the *Επιστολι-Αρχαντισθ.* 1889, Pl. 12, Nos. 10 and 11; Pl. 13, Nos. 6 and 7, 10 and 11.
293. This is sometimes described as 'an open oyster.' But the occurrence of a similar shield on the bull-gem from Ialysos (p. 126, n. 255), and a harmaathie in the Brit. Mus. (Cat. No. 74 'two drilled holes united by a groove ... and lines of uncertain meaning'), which shows a soldier driving off a pair of oxen, makes it certain that a shield is intended. See Mr. A. J. Evans in the last number of this *Journal*, p. 215, n. 428.
294. It is also conceivable that the 'scheme' of this gem is intended to portray one man with an alternative disguise. In that case it would be a variation of the compound type exhibited by the lion-legged axes.
form of bull-worship, we are not in a position to decide. Nor can we
determine the precise significance of the bull-headed statuettes and masks
which we have catalogued. But that in Mycenaean times bull-worship was
still active, and active in more forms than one, has—I think—been
adequately proved.

Before leaving the subject, there is one side-issue which merits atten-
tion. We have seen reason to suppose that Herakles was the humanized
product of a lion-cult, and that Hera in theriomorphic guise was a sacred
cow. Between these two deities tradition recognized a constant antagonism.
Herakles appears in Greek literature as βουθαίνας, βουθώνας, βουθώνης,
ταυροθάνας; and βοῦς ἡ πόνω "Hephaistos was said to have been his foe through
life." It is not improbable that this traditional hostility is but the
mythopoetic version of the enmity which naturally subsists between the
two animals—an enmity illustrated by that most common of all scenes in
Mycenaean art, the lion attacking the bull.

In favour of this are several ancient Etruscan monuments representing
the Italian Hercules and Juno engaged in combat with club and sword: both
are clad in the hides of animals—Hercules wearing the lion's skin,
Juno the pelt of her Lanuvian goat.

The same conception may also have regulated certain points in the
Mithraic ceremonial. That the lion here played an important part, we have
already learnt. Scarcely less important was the bull, which seems to have
symbolized life. The Taurobolia or 'Baptism of Blood' became in later
days a very wide-spread custom, extending even to Eleusis. According to
M. Lajard, the mystics had to pass through some twelve degrees before
attaining final fruition. Of these the first three were known as the
Terrestrial Degrees and entitled (1) The Soldier, (2) The Lion, (3) The Bull.
It is not impossible that this succession was due to the Mycenaean type of
Lion at war with Bull. That the process was not the reverse, and that
Mycenaean worship owed nothing to Mithraism, is certain. As Mr. King
remarked, "the complicated system of the Mithraic was evidently the
creation of much later times, and of a religion vainly struggling for life."

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208 Dr. Fennell in the Encyc. Brit. s.v. "Hercules".
210 Cp. Mühr-Wissel, Denkmäler, 1. No. 355b, c.
212 Le Culte de Mithra, passim.
IV.—The Cult of the Stag.

Σαφές είναι του Ἐγέρτο.

Aristoph. Nub 354.

There is in the British Museum a certain lenticular haematite, which bears a device described by Mr. A. H. Smith as a ‘monster, with head and foreparts of stag, and with human legs, brought over its back so as to fill field.’ This ‘monster’ offers, it will be seen, a close analogy to some of the Island gems which we have already considered, and—if I am not mistaken—represents a human being wearing over his head and shoulders the foreparts of a stag. The girdle and the lappet of hide falling over the thighs tend to confirm this interpretation. The design is as usual carefully arranged so as to occupy the entire space; and there are two objects in the field which, though unnoticed in the official catalogue, may possibly bear on our subject. The object lying below the body of the stag is explained by the glandular haematite mentioned on page 131, note 234; in both cases the lines of uncertain meaning in the field denote a spear-head, and here perhaps betoken the sacrificial character of the animal-man. There is also a straight cut resembling a tree-branch behind the human legs; but it is unfortunately arrested by a flaw in the stone. This is, so far as I am aware, the only representation of a stag in Mycenaean art which can claim a distinctly religious significance. But its claim is strong enough to justify us in reviewing such traces of stag-worship as may have survived into later times, in the hope of obtaining a clue to the meaning of our gem.

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It is possible that some religious use was made of the stag-crest, cast in an alloy of lead and silver, which was found in the largest shaft-grave at Mycenae (Schuchhardt, op. cit. p. 216). De Cange mentions that it was customary among the early Christians to have cornēs argentes placed by the baptismal font (Blass, vol. ii. p. 228 b). The British Museum (Vase-room I, case 37) possesses an aryballos from Noia or Vulci moulded in the form of a stag’s head.
(1) Evidence with regard to the stag-cult of the Greeks is mainly associated with the name of Artemis' Elaphia or Elaphia. Pausanias (VIII. xxvii. 2) informs us that at Lykosoura this goddess was ἀμελεμένη δέρμα δέλφου and in another passage (VII. xviii. 7) gives the following description of the Laphria—a yearly festival, which the men of Patrai celebrated in her honour. 'They set up logs of wood, still green and some sixteen cubits long, in a ring round the altar; inside upon the altar itself are laid the driest billets. Moreover, for the day of the festival they make smooth an ascent to the altar, covering the steps up to it with earth. The first ceremony is a splendid procession in honour of Artemis; behind it rides the sacred maiden (ἡ ἴερωμένη παρθένος) on a car drawn by a yoke of stags. From that moment till the day following the city and the citizens are busied with the sacrifices. They cast alive on to the altar edible birds and victims of all sorts, wild boars too and stags and gazelles; others add whelps of lions and bears, and others again full-grown wild beasts; they also place on the altar the fruit of tame trees. After this they kindle the wood. Hereupon I saw a bear and some other animal thrown to one side of the altar, partly by the first rush of the flames, partly by their own struggles to escape; they were, however, restored to the pyre once more by those who had originally cast them on. And the story goes that no man is injured by the beasts.' In this custom ἡ ἴερωμένη παρθένος drawn by stags is an obvious incarnation of Elaphia herself; indeed, throughout the festival Artemis appears in Homeric guise as τερπομένη κάπροις καὶ ὄτεινες ἐλάφοις.

Odys. vi. 104.

Legendary tradition illustrates the same affinity. Actaeon, who surprised Artemis while bathing, was changed into a stag and so devoured by his own hounds. On a metope from Selinus this transformation is skillfully suggested by the head and hide of a stag, which Actaeon wears over his shoulders. In later bas-reliefs and paintings the antlers are already sprouting from his forehead. There is also the myth that Agamemnon once killed a stag in the grove of Artemis, in consequence of which crime the Greeks were detained at Aulis by contrary winds; the seer Calchas demanded the sacrifice of Iphigenia, but the goddess at the critical moment substituted a stag for the maiden, whom she transported to the Tauric Chersonese as her future priestess. Again, it was Artemis who met

324 For Semitic custom see The Religion of the Semites, pp. 399, 447. In certain rituals we find the stag or gazelle as an exceptional sacrifice. The most notable case is the annual stag-sacrifice at Apollonia on the Phoenician coast, which was regarded as a substitute for a more ancient sacrifice of a sulphur, and was offered to a goddess whom Porphry calls Athena (de Abst. II. 38), while Pausanias (III. xvi. 8) identifies her with the Brauronian Artemis, and supposes that the cult was introduced by Salene.'

325 Roscher, Zschr. vol. 215.

326 Ingres, Monumenti Etruschi, vol. i. pt. ii. PIL. LXV. LXX.

327 Duraerburg and Saglio, Dict. Ant. vol. i. p. 23, fig. 58, a fresco from Pompeii.
Heraclès when he returned to Eurystheus with the Cerynean stag. This stag—according to Pindar, *Ol.* l.i. 29—was

*χρυσάκηρον* 228 ἐπαφόν θηλείαν...ἀν τοις Ταυρίτα

ἀντιθέου Ὀρθώσα τιγράφευ ἤρων.

But the Vatican scholiast ad loc. remarks: ‘Taygete, daughter of Atlas and Pleione, was herself turned into a stag by Artemis in order to escape the importunities of Zeus’. Finally, Euripides (*Helen.* 381 ff.) tells a similar tale about Cos, the daughter of King Merops:

ἀν τε ποτ’ Ἀρτέμις ἔγχορευσατο,

*χρυσάκηρα* ἐπαφόν, Μέροπος Τιτανίδα κούραν,

καλλοστυνάς ἤνεκεν.

The testimony of legend is supported by that of language. A constant epithet of Artemis is ἐλαφηβολος or ἐλαφοκτόνος. Now Mr. Frazer observes ‘that wherever a god is described as the eater of a particular animal, the animal in question was originally nothing but the god himself,’ and that ‘divine titles derived from killing animals are probably to be similarly explained.’ 299 It may therefore be surmised that Artemis herself was sometimes conceived as a stag, her ministrants being credited with the same shape. To celebrate stag-rites the Phocians held their festival of the Ἐλαφηβολία 300 about which Plutarch 301 says that ‘the greatest of all their festivals is the Elaphobolias which they still keep in honour of Artemis at Hyampolis.’ At this festival flat-cakes were offered, made of dough, sesame, and honey, and moulded into the shape of stags. 302 At Athens too in the month Elaphobolion deer were sacrificed to Artemis in her character of Elaphobolos. 303

As regards the traces which this stag-cult has left on Greek art, the representation that most nearly resembles our Island stone is a vase-painting drawn in Gerhard’s *Griechische Vasenbilder* (vol. 1, Pl. 89). It shows one side of a red-figured crater. In the centre stands a female figure bearing a wreath in her left hand and a sprig in her right, which she raises in a supplicating manner toward a youth who advances from the left. Her face is concealed beneath a curious mask shaped like a stag’s head with long branching antlers; the neck is covered with spots (or air-holes!). The young man on the left holds a sharp sickle or sacrificial knife in one


300 Hence the name of the month *Ελαφηβολία, which in Elis was known as Ελάφια; cp. *Paus.* VI. xx. 1, and V. xil. 11. According to Io. Malalas, p. 345, 19 the Byzantine form τὸ Ελάφια was even in his day the name of a street near the temple of Artemis.

301 *Paus.* de vit. mort., 214 D, cp. 690 D.

302 *Athen. 446 K; Festalh. Od. p. 1622, § 30.

hand; and in the other a sort of wallet which, to judge from analogy, is intended to receive the victim's head,—with it should be compared the portable cases on the handles of Cesnola's bowl (page 103). Beyond this group upon a square base stands a second female figure, winged and with averted looks, bearing a wreath and a ribband in her hands. The field is occupied by a fillet.

This vase-painting Milchhöfer interprets as 'the (equine) Gorgon holding flowers before Perseus, who bears a harp.' Enthusiasm for the horse is not to be disconcerted by a pair of antlers! I would suggest that it depicts the sacrifice of Iphigienia, who either wears the stag's mask of the Artemis cult, or is already being metamorphosed by the goddess into a stag. The youth on the left will then be one of the ξεκρύτων νεώνια (Eur. Hec. 525) employed on such occasions, and the winged Nike with sorrowful eyes will hint at the victory dearly purchased by a sacrifice like this. In any case I conceive that we have here a clear reminiscence of the stag-cult in post-Homeric times.

On the frieze from the temple of Apollo at Phigaleia we find Artemis driving a chariot drawn by a couple of stags. In later art, for example in the famous 'Diana of Versailles,' she is not unfrequently accompanied by a stag. Several types are known from a numerous collection of terra-cottas discovered in one of her precincts, and published by M. Henri Lechat. A bronze medallion of Antoninus Pius, figured by Roscher, represents her holding a stag by the horn; and on two coins, drawn by Spanheim, she rides the same animal and is borne by a team of them, ξυμενή κέμαδον τέτραξυγόν ἐλφρος (Nomm. Dion. 48, 450). Again, on the Hermannstadt statue of Hecate the stag appears as a sacrificial victim.

(2.) Nor is it only Artemis who is associated with the stag. The νεβρός, that is the young of the θαλαφος, was especially sacred to Dionysus. He is called νεβροκτόνος, νεβριδοστόλος, νεβριδόστολος, and Nonnos tells us that—

νεβροκτόνος Δίωνος ὁμαίος ἐπλετό νεβρός.

His votaries too were arrayed in the fawn-skin—see black- and red-figured vases Cassian. The epithet νεβροκτόνος, applied by the scholiast on Callim., h. in Dion. 190 (ἐλλαφόνων, Βριτόμαρτιν, ἄεικοναν, κ.τ.λ.) to Artemis, furnishes a link between the cult of the θαλαφος and that of the νεβρός. 'Ελλαφόνως itself

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304 His type is very possibly modelled on that of the conventional Farnese.
307 Lac. col. 896.
308 Sch. Callim. h. in Dion. 106 (ed. 1907, pp. 207-8).
310 Κ. Grif. 91, 10.
312 Nomm. Dion. xxvi. 28.
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conveys the same meaning, since ἄλος according to Hesychius is τὸ ἐγγεμνὸν τῆς ἀλφών νεότητι, ἐν μέρος.

(3) Lastly, it will be remembered that on Mount Lukaios in Arcadia there was an Αβατόν—or σήκωμα as Euripides (EL. 1274) terms it—into which no man was allowed to enter, on pain of death within a twelvemonth.814 This stringent rule seems to have undergone some modification; for Plutarch815 states that voluntary transgressors were stoned by the Arcadians, but that those who erred unwittingly were sent to Eileithyia. Local report affirmed that all who trod this sacred ground, whether men or beasts, lost their shadows,816 and Plutarch adds that any man who entered the grove was called an ἐλαφος.

Qui, Gr. 39, p. 300 C. καὶ γὰρ ἐλαφος ὦ ἐμβιας καλεῖται. Διὸ καὶ Κανθαρίωνα τὸν Ἀρκάδα πρὸς Ἡλεύνων αὐτομολίσαντα πελομόντας Ἀρκαίον καὶ διαμαζόντα μετὰ λείας τὸ ἄβατον, καταλυθέντος δὲ τὸν πολέμον φυγόντα εἰς Σπάρτην, ἔξεσθαι οἱ Δακθαλιόνοι τοῖς Ἀρκαίος τὸν θεὸν κελεύσαντος ἀποδίδοναι τὸν ἐλαφον.

The explanation of these singular superstitions seems to be that the precinct was once the sacred haunt of a wolf-god. All rash intruders would be regarded as the natural prey of this fierce deity, and slain as offerings to him under the name of 'stags.' They were said to lose their shadows (i.e. souls) and die the death. It is known at least that human victims were until a comparatively late date sacrificed at the altar of Zeus Lukaios. Lobeck (Aglaorphanus ii. 895, note n.) has somewhat misrepresented the facts, though his interpretation is correct: he states—

'adytum ingressus, nisi anfugissant, immolatos, fugitios Αλφων appellatos esse, quod deus loci inquitimus eos eum cervum lupus insectari fingeretur.'

He was, I suppose, attracted by Festus' remark that runaway slaves were known as 'servi,' and perhaps also by the proverbial phrase 'Ελαφειος, ἄνηρ applied to cowards.817

Which of the three cults thus reviewed is illustrated by our Mycenaean gem? Probably not the Dionysiac rite: because its initiates wore fava-skins, and the intaglio shows a full-grown stag. In favour of Artemis is the vase-painting which represents Iphigeneia with a somewhat similar stag's head and horns. But the balance of probability inclines, I think, towards the ritual on Mount Lukaios. For, on the one hand, we know that the devotees of the deity there worshipped were called ἄλων; and, on the other hand, the animal-cults already examined lead us to suppose that a man wearing the προσωπὶ of a stag, as we see him here, is likely to bear

814 Pind. VIII. xxxviii. 6.
815 Quast. Græc. 39, p. 300 A.
816 See Immerwahr, Die Kulte und Mythen.
817 Suidas, s.v. Ἀλφων; Zehnh. iii. 66; Hom. II. i. 226, xii. 408; Aristoph. Nub. 354.
the name of Ἔλαβος himself. Again, the spear-head—which on the Island stones is often a conventional symbol for death—may refer to the local practice of human sacrifice; and the tree-branch conceivably indicates the hallowed grove. But if it is impossible to determine with confidence the precise support of the gem in question, it will hardly be denied that it represents a stag-worshipper of some sort dressed in his ceremonial attire.

V.—The Cult of the Horse.

Ὑπομορφώ μὲν δύο τεινέ εἰδη, ἂνιχικέν δὲ εἴδος τρίτον.

PLATO, Phaedrus, 253 D.

We come now to the horse, the main topic of Milchhöfer's chapter on 'Inselstein.' Of the seven gems which he quotes as illustrative of this animal I am unable to detect it upon more than two. The first (Fig. 18) is a lenticular rock-crystal found at Phigaleia and now preserved in the Berlin collection. Two upright figures with human arms face one another, dressed apparently in the skins and heads of horses. They wear the girdle with which we are already familiar, but seem oddly enough to have the legs of birds. Between them stands a nude man holding the lower jaw of each horse-head. The second (Fig. 19) is a lenticular pebble of verde antico from Crete, also in the Berlin Museum. It agrees in several remarkable features with the former gem. An upright figure clothed in a horse’s mask and skin—the latter being prolonged into a crest between the ears—wears the same girdle round the waist, and (an important point of resemblance) stands on the same bird-legs. On its right shoulder it bears a slaughtered stag; and the field is occupied by two stars and a tree-branch. The pose of the whole figure recalls both the Salonica gem (p. 106) = a lion dressed in a lion-skin carrying a dead ox; and also the lenticular chalcedony (p. 84) = an animal figure supporting a slain goat.

The first of these Island stones came, I have said, from Phigaleia; and it is fortunate that Pausanias has a full description of the ancient worship

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288 Milchhöfer, Anfange der Kunst, p. 55, Fig. 44 a; Overbeck, Griechische Kunstanthologie, 2. ii. p. 523, Fig. 3.
289 Milchhöfer, op. cit. p. 55, Fig. 440; Overbeck, op. cit. p. 525, Fig. 1; Helbig, Bulletin dell'Inst. Arch. 1879, p. 41.
which obtained in that town. His account is interesting, and I may be
excused for quoting it at length, if I can show that the details which he gives
put us on the right track for interpreting the curious symbolism of the
above-mentioned gems. He writes (VIII. xlii.) as follows:—

"The mountain Elaion is distant about thirty stadia from Phigaleia; and
contains a cavern which is sacred to Demeter surnamed Melaina. Now as
for the tale told by the men of Thelpusa concerning the wealock of Poseidon
and Demeter, the Phigaleians agree with them. Only, the latter hold that
the offspring of Demeter was not a horse, but she whom the Arkadians name
Despoina. For the rest, they say that, partly through anger against Poseidon,
partly through grief at the rape of Persephone, she donned a black robe
and entering this cavern did not show herself for a long time. So, when all
the produce of the land was wasting away, and the human race suffered yet
more heavily from famine, none of the gods knew where Demeter had
bestowed herself. Pan, however, came to Arkadia, and went a-hunting now
on one hill now on another: when he reached Elaion he there caught sight
of Demeter, and discerned her form and the manner of her raiment. Zeus
having heard the tidings from the lips of Pan sent the Moirai to Demeter.
To their voice she hearkened, and relaxed her wrath and laid aside her
sorrow. This is the cause which the Phigaleians allege to explain why they
deemed the cave sacred to Demeter and set up therein a statue of wood.
The following was the fashion of their statue. It was seated upon a rock
and except for the head resembled a woman. It had the head and the mane
of a horse, forms of snakes and other wild animals being attached thereto;
it was robed in a chiton reaching to the feet: a dolphin rested upon one
of its hands, and the bird on the other was a dove. The reason for which
they made the image thus is clear to any one of intelligence and a turn
for archeology." Pausanias then goes on to narrate that in some unknown
way this ancient statue had been burnt. The Phigaleians neglected to restore it and the cult fell into desuetude, till another famine came upon the
land and the Delphic oracle advised them to return to the worship τεπαλέχουν
Δηνιστὶ. They thereupon induced Onatas, the Aeginetan sculptor, to make
them a fresh statue; and he made a bronze ἄγαλμα on the model of the
ancient ξίανυσα. 'It was mainly for the sake of this Demeter'—continues
Pausanias—'that I came to Phigaleia, and following the custom of the
inhabitants made no burnt-offering to the goddess; for they place upon the
altar that is before the cave the fruits of tame trees, in particular of the
vine, and honeycombs and unused wool which still retains its οίληνος; and
having placed these there they pour olive oil upon them. These rites are
performed both by private persons and in public every year by the
Phigaleians. The performant is a priestess, and with her the youngest
of the so-called ἵπποβαρας, who are three of the citizens. There is a grove
of oak-trees about the cave, and cold water wells up from a spring. The
statue made by Onatas was no longer extant at the time of my visit.'

Pausanias' allusion to the legend of Thelpusa is explained by his words
in VIII. xxv. 4 ff.:—'Passing Thelpusa the river Ladon flows to the temple
of Demeter at Onkeion. The Thelpusians name the goddess Erinyes; and
with them agrees Antimachos in his poem describing the Argive attack on
Thebes; his verse runs thus—

"There they say is the shrine of Demeter Erinyes."

Onkos is reported to have been a son of Apollo, and lord over the Thelpusian
territory near Onkeion. But, however that may be, the goddess has the
surname Erinyes. For when Demeter was wandering in search of her
daughter, it is said that Poseidon courts her; and that she, turning into a
mare, pastured with the mares of Onkos. Poseidon, perceiving that she
was the victim of guile, changed his form into that of a horse, and met Demeter.
At first Demeter was provoked at the deed, but after a while she ceased
from her anger; and they tell how she was minded to bathe in the Ladon.
Hence came the goddess' titles; Erinyes on account of her wrath, because
the Arkadians say ἐπαυείων for 'to be angry'; and Lousia because she
bathed in the Ladon. The temple-statues are wooden, their faces hands
and feet being of Parian marble. The statue of Erinyes holds what is called
the κόμη and a torch in its right hand; I should conjecture that it was
some nine feet high. The height of the Lousia appeared to be about three
feet less; those who hold that this statue represents Themis and not
Demeter Lousia may be sure that they are at fault. Further, they tell that
Demeter bore to Poseidon a daughter whose name they will not declare to
the uninitiated, and also the horse Areion; on which account they were the
first of the Arkadians to give Poseidon the title of Hippios. As proof of
this they cite verses from the Iliad and the Théaid. In the Iliad occurs
this mention of Areion:

"Not even if he drove goodly Areion,
Adrastos' swift steed, who was of birth divine."

And in the Théaid, when Adrastos fled from Thebes—

"Gloomy raiment he wore, with Areion of the raven hair."

The verses hint, then, that Poseidon was the father of Areion. Antimachos,
however, says that Areion was the child of Earth:

"Adrastos son of Talaos son of Kretheus was the first of the Danaans
who became famous by driving his steeds, swift Kairos and Areion of
Thelpusa, whom Earth herself sent up hard by the grove of Apollo
Onkaios, a marvel for mortal eyes."

But even if the horse did spring from the earth, his race might still be
considered divine, and his hair of a dark colour. The following tale is
also told: that Herakles when warring against the Eleans begged the horse
Areion from Onkos, and thus riding upon him captured Elia; and that
subsequently the steed was given to Adrastos by Herakles. Hence Anti-
machos wrote of Areion—

"Who was once tamed by King Adrastos, after serving two chieftains."
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So far Pausanias: the gist of his twofold version may be put thus—

(1) The Phigaleians worshipped Demeter Melaina in a cavern near their town. This κρυπτήριον ἄντρον, as the Pythia termed it, contained an old cultus statue with a horse's head.

(2) The Thelpusians recognized a shrine of Demeter Erinys at Onkeion, where her statue held a torch in its right hand.

(3) The inhabitants of both localities agreed in stating that Demeter as a mare had been wooed by Poseidon as a stallion. From the union sprang Despoina (according to the Phigaleians), or a nameless daughter and the horse Areion (according to the Thelpusians).

It will be well to collect further evidence on each of these points with a view to discovering the significance of the equine form which characterizes the whole legend.

(1) The cave-cult of the horse-headed Demeter is corroborated by certain coin-types of the neighbourhood. There are specimens of Thelpusian mintage, which have been described as follows:—

Obv. Head of Demeter, adorned with necklace ending in horse's head.
Rev. EPIGN. The horse Arion, running, bridled.

And several Phigaleian moneys show the goddess veiled and clad in a χείλων πόδηρης.

(2) On other coins of Phigaleia Demeter holds a torch in either hand, and recalls Pausanias' account of the statue at Thelpusa. As Demeter Erinys she would naturally bear these symbols of the underworld. It is noticeable, too, that—just as the Phigaleian Demeter is clad in a black chiton—so Greek tradition makes the Erinys or the Erinies—


In fact, there is every reason to suppose that both at Phigaleia and at Thelpusa Demeter was worshipped as a Chthonian goddess.

(3) This is borne out by her liaison with Poseidon Hippios. The two deities are more than once found together. It was at Poseidon's well that the women of Eleusis first danced and sang songs to Demeter. They were

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332 Inhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner, ibid.
335 Paus. I. xxxviii. 6.
both associated with Athena (♀ Hippia) on the Sacred Way. Demeter Euchloos had a precinct of her own at Kolonos; the sacred hill of Poseidon Hippios. And Poseidon Hippios had a statue close to the temple of Demeter in the Kerameikos. The reason of their partnership is not far to seek. Poseidon's horse was, like himself, directly Chthonian in character: it came forth from the ground when its creator, in his contest with Athena, struck the Akropolis rock with his trident. What could be more natural, therefore, than that the horse-Demeter a Chthonian goddess should be united to the horse-Poseidon a Chthonian god, and that the offspring of their union should be the horse-Arion whom Earth herself sent up, a marvel for mortal eyes?

In brief, the prominent figure throughout the Arkadian legend is the horse, and the horse as symbol of the nether world. If, then, the details of the Phigaleian gem are to be systematically investigated, we must proceed by examining somewhat narrowly the nature and functions of this animal.

The monumental evidence for its Chthonian office may be thus summarized:

(a) A primitive tombstone relief (circ. 550—500 B.C.) found at Chrysapha represents the heroised dead on a lion-foot throne receiving oblations: the field is occupied by a trotting horse.

(b) On sepulchral monuments of the 'Early Attic' class the portrait of the deceased is often accompanied by the diminutive figure of a youth riding or leading a horse: this has sometimes been taken to denote 'the favourite pursuits or the knightly rank of the dead person.' Decorative stelai of a later date, which are to all appearance adorned with scenes from daily life, occasionally introduce figures of horsemen.

(c) From the fourth century onwards, a horse's head appears looking through a window in a common type of relief known as the 'Sepulchral Banquet.' Another variety gives more prominence to the horse. The deceased 'hero' is seen either riding or standing by a horse, while he receives a libation from an attendant female.

The meaning of these types has been, and still is, hotly contested. We shall probably be safe in concluding that on funeral monuments belonging to class (α) or class (γ) the horse symbolizes death; while on stelai of class (β)

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281 Paus. I. xxxii. 2.
282 Paus. I. xxx. 4; Soph. 'Od., 1606.
283 Paus. I. ii. 4.
284 Poseidon was γαλαγας, ἴσοιχθρος, and ἰσαγάγας.
285 Mitchell, Hist. of Ancient Sculpture, p. 297; Fig. 101; Roscher, Lex. col. 2370, Fig. 71; after the Mittheilungen des Deut. Arch. Instit. in Athen, vii. Taf. 7. See further A. Furtwängler, ibid., pp. 164-166.
287 See e.g. Roscher, Lex. col. 2571, Fig. 8;
288 Furtwängler, Coll. Suberos, i. p. 49; Roscher, Lex. col. 2954.
it is either a mere reminiscence of earthly life, or at most illustrative of the Vergilian conception—

"Quae gratia currum
Armorumque fuit vivis, quae cura nitentis
Pascere equos: cadem sequitur tellure repastos."

_Aem. vi. 658—5._

The superstition of a death-horse[258] was not confined to Greece. In Hindoo mythology, the mouth of hell is represented as a horse’s head.[259] And M. Reinach in his _Esquisses Archéologiques_ (1888, p. 132) writes:

‘La présence du cheval dans les reliefs grecs funéraires se constate dans les œuvres étrusques de la même famille; en Étrurie plus clairement encore qu’en Grèce, le cheval paraît en rapport avec le monde des enfers.’

Turning from the monuments to literary sources, we again find the horse connected with Chthonian powers in general and Poseidon in particular. I would ask attention to a section of legendary genealogy that had won acceptance from the Greeks as early as the days of Hesiod.

Oceanus—the tradition ran—married Tethys, and among the numerous offspring of the marriage were several whose names have an interest for us; Electra, Hippo, Philyra, Polypho, and Ladon.

To trace first the descendants of the Oceanid Electra. She wedded Thanatos, or as others said Typhon; and from the wedlock[254] resulted a strange progeny of Harpies. Their number is uncertain, and their names vary; but probably we can distinguish Aello, Okupete, Kelaimo and Podarge, with Iris as their sister. Here we are already confronted by the figure of the horse. For Michäofer conjectures that Iris was of equine form; and it seems certain that such was the native primitively attributed to her sister Harpies. Homer, at any rate, in _Iliad_ xvi, 150, tells how Xanthos and Balois, the horses of Achilles, were born of Zephyrs by the Harpy Podarge. The words _βοσκομένη λευκόν_ used of the latter hint at a horse’s shape. Moreover, the poet held the Harpies to be “only impersonations of the storm-winds,”[255] as will be at once clear from a comparison of _Odyssey_ xx, 66,

_δὲ ὁ Πανδαρέων κοιρὰς ἄνελυον θυελλαί,_

with line 77, which refers to the same incident—

_τόφρα δὲ τὰς κοιρὰς ἄρπυναι ἄνερέλθαντο, οἷ' ἐδοσαί στυγερήσιν ἔρινδαι ἄμφεταλευεῖς._

And the assignament of a horse-form to the Winds is common enough. In the Delos akroterion for example, which depicts the rape of Oreothis by

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258 In Theocritus, xv, 40, the baby is fright-
ened by the words: _Μοῦρα ἄλκρης Ταῦτα._

259 Does the word _κατα_ here refer (like _Μοῦρα_) to
some goblin?

254 See De Gebhard, op. cit. vol. i, p. 333.

255 Servius on Virg. _Aen._ iii. 241, the
parents of the Harpies were Pontus (= Poseidon)
and Terra (= Ge); the other version is, how-
ever, supported by Hesiod, Apollo, and
Hyrigiae. In either case a marine origin is
given.

255 Merry on _Hom. Odyssey_ xx, 77.
Boreas, we have a small galloping horse added as a symbol; and in *Iliad* xx. 221 ff. we are told of certain mares belonging to king Erichthonios (a by-name of Poseidon)\(^{336}\):

\[\text{τάου καὶ Βορέης ὧμισιστα ἐσομενίνων,}
\text{ἐπίπος ὑπεράμεναι ἐτεκνοῦ ἐνικαίδηκα πόλιν.}
\text{αἱ δὲ ὑπερασμέναι ἐτεκνοῦ ἐνικαίδηκα πόλιν.}
\text{άκραν ἐπὶ θεριάς κρισαὶ ἔδω οὐδε μετέκελαιν,}
\text{ἀλλ' ὑπὲρασμέναι ἐπὶ θεριάς κρισαὶ ἔδω οὐδε μετέκελαιν.}
\]

The ἐνικαίδηκα πόλιν, who thus skim the cornfields and the sea, certainly denote the sweeping winds: and the epithets of sombre colour (καταγαίης, Κελαινο, and the like) may be indicative either of their dark Chthonian origin\(^{337}\) or—and this I suggest as being more probable—of the unseen force of the winds themselves. To the early mind darkness and invisibility are much the same thing\(^{338}\).

To deal next with the branch of the family derived from the Oceanid Philyra. She was loved by Kronos who, the legend said, courted her under the form of a horse. To them was born the centaur Cheiron; and thus we are introduced to another remarkable relic of horse-worship, the ἄνας ἔπαιδας Καναύρων (Eur. *Iph. Aul.* 1039). A variant legend made Cheiron the son, not of Kronos but of Kronos' son Poseidon, whose connection with the horse was well-established. Pindar\(^{339}\) makes mention of ἔπαιδας Ποσειδιάων, whom he elsewhere\(^{40}\) calls ἔπαραγόνοις. Lycorephon\(^{41}\) terms him ἔπαιδας; and the tragedians\(^{42}\) in general know him as Ἐπαιδεύος. These titles are born out by several myths:

(a) Poseidon, as we have already seen, approached Demeter Erinys as a horse. It has been pointed out\(^{43}\) that this Poseidon-and-Erinys myth appears also in Sanskrit story. According to the Rigvedas, Vivasvat and Sonnayul (= Erinys) in horse form gave birth to the Asvins, twin horses or knights, who on Greek soil are represented by the Dioscuri. The Arkadian tale made the children of Poseidon Hippies and Demeter Erinys, Despoina and the horse Areion.

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\(^{337}\) Op. Demeter's title ἔπαιδας and Κελαινο (H. *Hom. in Exc.* 329, 361, 373). Her wedlock with Poseidon, who is commonly καταγαίης in both Homer (H. xii. 565, xiv. 390, ex. 144; Od. iv. 326) and Hesiod (Theog. 479), produced μέγας ἔπαιδας Ἐρίδον καταγαίης (H. *Sent.* 139).

\(^{338}\) Op. the Homeritic phrase ἐδακλωμένη θ. ἐπ' θ. ἄηδος πολλάκι ἂς ἐπὶ θεριάς ἔπαιδες.

\(^{339}\) *Iph. Aul.* 45.

\(^{40}\) *Iph. Aul.* 1039.

\(^{41}\) *Iph. Aul.* 767.

\(^{42}\) E..g. *Aesch. Sept. et Thea.* 139; *Aristoph.* *Ek.* 521, *Nub.* 89.

(8) Poseidon  Κυανοχαῖτης  had intercourse with the Medusa (herself possibly a horse-headed being 344), by whom he begat Chrysaor and the winged horse Pegasus.

(9) Poseidon became by Alope the parent of Hippothoon 325 or Hippothoo, who was twice suckled by a mare. 310

(5) He also loved the daughter of Mestor and Lysidike, whose name Hippothoe proclaims her affinity.

Moreover (c) Harpokration tells us that by the Oceanid Polyphoe or Koryphae—for the name varies—Poseidon became the father of Athena Hippia:

'Ἰππιά Ἀθηνᾶ Ἰσαίος ἐν τῷ πρόσω. Καλυβόνια. Μνασέας ἐν ἑ Ἐφεσίων τῷ Ἰππιάν Ἀθηνᾶν Ποσειδάνιον έκνευα θυγατέρα καὶ Κορώνης τῆς Ὀλευάνος, ἄρμα δὲ προτέρα κατασκεύασαν διά τοῦτο Ἰππιαν κεκλήθησαν. 347

Similarly Pausanius 348 connects an altar of Athena Hippia with an altar of Poseidon Hippios, and Pindar (Ol. xiii. 30 ff.) mentions the two deities together,—ὅταν ἐνεμωθεὶς καὶ καρπαῖοι ἀναργυρὸς Γενόχω, ὁ τεκνὸς Ἰππιάς βαμβάκι ἔθεσε Ἀθηνᾶ.

Athena also bore the significant title of Chalinitis; and on one famous occasion received the offering of a δούρατος Ἰππος—probably an image of herself. 349 Pausanias 350 remarks that this title Chalinitis was adopted because 'having tamed Pegasus she delivered him to Bellerophon, and placed the bridle on him with her own hands.' Here again the horse seems to be emblematic of the sea. Bellerophon's father Glaukos (a local appropriation of Gaucus the ocean-god 351) fed his mares on human flesh, and—according to one version of the legend—was devoured by them after they had been maddened by drinking of a sacred well at Potniae: as Γλαύκος Τιμάξπιπτης he was supposed to haunt the isle of Corinth and frighten the horses during the races. Bellerophon himself was originally called Hippochoos, and was by some reputed to be the son of Poseidon: his own son was named Hippolchos.

Finally, Ladon, another child of Oceanus and Tethys, married the nymph Stymphalis, by whom he had three children—Daphne, Metope, and

344 Müller-Wieseher, Denkm., vol. l. No. 329, represent a relief from a black vase found near Chiusi, which—among a group of figures described by M. le duc de Luynes (Annali dell’ Instit. vol. vi. 1834, p. 321) as 'un sujet inédit'—introduces a horse-headed monster that Laveroy interpreted as a sister of the Medusa.

345 Paus. I. xxxvii. 4. Miss Harrison, Mythology and Monumenta, p. cix., desiderates 'a bit of genuine Attic work' as evidence of this eponymous hero. It is not the want supplied by the Men. dell’ Instit. 1856, vol. viii. P. XXXII. b, 263 (= Annali dell’ Instit. vol. 28, 1866, p. 338) 'opus dim. stum puerorum lacteis; in armis superne noctum dim. stum; ante equam cultu

H.S.—Vol. XIV.
Thelpusa. The mention of Thelpusa taken in connection with Pausanias' story suggests some etymological meaning in the legend that Daphne was wroc'd by a prince called Lenkippos.

Subjoined is a stemma that will help to rid my account of the confusion attendant upon genealogical minutiae. I have printed in Clarendon type the names of those persons whose relation to the horse is sufficiently obvious.

If we now ask ourselves: What light does this genealogy throw upon the horse that is so constantly figured in sepulchral scenes?—we recur to the conception of the Harpies who 'snatched away the daughters of Pandarus and gave them to the keeping of the hateful Erinyes.' The action was typical on the part of these primitive equine beings, who are looked upon as ψυχετρώμοι,—swift unseen escorts of the departed soul.
Later art depicted the Harpies as winged females or even as birds, assimilating their type—as Mr. Cecil Smith has shown—to that of the Sirens, who performed the same rôle in Hellenic legend. On the so-called 'Harpy Tomb' from Xanthos we see these 'virgines vocantibus' (Ov. Met. vii. 4) with human arms and birds' legs carrying off the diminutive dead. And a vase in the Berlin Museum represents a similar figure grasping two men by the wrists as it swoops through the air. Again, a Siren or a pair of Sirens—bird-forms with human heads and arms—furnished a frequent motive for Attic tomb-decoration. Sophokles's grave was surmounted by one; and examples of the heraldic arrangement are numerous. The Sirens' music has probably little reference to the singing of the funeral dirge, but rather recalls the piping of the wind across the waters. In short, Sirens as well as Harpies are Chthonian escorts of the dead, embodiments it may be of the viewless storm-wind sent to snatch the living from the upper air and convey them ἀνεσε ἀναίων ἀμφιπολέειν.

Having thus surveyed the nature and office of the Chthonian Horse, let us apply our results to the explanation of the Island stones. That these illustrate the Phigaleian cult, whose relations we have been examining, seems clear from several considerations. The first gem was found at Phigaleia itself; and the second derived from Crete, which according to Apollonius Rhodius was the home of the Harpies. Again, the figures garbed in horse-skin cloaks and wearing horses' heads and manes aptly correspond to Pausanias' description of the old cultus-statue at Phigaleia, which 'had the head and mane of a horse...and was robed in a chiton reaching to its feet.' The substitution of this black chiton for the black horse-skin is paralleled by the Brauronian cult, in which the goddess Artemis obtained the sobriquet Chiton from the chitons dedicated to her in lieu of bear-skins.

Two points still await solution: (1) the fantastic fusion of bird-legs with horse-heads, which reminds us of the oriental Hippalektrum; and (2) the character of the central figure on the Phigaleian gem.

(1) From what has gone before it seems plausible to suppose that the horse-forms have bird-legs because they are representatives of a power that was sometimes embodied as a horse, sometimes as a bird. The Harpies, originally conceived as horses, were in later times represented as birds. Nor need we be surprised that the two shapes are here combined. We have already discovered examples of this compendious symbolism, the horse with bird-legs being strictly analogous to the ass with lion-legs. This seems to me at any rate a more probable hypothesis than Milchhöfer's view that the bird-legs

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354 Cat. No. 2157.
355 Mitchell, op. cit. p. 496.
357 Boeckh, Rec. d. 2966, s. b. f. πάντα: κοιτικαὶ ἀνδρὰς ἐκτός ἀ λεκτρονομάτων. Lincke, P.H. i. 13, speaks of ἐν γέρῳ παρθήνων and ὑπέρτως, but he means merely birds ridden as though they were horses.
358 The archaic statue at Phigaleia, while it retained the head and mane of a horse, bore the bird as a separate symbol in one hand. This was apparently mistaken for a dove (the emblem of woe) by Pausanias.

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of the horses and the back-pieces of the other animals were 'borrowed' from the locusts, which the forefathers of the Mycenaean may have encountered in their wanderings. His argument that the horse originally denoted a cloud, and that the locust-bound is the most dangerous of all clouds, is hardly convincing.

(2) The second point is less easy to determine. We have little to guide us except the similarity that subsists between the 'schema' of the Phigaleian horse-gem and that of the Orvieto bull-gem. The latter, which depicted a nude man grasping by the horn a pair of bulls, I took to denote the supremacy of the celebrant over the waters of Poseidon. And I am disposed to interpret the present device in like manner as a man obtaining the mastery over two equine figures symbolical of Chthonian power. Their tongues hanging out and the position of their arms indicate the struggle of some fierce monster, reluctant to be tamed. It is possible that the scene finds mythical expression in the stories of the horse Areion and the horse Pegasus. On the coins of Thalpsa (p. 141) the former was represented as bridled; and—in the words of Antimachos—he 'was once tamed by king Adrastos, after serving two chieftains.' The καλλωρις of the latter is well known. In any case I should interpret the ἰπποκαμφάρεια of the Phigaleian gem to denote the subjugation of death. In the nude man grasping two Chthonian beings I see the converse of the Berlin vase mentioned above, which showed a Chthonian being grasping two nude men.

As yet we have not raised the question whether these equine figures represent worshippers or the object of their worship. In favour of the former supposition is the general similarity of the present gem to others already examined, and in particular to the Orvieto stone on which it was obvious that the ἦθειοι οἰνοχοροῦντες of Poseidon's festival, who bore the title of ταῦροι, were portrayed as actual bulls. It is true that no record has preserved of human ἰπποκαμφάρεια, but then it was by the most accidental that Athenaeus mentioned the Ephesian cult, and in the present case the long cloak fastened by a girdle, as well as the human arms, point to a similar explanation.

The occurrence of these human arms on a horse's body suggests a possible corroboratory of my theory. Mionnet describes a coin of Gordianus Pius struck at Nikain in Bithynia, the reverse of which has the legend ἸΠΠΟΝ ΒΡΟΤΟΠΟΔΑ ΝΙΚΑΙΟΝ and represents:

*Héros à cheval, la tête couverte du bonnet phrygien, et tenant de la main droite une couronne; le cheval, dont les pieds de devant sont humains,

329 There is a striking analogy between both these groups and that depicted on the Assyrian slab (p. 157). In such case one human being is represented as taming or restraining two animal-figures. The lion-form, grasping his

jaw with his hand, bears a close resemblance to the action portrayed on our horse-gem. It is conceivable that the three ἰπποκαμφάρεια mentioned by Pausanias (p. 92) were wont to enact this scene—one taking the part of the ἰπποκαμφάρα, the others being the formals.
tient dans le droit levé un bâton ou sceptre, autour duquel est un serpent, et sa queue repliée se termine par une tête de serpent; une petite Victoire vole au-devant du héros pour le couronner.'

Mr. B. V. Head (Hist. Num. p. 443) reads the type somewhat differently:—

'Divinity riding on a horse whose right foreleg is formed like a human arm, which grasps the serpent-staff, and whose left foreleg ends in a human foot, the tail of the monster is a serpent; this curious type has never been explained.'

To the same effect Drexler in Roscher's Lex. col. 2690: 'Eine Erklärung des Typus ist noch nicht gefunden.'

Now Nikaea, as Mr. Head says, 'was built by Antigonus circa B.C. 316 on the site of the ancient Ancora.' It is, then, possible and even probable that this unique type goes back to a primitive cult resembling that of the Phigaleian Demeter: indeed other coins of Nikaea bear the inscription ΘΕΑ ΔΗΜΗΤ. It will be remembered that the horse-head statue on Mt. Elamon had 'forms of snakes...attached thereto': for the snake, like the horse, was a regular Chthonian animal. It occurs on the earliest funeral relief found at Sparta in the place occupied later by the horse; and appears not unfrequently along with that animal in the 'Sepulchral Banquet.'

Further, the serpent twined round a staff is borne by Ἐρμής χθῶνος in his capacity of ψυχοτρυπός. It would seem, therefore, that the Nikaeian horse, which grasps the serpent-staff and has a serpent for tail, must be identified with the Chthonian horse, the normal escort of the dead in their journey to the underworld. But the coin-type attributes human forearms to this animal, and moreover represents it as ridden by a man who bears a victor's wreath. This surely means that a human being symbolically portrayed as the Chthonian horse is subjugated to his rider.

In short, I submit that we have here a collateral relic of the Phigaleian rite, in which men dressed in horses' skins and furnished forth with the emblems of death were overpowered by the celebrant,—the purpose of the performance being to secure by mimetic magic immunity from danger. The Cretan gem indicates that propitiatory offerings of slain beasts were made to the same equine daemon.

Finally, the subjugation of the Chthonian horse or rather of his human representative seems to have spread to the West as well as to the East. From a grave at Chiusi comes a platter of black ware, published in the Annali dell' Institut, for 1877. Inside the rim runs a design of which no solution has been forthcoming. On the left we have apparently a scene of rejoicing: one man plays the double-pipe, while two others prepare a
ANIMAL WORSHIP IN THE MYCENAEAN AGE.

sacrifice (?). Then comes a male figure grasping the ears a horse-headed man, whose crouching attitude betokens submission or servitude. The remaining figures approach a seated personage, who is perhaps the heroified dead. The significance of the whole composition remains doubtful; but the central group—which bears a striking resemblance to the motive of the Phigaleian gem—may be provisionally interpreted as the ceremonial subjugation of a man wearing the mask of the Chthonian horse.

VI.—THE CULT OF THE GOAT.

ἀμφι πλευρῆσι δορᾶς αἰγῶν κατέτριθον.—

Theognis, 55.

The next cult to claim our attention is that of the goat. I have already referred to two gems which represent human beings clad in the προπομή of this animal. The first is a carnelian from Athens (p. 116); it shows a couple of men dressed as lion and goat respectively. The second is a porphyry from Crete (p. 120), on which a pair of human legs is combined with the forepart of a goat and the forepart of a bull: this design—as I tried to show—probably denotes two men in animal attire; between their legs is a notched shield. So far as I am aware, there is only one other Island stone which portrays the goat-man in a similar fashion. I allude to a serpentine from Crete (Fig. 20), published by Otto Rossbach in the Annali dell' Inst. für 1885, on which is graved the forepart of a goat conjoined by means of a giraffe ('una specie di anello') with the legs of a man, in much the same attitude as the 'monster' on the stag-gem previously described. The field is occupied by a star and a shield of the sort mentioned above.

The early prevalence of the goat-cult is deducible from the traces which it left in classical mythology. The principal indications may be grouped as follows:—

(1) Athena was worshipped in Attica as a goat-goddess. This is proved, partly by her aegis or goat-skin garb, partly by the fact that the goat being her especial προστάτης was never sacrificed to her. That the primitive inhabitants of Attica should have worshipped the goat appears very natural, when we reflect that one whole division or caste of the population was

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604 Vol. 57, PII. G.H., No. 8; Maxime Collignon, Hist. de le Sculp. Gr. p. 37, Fig. 34.

605 Athen. 587 A.
ANIMAL WORSHIP IN THE MYCENAEN AGE.

composed of goatheads (Ἀγρυκρίνα), whose importance is attested by many local names (Ἀγρικα, Ἀγρίνα, Ἀγρίλειον, ι.τ.λ.).

(2) Dionysus and the Dionysiac attendants—Pans, Satyrs, and Silem—were constantly regarded as goats, probably in their character of woodland and harvest divinities.368

(3) Artemis was locally known as Κναεία, Κνακαλεία, and Κνακείτης.367 Many ancient terra-cottas and marbles represent her accompanied by a goat, and a silver medallion from Herculaneum368 shows her head between two goats rampant to r. and l.

(4) Hera was called Ἀγαθοδάγος at Sparta. Tradition said369 that her cult there had been founded by Herakles who, after his expedition against the sons of Hippokoon, first sacrificed a goat to her, because she had not opposed him. An amphora in the British Museum (Cat. of b.-f. Vases B 57; page 66; Gerhard Am. Vos. ii. No. 127) shows Herakles with club upraised advancing towards Hera, who bears a large round shield on her left arm, poises a spear in her right hand, and wears over her head the skin and horns of a goat. Behind Herakles stands a female figure: behind Hera, Poseidon, who carries a trident with spear-head at lower end. Between Herakles and Hera, as also between the latter and Poseidon, is placed a caldron with four snakes.

Juno Lavinia, Hera’s Italian counterpart, is normally draped in a goat’s skin with long goat-horns. This is seen to best advantage on those monuments which represent her in combat with Hercules. Several of them are figured in Roscher, Lex. coll. 2262, 2263, 2265; but the clearest specimen is one drawn by Müller-Wieseler, Denkmüller i. No. 299b.

(5) Aphrodite Pandemos was conceived as a goddess riding on a goat,370 which animal has in this connection a phallic significance. Possibly this is a clue to the amphora in the British Museum (Cat. of b.-f. Vases B 254) which represents Poseidon riding in a quadriga with ‘Aphrodite,’ who wears an aegis; Mr. Walters, however, considers the name a mistake for ‘Athene.’ At any rate Romm coins of the gens Fonteina371 show Cupid seated on a goat with a thyrsus beneath it. And Martial (VIII. ii. 9, 13) describes a cup by Menter which bore as its device a winged Amor riding a goat.

(6) Hermes, to whom young goats were offered, was said to have begotten Pan in goat-form. He too is sometimes depicted as mounted on a goat.372

(7) Zeus Kretagenes was brought up by the nymph Amalthia, who fed him with the milk of the cave-goat Aix or Aigua. Subsequently Zeus slew Aix in order to wear her skin as an aegis, when attacked by the Titans.

369 We have already remarked that at Potnia a goat was sacrificed to Dionysus Αγρυκρίνα in lieu of a human victim, p. 106; Pauly, Real-Encyk. vol. 2, col. 978.
367 Pauly. Ill. xxvii. 8, VIII. xxviii. 3, VIII. liii. 5.
370 Pauly. Ill. xv. 7.
371 Myth. and Monuments, p. 253, Fig. 49; Roscher, Lex. coll. 419.
372 Morell, Themis und Auso., 3, 4, 5, 6.
373 Roscher, Lex. coll. 2578, 39 ff.
for the Titans regarded this animal with especial awe. Zeus rewarded Aix with a place among the stars. A variant legend made Amaltheia herself the goat.

We cannot, indeed, pronounce with certainty that our Island stones illustrate any of these fragmentary notices. Nevertheless, reasons have been given for supposing that the first Cretan gem was connected with the cult of Zeus Kretagenses, whose sacred animals were the bull and the goat. It was further suggested that this would account for the presence of the notched shield as part of the device. Now Rossbach's serpentine likewise comes from Crete and bears a notched shield. It is therefore possible that it has reference to the same cult.

The provenance of the first goat-gem (Athens) points to some connection with the worship of the goat-Athena. But in that case the presence of the lion-figure is unintelligible. Assuming that the two are not independent fancies of the artist but symbols of the same deity, I would suggest that they have a Dionysian meaning. At any rate, both the lion and the goat were sacred to Dionysus. The Maenads, who in their orgies rent live goats asunder (ἀγιχέντα), are akin to Agave who exults over what in her madness she takes to be a lion's head. In both cases it is the divine animal which is slain.

But, whatever be the precise cult or cults to which these gems should be referred, I cannot doubt that they represent human beings dressed in the skins of goats. Hesychius tells us that the Bacchants wore goat-skins (i.e. τραυγηφάνου); and the ritual which survived in the case of Dionysus may well be a relic of a more wide-spread practice.

VII.—The Cult of the Swine.

ὁς ἀνόι τοις ἄρχων ἀτεχνάς ἐς ὕμνος.

Pherecrates ap. Athen. Deip. 95 D.

The last animal with which our evidence requires us to deal is the pig. Unerklärt müssen wir vorläufig ein Gemmenbild lassen (Cades, Abh. 54, Nr. 76), welches hinter einem Rinde ein vermutlich schweinköpfiges Wesen zeigt. And yet not altogether 'unerklärt.' After what has gone before it will hardly be denied that this design (Fig. 21) has a religious significance. The human legs; the girdle (which appears just below the body of the ox); the trailing cloak of hide—all the details in fact point to its representing a man dressed in a pig-skin garb. The spines or tassels down the back of the figure are conventional bristles. With them may be compared the bristles of the wild boar on a glandular gem from the Peloponnesse; also the horse's mane on a fragment of fresco from Mycenae discovered by M.
Our one clue is that it seems to have come from Crete. Now Athenaeus (375 F ff.) remarks:

περὶ δὲ τὸν ὅτι ἐρέτρι τὸ διόν παρὰ Κρητησίων Ἀμαθηκάλης ὁ Βασιλικός ἐν πρώτῳ περὶ Κυβησίων φησὶν αὕτως: μιθεύσασιν ἐν Κρητῇ γενόθυσα τὴν Δίων τέκνωσιν ἐπὶ τῆς Δέλτης, ἐν ἥ καὶ ὀπόρρητος γίνεται θυσία. λέγεται ἡ ποὺ ἀρα Δί θηλὴν ὑπεύχεσαι καὶ τῷ σφιτρῷ ἤρνησὲν τὸν κυβησίων τοῦ βρέσσους αὐτῶν τοῖς παραπάνω ἐπίθει. διὰ τάντας τὸς ζωὸν τούτο περίσσεσιν ἤργουσαν καὶ σῶκ ἀνθρειος, τὸν κρεόν διαμαρτύρον. Ἡ μαθήσεις δὲ καὶ ἐρέθρι βέγονος ὦ, καὶ αὐτὴ προτέλευς αὐτῶς ἡ θυσία νεομεται. τὰ παραπλήκτη ἴστερει καὶ Νεάνθης ὁ Κυβησίως ἐν δεύτερῳ περὶ τελετῆς.

Here, then, we have direct evidence for supposing that the pig was worshipped by the Cretans in connection with the legend of Zeus Kretagens. And since we have found (p. 183) that deity appearing in bull-form apparently as a god of vegetation, it is possible that the pig also to whom the Praisians sacrificed was an embodiment of Zeus as a corn-spirit. This would not be without a parallel. Mr. Frazer has rendered it all but certain that Demeter and Persephone, as well as the Phrygian Attis and the Syrian Adonis, were originally conceived as pigs. And of Dionysus, another vegetation-god, Nonnos writes:

εἰ δέμας ἰσάξοντο τύπῳ σβάς, μία Θυώνης ἀισώ, ποθέοιτα σιοκτόνοιν εὐγιμον Λύμης, ὁφειρον πρωτότοιο Κυβηλίδα μητέρα Βάσκου.

Dion. i. 26ff.

But, whether Zeus Kretagens was a corn-god or not, he seems to have been worshipped both as bull and as pig. Of the former aspect of his cult I have already spoken at length; and for the latter the passage from

256 Mou. Ant. Pl. 15.
257 It belongs to the large private collection of Mr. A. J. Evans, to whose courtesy I am indebted for the impression from which Fig. 21 has been drawn.
Athenaeus is sufficient voucher. It may be, therefore, that the gem which represents both these animals is to be connected with the worship of Zeus Kretagens.

At the same time we must not forget that both the ox and the pig were sacred to Demeter; and that Crete was 'one of the most ancient seats of the worship of Demeter,' who bore the infant Ploutos to Iasion—

νειν ἐν τρεπόλοιο Κρήτης ἐν πλην ἐκμόρ.

So that it is equally possible to explain the gem as a scene from the early ritual of this goddess; in which case the pig would again symbolize the corn.

It is at least safe to conclude that the gem represents a worshipper of a Cretan swine-deity leading to sacrifice a bull, which he holds by the horns. The propriety of the victim selected lies perhaps in the fact that it is another embodiment of the same god.

Whether the ceremonial wearing of a pig's skin continued into classical times, I have been unable to discover. It is to be noted, however, that at Ialysus a decree (Dittenberger, Syll. Inscr. Græc. no. 357, vv. 22 ff.; cp. no. 388, vv. 28 ff.) forbade any man to enter the temple precinct of Aletrone with shoes of pig-skin on his feet. Also we may cite in this connection the vase-painting discussed by Studniczka in the Jahrbuch for 1891, pp. 258-262. It represents Hermes with his caduceus bringing to the altar a dog dressed in a pig-skin. That this is a make-belief of the Cthonian pig seems clear from the character of its conductor. Lastly, it is conceivable that the scene in Aristophanes' *Acharnians* (v. 738 ff.), where the Megarian dresses up his two daughters as pigs, is a parody of some religious rite. In favour of this is the particularity of the description:

*ἀλλ' ἐστι γάρ μοι Μεγαρικὸς τεις μαχανά*
*χαλός γάρ ὅμοι σκέπασθαι φασίν φέρειν*

*περίδεος τάσσει τάς ὁπλας τῶν χοίρων*
*ὅπως δὲ δοξεῖς ἥμεν ἐξ ἀγαθᾶς νόσ.*

*ἀλλ' ἀμφίδεος καὶ ταξιὰ τὰ ρυγχαλα...*
*ὅπως δὲ γρανίζετε καὶ κολεῖτε*

*χίοσετε φοινάν χοιρίν χυτηρίκων.*

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779 Ibid. vol. I. p. 331.
781 Cp. Arist. Vesp. 573 εἰς τὸν γονίον χαλόν, ἄγαγρος φιλή τετειλέται; though the scholar at loc. loc. (ed. Kllayden, p. 233) has a different interpretation.
782 What form the mimicry of a pig would take, may be seen from a Theseus-kylix in the Brit. Mus. (Mythology and Monuments, p. 225, Fig. 85), on which Theseus and the sow are—as Miss Harrison points out—'noticeably parallel. Every effort is made to give to the woman a rude and beast-like appearance; her hair is rough and disordered, her arms spotted.'
VIII.—The Relation of these Cults to Totemism and to Anthropomorphc Worship.

"μιξόθηρες φότες,—
Eur. Ion, 1161.

It is time to recapitulate the results which the foregoing investigation may claim to have established. In the centuries immediately preceding the Dorian invasion (roughly from B.C. 1500 to 1000) there existed throughout the Aegean Archipelago and the eastern coasts of the Greek peninsula a wide and varied worship of animals both wild and tame. Among the former were the lion, the wild-bull, and the stag; while the latter comprised the ass, ox, horse, goat and pig.

(a) Of these the ass and the lion were held to be embodiments of a Chthonian daemon, whose special prerogative was to guard the waters of the underworld. The worshippers of this daemon were wont to disguise themselves in asinine and leonine skins of an artificial sort. Apart from the mere oblation of slain beasts, their ritual involved a mystic hydrophoria and a mimetic dance.

(β) The lion also appears in connection with a tree-cult at Amyclaia, and along with the goat was emblematic of Dionysus. Those who took part in the Dionysiac orgies wore the spoils of both animals.

(γ) The wild-bull was the animal form of the water-god, Poseidon Tauroes; his human representatives, dressed in bulls' heads and hides, underwent a symbolical subjugation, which serves to explain the wide-spread practice of the ταυροκαθάρισμα.

(δ) The ox, the goat, and perhaps the pig, were vehicles of Zeus Kretagenses probably in his character of vegetation-god. Ministrants arrayed in the πρωτομαλ of these animals masqueraded to his honour.

(ε) The horse was another Chthonian daemon, whose function was to escort the dead to Hades. As such he received the offerings of men dressed in equine garb, who also performed a rite similar in kind to that of the bull-worshippers and seemingly intended to secure immunity from death.

(ζ) Lastly, a human victim wearing a stag's head and horns was sacrificed to the wolf-god on Mount Lukaio in Arcadia.

Doubtless many of the ceremonial details belonging to each of these cults have been irrecovemibly lost. Enough remains, however, to justify some inferences of general application. It will have been observed that the
cult-scenes on the Island stones may be grouped into three classes, according as the artist depicts:

i. A human being wearing the προτομή of an animal over the upper half of his body, to which it is secured by a girdle round the waist.
   [See exx. of Ass (p. 81, fresco), Lion (pp. 115, bas-relief; 116), Ox (p. 120), Stag (p. 133), Horse (at Phigaleia p. 139, Nikaea p. 148, and Chiusi p. 150), Goat (pp. 116, 120, 150), Swine (p. 153).]

ii. An animal wearing its own προτομή in the same fashion.
   [See exx. of Lion (pp. 104, 106), Bull (p. 120).]

iii. One animal wearing the προτομή of another.
   [See exx. of Ass + Lion (p. 84), and Horse + Bird (p. 138).]

It seems at first sight plausible to suppose that intaglios of class i. represent the worshipper of the animal, those of classes ii. and iii. the animal or animals worshipped. But further reflection shows that such a hypothesis is untenable. And for this reason, An animal dressed in a man’s clothes, or a man dressed in an animal’s hide, is a comparatively simple mode of expressing the relationship thought to exist between the two. But that an animal should be attired in its own hide is from this point of view inexplicable. Hence in class ii. the animals so portrayed must not be considered as mere animals, but rather as symbols of men called by animal-names, the ritual garb and act being retained in order to differentiate them from ordinary beasts. This explanation is supported on the one hand by the literary preservation of such animal-names for the devotees of animal-gods—e.g. ἄργου and Λέαντες, ταῦρος and ἄρης—and on the other hand by the frequent symbolisation of the Greek artists who represented Δέων of Sinope as a stone lion, Δέως of Athens as a bronze lioness. Again, the third class of engravings, which portray one animal wearing the προτομή of another, is on this showing not less intelligible. Given that the Cyprian λέαντες worshipped a daemon which appeared at one time as an ass, at another as a lion; was it not natural to represent them as lions dressed in asses’ skins? That we are on the right track in thus interpreting the animal figures of classes ii. and iii. as symbols of men called by animal-names, is indicated by the fact that such figures occasionally bear vessels in human hands, e.g. the asses on pp. 81, 84, the lion on p. 106, the bulls on p. 120.

It would appear, then, that in these pre-Homeric cults the celebrants were wrapped in the skin and called by the name of the animal they worshipped.

Thus attired they performed their respective rites—the hydrophoria, the mimetic dance, the mock subjugation, and the animal sacrifice. With regard to the last we see:

The Lion (p. 84) and the Creton goat (p. 84) offered by Adonisine figures:
The ox (p. 106) offered by a Leontine figure:
The Creton goat (p. 120) offered by a Bosine figure:
The stag (p. 138) offered by an Equine figure:
The ox (p. 153) offered by a Swine figure.
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Now all this—it might be urged—is in favour of concluding that to the early inhabitants of the Aegean these animals were not only objects of veneration but also totems. For in totemic tribes—

(1) The clansman is in the habit of assimilating himself to the totem by dressing in the skin or other part of the totem animal, and this is exactly what was done by the Mycenaean worshippers.

(2) The totem, if it be an animal, must not be slain: and we note that on our gems in no case does the offering brought by an animal figure resemble the offerer (and, by implication, his deity) in kind.

(3) The clansman also affixes his totem mark as a signature to treaties and other documents, and this explains the occurrence of the cult-scenes on the Island stones, which were certainly used as signs.

(4) In death, too, the clansman seeks to become one with his totem, and we recall the fact that in the largest shaft-grave at Mycenae two metal masks were found, an ox-head of silver and a lion’s-head of gold.

Moreover, sundry superstitions of the later Greeks point in the same direction. To the evidence quoted by Mr. Frazer, may perhaps be added the coincidence that—

(5) Just as some totem clans are careful not to speak of their totem by its proper name, but use descriptive epithets instead, so the oracular and sacerdotal phraseology of the primitive Greeks used e.g. ἀνώστης = cuttle-fish, ἄρης = ant, σφένδοκας = snail.

Are we, then, to decide that the Mycenaean celebrants were totemists? Not, I think, without qualification. Fully to establish that proposition, it would be necessary to prove that among them a man (a) might not marry a woman who worshipped the same animal, and (β) might under no circumstances kill and eat the body of the beast whose kinship he claimed.

On both these points our data are very limited but, so far as they go, tend to refute the supposition:

(a) With regard to the marriage restriction, it is known that no man would marry a girl who had not been a bear at the Athenian ἀρετέα, but this is not decisive either way, as it is uncertain whether the said man and girl were both bear-worshippers. The animal genealogies on pp. 125, and 146 are, if I am right in my interpretation, against the totemic prohibition; but here again the evidence is unsatisfactory, since the connections may be mere signposts of later ἐνδομαντιοι who—as Pausanias (I. xxxviii. 7) remarks—when they have nothing to go upon for their genealogies, think it well to invent fresh ones. (β) In dealing with the second question we are on more certain ground. It is true, on the one hand, that the cult-scenes of the gems do not represent e.g. a bull killed by a bull-man.

264 Ibid. p. 30.
266 Oj. cit. pp. 15, 32, 34, 40, 41, 79.
267 Ibid. p. 15.
269 Frazer, Totemism, p. 40.
It is true also that the Cretan swine-worshippers abstained from eating swine's flesh. Further it is noticeable that Mycenaean remains, which furnish several clear instances of the ceremonial wearing of artificial masks and cloaks, have hitherto yielded no certain case of an actual skin being so worn. This fact admits of two explanations. Either the artificial cloak was a civilized substitute for a more primitive hide; or the counterfeit garb was original and deliberately adopted in order to spare the life of the sacred animal. Against the former of these interpretations I would urge that actual skins are known to have been worn by the later Greeks in certain religious rites, civilization notwithstanding. And the latter construction supports the view that the animals worshipped by the Mycenaeans were genuine totems. But again we have to weigh conflicting evidence. For, on the other hand, that a swine-figure should sacrifice a bull (see gem on p. 153) to a deity who appeared now as a pig, now as a bull, would have been contrary to totemic principles: and the same may be said of the oblation of lions by an asinine figure (see gem on p. 84), and perhaps of the slaughter of a goat by a bovine figure (see gem on p. 120). Still more impermissible must have been the sacrificing of the totem itself. Yet it is certain that in later times stags were burnt at the Laphria to the stag-goddess (p. 134); just as sheep in Cyprus were slain to the Cyprian sheep-goddess (p. 106). Moreover, such epithets as αγροφάργος or μύβροςκόνος discomfit the idea that the gods so known were regarded as true totems.

On the whole, I gather that the Mycenaean worshippers were not totemists pure and simple; but that the mode of their worship points to its having been developed out of still earlier totemism. The main modifications introduced into that prehistoric system were, on the one hand the permission to marry within the limits of the clan, and on the other the exaltation of the totem to the rank of an animal-god. The latter step brought with it the obliteration of what had once been the totem animal, now regarded as the favourite or symbol of the god. Henceforward the totem-clan was supplanted by the clan of animal-worshippers, who perhaps recognized a subdivision of the cult-duties in some sort corresponding to the social organization of the totem-clan. At least Porphyry in his account of the Diopolia observes that 'Those who are descended from Sopatros who struck the ox are all called Bouphonoi, and those who are descended from the man who drove the ox round are called Kentriai; and those who shay the ox are called Diastoi.'

Whether the animal god was himself conceived as bestial or as human is a question which I do not propose to discuss at length. Such indications as exist point to the latter view. Strict animal-worship could hardly have

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285 Fr. r. cit. p. 85: 'It seems a fair conjecture that such plural forms denote tribal or phratric totems, with the totem of the tribal or phratric subdivisions tacked on as immanations.'
286 Mr. Fraser tells me that among purely totemic tribes there is no certain example of the sacrifice of the totem animal. A dubious exception is the turtle-sacrifice of the Zuma.
amalgamated with alien and imported divinities of an anthropomorphic type. But, given that the animal-god had come to be credited with human attributes, the fusion of religions which seems to have taken place at Mycenaean is natural enough. Moreover, there is direct evidence to hand. Certain gold ornaments brought from Rhodes by Messers, Salzmann and Biliotti represent a winged female with outstretched arms, who from her waist downwards has the body of a bee. In other cases the humanity is complete. Herakles, whose genesis from a lion-cult we have already traced, appears as a man on a very early lenticular steatite in the British Museum. A woman-figure flanked by a pair of lions is also a frequent motive. And deities both male and female occur holding in either hand a long-necked bird. These examples suffice to prove that anthropomorphism had begun to assert itself, while as yet the more primitive theriomorphic cults had not fallen into oblivion. In brief, the Animal-worship of the Mycenaean age must be considered intermediate between Totemism and Anthropomorphism: its ritual relates it to the former; its conception of the animal-god to the latter.

APPENDIX.

By way of Appendix I may be permitted to add a few words on a question intimately associated with the previous discussion. If animal-worship in general and the wearing of skins in particular played so important a part in Mycenaean times, what traces did it leave on the life of the later Greeks? The indications which I have noticed fall under two main heads—(1) religious superstitions, and (2) social practices. I shall enumerate them with all brevity.

(1) a. The legendary evidence for the foregoing cults furnished not a few instances of human beings partially or wholly transformed into animal shape. Midas in the Phrygian myth receives asinine ears; and Lucius in Apuleius' tale is turned into an ass. Hippomenes and Atalante become by the flat of Cybele lion and lioness. Hera changes the Protesilaus into heifers, 233 Io into a cow. Artemis transforms Actaeon, Taygete, and Cepheus, into stags. Finally, there is the legend of Circe:—

\[ \eta \, \mu o i \, \sigma u \, \mu e n \, \epsilon c h e k a s \, e n i \, \mu e g a r o i s i n \, \epsilon t a i r o u s \]
\[ . . . . . . \theta u r a s \, e \, \mu e f \, x e \, s u f e i o u, \]
\[ \epsilon k \, \epsilon \, \epsilon l a s e n \, s i a l o i s i n \, \epsilon o i k a t a s \, \epsilon n e f o r i s i n. \]

Hom. Od. x. 333, 390.

These stories, with the doubtful exception of the last, should be regarded as relics of animal-worship. Man conceived as the servitor of the animal-

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233 Another version states that Dionysus, not Hera, effected the transformation: Apollod. ii.
god is invested more or less completely with animal attributes, and at death assumes the animal shape. Indeed, I think we may venture on the general statement that within the bounds of Hellenic mythology animal-metamorphosis commonly points to a preceding animal-call.

β. Secondly, certain superstitions current among the Greeks with regard to the care of madness presuppose the same stage of religious development. Prof. A. A. Bevan was, I believe, the first to remark the parallelism between Oriental and Hellenic notions on this subject. The Eastern potentate is represented as saying: 'And at the end of the days I Nebuchadnezzar lifted up mine eyes unto heaven, and mine understanding returned unto me.' (Daniel iv. 34.)

The Greek maenad Agave is by Kadmos subjected to the same treatment:

ΚΑ. πρῶτον μὲν ἐς τὸν ἀλθὲρ ὁμάσ ἐκέφαλος μὲθες.
ΑΓ. ἰδοὺ τί μοι τῶν ἐσπεράθας εἰσόραν;
ΚΑ. ἡτοί αὐτός, ἢ σοι μεταβολὴν ἔχει δοκεῖ;
ΑΓ. λαμπρώτερος ἢ πρῶτα καὶ διυπετέστερος.
ΚΑ. τὸ δὲ πτωθὲν τὸν ἐπὶ σφυτή νάρα;
ΑΓ. οὐκ οἶδα τοῦτο τοῦτο, γίνομαι δὲ πώς ἐνοὺς, μετασταθέσα τού πάρος φρευν.

Εὐρ. Βαχκ. 1265—1271.

Madness, then, is cured by looking at the sky. But for what reason? The explanation is—if I am not mistaken—to be inferred from another passage of Euripides. When Herakles after his fit of madness is seated on the ground with muffled head, Amphitryon breaks in:

ὅ τεκνών,
τάρες ἀπ' ὀμμάτων
τέκνων, ἀπόδικε, ῥέθος ἄελίφ δεῖξον...
ἐν παῖ, κατά-
ὑπερέοντος ἄγριον θυμόν,
ὑς ὀρμον ἐπὶ φῶνον ἀνόσιον ἐξέης.

Εὐρ. Ἡ.Π. 1203—1212.

Mania was commonly attributed to possession by some deity, being the natural state of one who was—

ἐνθεός...
εἰς ἐκ Πανός εἰς Ἐκάτος,
ἡ σεμανύν Κορυβάντων
... ἡ ματρόσ ὅρειας.

Εὐρ. Ἐγξιπ. 131—144.

Further, in all the three cases mentioned above the mania took an animal guise. Of Nebuchadnezzar it was decreed: 'Let his heart be changed from man's, and let a beast's heart be given unto him' (Dan. iv. 16, v. 21); 'he was driven from men, and did eat grass as oxen' (Dan. iv. 33): his
portion was with the beasts of the field' (Dan. iv. 23). Agave belonged to the ἄγελα υμινάθου (Eur. Bacch. 1024) who in Oppian’s version pray:

ἀμικ δὲ θήρας (θέσ)
ὡμοθύρων, ὦλοισι κορυσσομένας ὄνυγγεσο
δὺς μὲν, ἄποιον, διὰ στάμα δαίτρισμον.

Cyne. iv. 305—7.

Dionysus accedes to their request,

ταῖσι δὲ γλαυκίσωσαν ἄθρατο θηρός ὑπωτήν
καὶ γένεσις θάρρηξ, κατέγραψαν ὥποιοι
κορυσσομένας χήρα καλοῖν
πορδάλλες Πενθής παρὰ σκοπέλοις διόντας.

Ibid. iv. 311—315.

Lastly, Amphitryon’s words to Herakles—κατάσχε λέοντος ἄγρυλον θυμός—are significant when we remember that Herakles was in all probability developed out of a lion-god. I gather, then, that the special form of animal-mania was attributed to a temporary possession by an animal-deity. It was cured by looking up at the sky, because ‘animalia suppra’—as Lucretius calls them—normally look downwards, so that the tendency to animal acts would be counteracted and the sufferer humanized by looking upwards.

Thirdly, it was widely believed that to wear the skin or some portion of an animal was to become endowed with its peculiar virtues. Pliny’s recipes often put in requisition the hides of asses (ed. Harduin, vol. ii. 486, 15), bulls (ii. 538, 18), stags (ii. 588, 33), goats (i. 667, 20; ii. 460, 18; 536, 36), or sacrificed animals in general (ii. 751, 2). And Greek amulets from Mycenaean times downwards have been made to represent various animal shapes. But in the open sea of superstition it is impossible to distinguish the contributions of particular rills. It will be better to turn our attention to those social customs which more definitely betray the influence of the Aegean cults.

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(2) a. The animal disguises of the Mycenaean age were worn, so far as we can judge, on occasions of religious importance—sacred dances and ceremonial oblations. Where the god was supposed to appear under more semblances than one, the celebrants would dress some in this way, some in that. A carnelian from Athens (p. 116) showed two figures clad in the προτωμαί of a lion and a goat respectively; a serpentine from Crete (p. 120) similarly displayed a bull- and goat-man. These mummeries seem to have survived in several localities, probably retaining something of their religious character. My evidence on the point is as follows:

i. In the Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογίας for 1888 M. Tsountas published a series of Island stones discovered during the excavations at Mycenae. Among them is one which has not hitherto met with the recognition it deserves. It is described as a haematite cylinder having a series of figures, viz. a human figure, with short tunic and cap; two figures similar to the last, but having each two ox-heads; and a fourth figure with the head of an antelope. There are also two birds and two ox-heads in the field.

It should be observed that the χιτῶν βραχίς is composed of some hairy stuff with projecting spines, apparently in imitation of an animal's hide; and that the Janiform ox-heads are merely the engraver's device for showing both sides of the face.

ii. The Athenaeum for July 1, 1893, p. 39, announced the discovery near the ancient city of Hierapytus in Crete of a large marble slab, decorated with two rows of animal-headed dancers: 'human bodies with heads of men, dogs and eagles.' No detailed account of the find has as yet come to hand.

iii. M. Cavvadias, in the first instalment of his long-promised Familles de Lycosoura, calls attention to the figures represented on a fragment of drapery from the statue of Demeter. Eleven forms with female bodies in tunics have the heads, hands and feet of various animals, as of the ass, the horse, the bear, the ram and the pig. They play various musical instruments and dance. '... Ces figures ont certainement un rapport avec le culte et avec le mythe local concernant les déesses Lycosouriennes ... Quant aux figures à têtes d'animaux, elles nous rappellent la métamorphose, d'après la ... tradition locale, de Déméter changée en cuve pour éviter les poursuites de Poseidon.'

Dr. Waldstein, in the American Journal of Archaeology for 1890, speaks of them in similar terms as 'curious hybrid beings, or perhaps a scene of metamorphosis, running figures changed into animals.'

My own view is that they represent a local dance in honour of the goddess, at which animal-masks were actually worn. And the same explanation would satisfy the other examples mentioned above.

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207 PL 10, No. 23, p. 170.
208 Livraison, t. 1888, pp. 11-12, Pl. IV.
iv. Even at Athens dances of the kind were not unknown. In Athenaeus Deip. 424 E we read:—

ποιηθάνομεν ἀν' ἔφησε καὶ Εὐρυπίδην τοῦ ποιήσας οἰνοχοεῖν Ἀθηναῖς τοῖς ὀρχησταῖς καλουμένοις. ὁρχύουσα δὲ ὁντω ἔπει τῶν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος νέων τοῦ Δηλίου τῶν πρῶτων ὄντες Ἀθηναίοι καὶ ἐνεδόσαντο ἵματι αὐτῶν Ὑπὸ τοῦ θρακίου.

This is usually taken to mean that the dancers wore garments of the sort manufactured in the island of Thera. But, apart from the ἐν πρώτοι improbability of such a custom, the said garments were known not as Θηραῖκα but as Θηραία (Pollux vii. 48, Θηραίων ἱμάτιον, ἤ ἀπὸ τῆς ψιθυρᾶς, ἢ πρὸς θηραίων ἐνυφασμένος; Eub. Mag. p. 85, κοι. Ἀμάρρυνος; C.I.L. ii. no. 374; Schol. Ar. Lyk. 150). Hence I infer that the original reading in Athenaeus loc. cit. was Θηραῖκων, which was subsequently altered to Θηραίων in order to suit the better known Θηραία. If this be so, the animal garb worn by the celebrants very possibly resembled the cases already quoted. However that may be, these mummeries seem to have been developed in two directions—secular and religious.

β. On the one hand, losing something of their ritual character, they gave rise to that mode of dancing which Athenaeus (629 F) calls μορφασμένα and Pollux (Δ 103) defines as "a mimicry of all manner of animals." The beautiful astragals from Αέγινα, which J. Six in the last issue but one of the J.H.S. takes to represent "Aurae velificantes sua veste," affords an example, and may be most plausibly explained as a dance of girls imitating the flight of birds—possibly the γλαὔδες dance of Athenaeus, loc. cit.

γ. On the other hand, from the religious dance accompanied by music it is but a step to the dramatic chorus. A mimatic dance marked by signs of merriment—e.g. the κύκλος represented on the Mycenaean fresco—would readily take on the form of caricature and become the precursor of Comedy. More dignified performances—e.g. the shield-dance of the goat-deity—may have furnished the prototype of Tragedy. Such at least was Aristotle's view:—

Post. 1449a 9 ἡ γεωμετρίας ὄνω ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἀντοστράτευσες, καὶ ἀντί (αὐτή ἡ ἀρχήλογον ἡ κοιμάθης καὶ ἡ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐξαρχῶν τῶν διαθέματων, ἡ

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400 In suggesting this restoration I see that I have been forestalled long since by Chauncob.
402 A cock-dance by Phrynichus is mentioned in Aristophanes' Woes, 4490, πεύκησας ἡγάγησας ἐν τῷ θάλας. Similar μορφασμένα were practised by mediaeval jugglers. The Daily Telegraph for Sept. 15, 1891, notes: "In a Hollisian manuscript of the fourteenth century there is a picture of a man disguised as a stag, who is dancing to the sound of a tabor played by a boy, and in the same collection there is represented a goat walking on its hind-legs. Bears, pigs, and mastiffs were commonly simulated, but none of these fictitious animals had any fore-legs, staves of wood being supplied as a substitute upon which the actor could lean when he was tired, whilst his face was seen through an aperture in the bunet."
But if this be the genesis of the drama, a simple explanation suggests itself for the dramatic practice of wearing πρόσωπα. It is difficult to believe that, apart from some religious association, these masks could have been retained by the dramatists of the fifth century:—

'Better, quite cast off the face-disguise
And voice-distortion, simply look and speak.'

If, however, they were an integral part of the mimetic rite, we can understand that to neglect them would be a grave breach of social etiquette. Hence I suspect that dramatic masks were the direct descendants of the earlier ceremonial disguise. The point is not without an interest of its own, and calls for less summary treatment. It is probable that their origin will appear more clearly in Comedy than in Tragedy, because the former remained in a primitive and unsophisticated state longer than the latter:—

Αρ. Ποι. 1449α 37 αἱ μὲν ὁδὸ τῆς τραγῳδίας μεταβάσεις καὶ διὰ ὅν ἐγένοντο οὐ λελήθαν, ἡ δὲ κοιμοδία διὰ τὸ μὴ σπουδαίσθαι ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐλαθεν, καὶ ὡς χρυσὸν κοιμοδίων ὡφε πασί ὁ ἄρχων ἐδοκεν, ἀλλ’ ἑθελοντι ἦσαν... τίς δὲ πρόσωπα ἀπέδοκεν... ἵνα μὴ διηνόται.

It will, therefore, be reasonable to begin by inquiring whether the disguise of the comic chorus resembles that of the animal-dancers described above, and is susceptible of a religious explanation.

Now it is not a little remarkable that among the known specimens of the Older Comedy so many have animal-names. Magnes 499 exhibited Βασσαρος, *Oropides* and Φωνας, in which the choruses imitated the sounds of these animals.500 Ekphantides 501 wrote Σάμωρος; and Kratinoς 502 the elder followed his example. Krates composed *Oropides*, and a curious drama entitled Θηρία, in which the golden age was painted with animated and docile furniture instead of slaves, and without animal food—since the chorus of beasts protested against it, 503 A fragment, 504 of their protest is extant:—

Καὶ τῶν μαθαίων ἔσευ 
ἐθάνα τ' ὀπτάτων τοὺς ἐπὶ ταρίχους, ἡμῶν δὲ ἀπὸ χειρῶς ἐχεσθαι.

Eupolis wrote the famous Αλγες, in which οὐπάρχους ἀρχών συναίνεσσι constat ex Plutarchi *Symp.* iv. 1, Macrobii *Saturni.* vii. 5, Eustathi. ad *Iliad.*

499 It has indeed been supposed that they served to increase the resonance of the human voice, but actual experiment proves that even in the largest Greek theatres the ordinary tones of a speaker from the λαέτοιο would be audible to the furthest seats.
501 Meinke, *op. cit.* l. 36.
505 *No. 3 in Meinke's collection.*
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p. 1063, 44 (a) Phrynichus (b) a satyric drama called Σάτυρος. Platon's Πρότεστ (c) and Μύριος (d) may also be mentioned—though the latter is possibly to be identified with a play of the same name by Kantharos (e), who is further known as the author of the 'Ασσαρες. Callinus (f) issued a second Βάτραχος before Aristophanes appeared with his Βάτραχος. (προβ. Ἐλπιδων, Πελαρ-γιον) and Σάτυρος. Archippus (g) in his Τύχες introduced a chorus of fishes addressed as ἄνθρωπος ἔχεις ἡμεῖς: he seems to have written as 'Ομος (h) also. Diokles (i) named one of his pieces Μέλλημα. Lastly, Kephisodoros (j) composed a 'Τσ.

How the animal-chorus was in each case represented may be best realized by the aid of vases—paintings. In the Bulletino archeol. napoli, N.S.V. 1857 (Pl. VII, p. 134) Minervini discussed a vase portraying two such scenes. (k) One of them shows a chorus of ostriches, the other a chorus of dolphins; in both a flute-player is present. In the J.H.S. for 1882 (l) Mr. Cecil Smith published an oenochoe from the Burgon collection and an amphora of Gerhard's, which depict men dressed up as birds dancing to the sound of a flute: they recall Plautus' line — (m)

'Sed quaeam illa e axis est, quae hac cum tunicis advenit ?'

Such representations, it will be observed, are virtually indistinguishable from those of the ritual dances mentioned above. I infer that the animal-disguise of the comic chorus, whose religious associations were never wholly forgotten, is a survival of primitive animal-worship, the original import of the disguise being to claim the protection, if not the kinship, of the animal god.

In the case of those animals whose skins could not be worn, the disguise would be effected by painting or other means. Aristophanes (Knights, 520 ff.) speaks of Magnes, whose Βάτραχος we have already noticed, as βατράχειος. The scholiast ad loc. remarks:—

ἐρχομένα δὲ τῷ βατράχειῳ (=frog-colour) τὰ πρόσωπα τριόν ἐπιστήμην τὰ προσώπωτα.

This would no doubt be considered the equivalent of a mask; (n) and it is probable that where no animal-garb was worn, i.e. where the god was not worshipped as theriomorphic, some such disfigurement was always retained. The grammarian Platonius (o) informs us:

611 Meineke, op. cit. i. 115.
612 Ibid. i. 158.
613 Ibid. i. 168.
614 Ibid. i. 163, 175.
615 Ibid. i. 163, 251.
616 Ibid. i. 214.
617 Ibid. i. 265, 297.
619 Meineke, op. cit. i. 281.
620 Ibid. i. 288.
622 Vol. ii. p. 399 ff. Quarto Pl. XIV. He also cited Tischbein, Hamilton Collection, ii. 57. The Burgon oenochoe is now in the Brit. Mus.; the amphora is figured by Gerhard, Trink- schalen, Pl. XXX. Figs. 1-3.
623 Pern. V. ii. 15.
624 Pollux, E. 102, says of a woman who used to go ὡς θάνατος ἡ Κλεόδει τις και θάνατον φέρει.
625 Meineke, op. cit. i. 555.
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τὴν αὐτὴν δὲ (ὡς τὴν κομψηδίαν) καὶ τριγυρδίαν φασὶ διὰ τὸ τοὺς εὐδοκε-
μοῦσιν ἐπὶ τῷ Δημαῖω γλέντων διάσωθαι, ὅπερ ἐκάλεσεν τρύγα, ἦ ὅτι ῥήτω-
προσυπείον ὑψήλεμουν τρύγοντας τὰ πρόσωπα ὑπεκρίνετο.

and again: 436

οἱ ὑπὲ δεδιότες αὐτοῦς ὡστε πλούσιους τῆς λαφ. 437 χριστέσει καὶ τρύγῳ ἐπὶ
μέσης ἀγοράς τῶν ἀκικοῦντας ἐκαμμόδου. . . . ὅτι τρύγῳ χρίσμου ἐκαμμόδουν.

Dionysius Thrax, or one of his interpolators, gives a similar account: 438

οἱ δὲ αἰδοῦμενοι, μᾶλλον δὲ φοβοῦμενοι, τρύγῳ ἡ γεροχριστέσεις αὐτῶν
τῶν ὄψεως ὕποταυς ὑποσταν—

and Horace 439 speaks of the tragic (sic) chorus as ‘permerti faecibus ora.’ I
conceive that this smearing of the face with the lees of the wine-god was
intended to serve much the same purpose as the animal-disguise.

In Tragedy the link with the past is not so easily detected. Literary
composition had fostered anthropomorphism, and the μύησις did not often
demand other than human masks. Still, it may be surmised that the form
of these, which ‘appear generally to have covered the whole head like a
visor,’ 440 betrays their origin. Again, ‘one of the most characteristic features
of the tragic mask was the onkos. This was a cone-shaped prolongation of
the upper part of the mask above the forehead, intended to give size and
impressiveness to the face.’ 441 It seems to me possible that in this onkos we
have a relic of the elongated animal-head, or even of the crest which we
noticed on the Island stones in the case of the ass, lion, and horse. Occasion-
ally the tragic mask was still more realistic: ‘Aetaeon had to be represented
with horns, Argos with a multitude of eyes. Eipipes in the play of Euripides
had the head of a mare. A special mask of this kind must have been
required to depict Io with the ox-horns in the Prometheus Vinctus of
Aeschylus,’ 442 The Arch. Zeit. for 1878 443 published, among others, a mask
surmounted by an eagle, from a Pompeian wall-painting.

Lastly, the Satyric drama shows traces of the same origin. The dress
of its satyrs consisted in ‘a rough goat-skin round the loins, with a tail
hanging down behind.’ 444 Their masks were ‘provided with a shock of
bushy hair, and exhibited coarse and lascivious features.’ They seem also to
have indulged in animal postures, one of which was called the σκανος or
σκωπευμα, and is variously explained by the old grammarians as having

436 Ibid. 1. 538–8.
437 With this may be compared the use of
πάρση at the Eleusinian initiation: Dem. 313, 16.
439 Ars Poet. 277.
442 Ibid. p. 221.
443 Vol. xxvi. Pl. 3. An eagle-head-covering
occurs on a cameo in Müller-Wissler, Jen.;
1. No. 228; also on coins of the gens Poblica;
see Morell’s Theatrum Num. 4–II.
444 Haigh, op. cit. p. 265.
consisted in shading the eyes with the hands, or in turning the head to and fro like an owl.\textsuperscript{428}

8. The wearing of sacrificial skins during religious rites may be connected with the practice of wearing them in war. The underlying idea would be the same in both cases, viz. that of putting oneself literally and metaphorically under the protection of the animal-god. It is, for example, easy to see how the worshippers of the horse might ally themselves, so to say, with their deity by wearing his skin in battle.\textsuperscript{426} In fact Herodotus (vii. 70) actually describes the custom. ‘These Ethiopians from Asia’—he remarks—were for the most part equipped like the Indians, but they had upon their heads the skins of horses’ foreheads flayed off together with the ears and the crest; the crest serving in place of a plume, and the horses’ ears being fastened upright.’ To come nearer home; the Revue Archéologique for 1880\textsuperscript{427} published a fragment of green schist covered with reliefs of a quasi-Mycenaean style, on which we see a procession of warriors. ‘En arrière tombe un curieux appendice, que l’on ne peut mieux comparer qu’à une queue de renard, à laquelle seraient encore attenantes les deux pattes postérieures de l’animal...Tout bien examiné, il y a là un travail de haches obliques et parallèles, qui indique la dépouille de quelque animal à queue fournie...Dans une figure il semble même que l’on distingue la tête de l’animal.’\textsuperscript{428} Again, on a vase-fragment found at Tiryns we have two warriors ‘from whose hips hang down a long strip which has been explained, probably correctly, as the tail of an animal’s skin thrown over their back.’\textsuperscript{429}

The inconvenience of such a costume would ensure its ultimate rejection; but the tenacity of tradition usually retains some emblem of the past. Alexander the Great was often portrayed wearing a lion’s mask, or a head-dress composed of an elephant’s scalp; and coins of Seleucus I. represent that monarch in a helmet adorned with the horns and ears of a bull. The mintage of the Roman gens Marcia\textsuperscript{440} shows the head of Philip, King of Macedon, with two goat’s-horns on his forehead.

Parallel customs prevailed among the Italians. The Pontifices and Salli had fur caps made of the skins of sacrificial victims. The early inhabitants\textsuperscript{442} of Latium wore a very similar animal-cap by way of helmet—‘fulvosque lupi de pelle galeros Tegmen habent capiti’ (Verg. Aen. vii. 688). Again, ‘the standard-bearers on the arches and columns are universally represented as Vegetius describes them (Mil. ii. 16), with a close scull-cap over which the head and skin of some wild beast is drawn, so that the face appears through the gaping jaws.’\textsuperscript{442} It is curious, too, how favourite among

\textsuperscript{428} Ibid. p. 291.
\textsuperscript{426} Frere, Totemism, p. 26.
\textsuperscript{427} Vol. xv, pp. 145-153; Pl. IV. V.
\textsuperscript{428} Rev. Arch., i.e., p. 146 and p. 3.
\textsuperscript{429} Schickhardt, op. cit. p. 132, Fig. 132.
See Dr. Leef, Conscription to the Hunt, p. 192.
\textsuperscript{440} Morell, Themisura Num. 4.
\textsuperscript{442} Pliny, N. H. vii. 23, says: ‘In multis auri montibus genus hominum capitibus caninis, sursum pelles velati; pro vocis latrarius edere, ungulibus armatum venatu et acupio vesici.’
\textsuperscript{442} Rich, Dict. Ant. s.v. ‘Gala pelibus tetra.’
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the Romans was the Greek design of Heracles wearing the lion’s mask. It occurs on coins of the gens Aburia, Acilia, Caecilia, Cornelia, Curtiia, Curtia, Domitia, Fabia, Etrurina, Licinia, Livinicia, Maenia, Marcia, Minuvia, Numitoria, Opeimia, Papiria, Pinaria, Pompeia, Pomponia, Rublia, Servilia, Sextilia, Sulpicia, Terentia, Trebonia, Varginella, Volteia; also on the ‘Roma,’ and consular coins. Scarcely less common is the head of Juno Sospita wearing her goat’s skin and horns. She appears thus on coins of the gens Cornificia, Julia, Mettia, Papia, Procilia, Roscia, Thoria; and on consulars. A coin of the gens Calpurnia, oddly enough shows ‘Junonis Lanuvinae caput quod perperam barbatum fingitur’! An inspection of Morell’s drawing will satisfy us that the head is male, not female, and probably represents a priest of the goddess arrayed in sacrificial garb. Another skin-clad figure on Roman coins is that of Africa wearing an elephant’s mask; see the gens Caecilia, Cestia, Eppia, Norbana,—also sundry consular coins. It occurs too on Graeco-Roman gems and other objets d’art.

Lastly, the animal-disguise dwindles to a mere emblem or device worn on the helmet or engraved on the shield. Numerous examples may be found in any treatise on ancient weapons; indeed, the custom survived far into the middle ages.

Another trace of primitive skin-wearing is to be found in the numismatic symbols of certain cities. Just as the warrior adopted the animal-garb for his armorial bearings, so the community to which he belonged took it for their monetary token. This is, I think, a plausible explanation for the strange un-Hellenic half-creatures which occur so frequently as early counterparts. The fore-part of a lion is found on the currency of Miletus, Cnidus, Leontini, Acanthus, and Lycia; of a bull on that of Philius, Samos, Acanthus, Larissa, the Perrhaebians and Lycia; of both these animals facing each other on that of Lydia; also the forepart of a winged lion appears on coins of Lycia and Lesbos. Coins of Apollonia and Corecyra show the forepart of a cow. Cyme, Zaeusinthus, Pharadon, Phereus, and Maroneia have the front half of a horse; Lesbos, Larissa, the Perrhaebians and Cleitor that of a briddled horse; Zaeusinthus that of a winged horse. Lycia has the foreparts of a bull and a horse, back to back. Cyzicus, Lycia, Phocis, and Lesbos show the forepart of a bull; Samos that of a winged boar. Aegae and Mysia have a half-goat: Sicyon a half-cython: Argos a half-wolf; Cranium and Pheneus a half-cow; Phasis and Salge a half-stag; Lycia a half-griffin. Similarly the type of Stymphalus is the front half of a bird; while there are coins of Cranium, Phene, and Tricca, which for obverse have the forepart of a bull grasped by a youth and for reverse the forepart of a horse.

The design may have passed through further stages, since not only animal-heads, but also animal-scalps are used for the same armorial purpose.

443 Morell, op. cit. Tab. iv. 2. and 12. It forms the topic of a paper in the
445 See Le Musee Ptol., 1875, Pl. 5, Nos. 10.
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Of these the most famous is the lion's scalp, which was the device of Samos and other cities: its first appearance is on an Island stone of green slate, discovered in Crete and now in the British Museum.\(^{446}\)

Finally, a community, which adopted as its badge the symbol of the animal that it worshipped, would be not unlikely to call itself by that animal's name. It is in this way that we should probably explain the animal-titles attached to certain early Greek townships and tribes—a custom caricatured in the 'Τάται, 'Ορεάται, and Χήρεαται at Sikyon.

A. B. Cook.

\(^{446}\) *Brit. Mus. Cat. of Greece, No. 13; described as 'cuttle-fish.'*
A LECYTHUS FROM ERÊTRIA WITH THE DEATH OF PRIAM.

[Pl. IX.]

The lecythus which is the subject of the present paper, and which is represented, after a drawing by M. Gilliéron, on Pl. IX., was bought by me at Chalcis in December 1893, and is now in the British School at Athens. It is said to come from Eretria, and this statement is doubtless true. Eretria is well known to be a mine of graves of all periods, especially the finest; and many excavations there, both authorized and unauthorized, have enriched the museum of Athens, and, by clandestine export, those of many foreign capitals also. Most conspicuous among the treasures recovered have been the lecythi with paintings upon a white ground. Our lecythus belongs to an uncommon class; a similar, but not identical variety is familiar to readers of the Hellenic Journal from the three examples published last year by Miss Sellers. Of the style and technique of the vase I shall speak later; at present we need only notice that the figures are in black or rather a rich dark brown varnish, laid on over a white ground, and that the style of the drawing, which, especially in the profile outlines of the faces, is much finer than in the lecythi published by Miss Sellers, seems to belong to the beginning of the fifth century—a date which we shall, I think, find consistent with the results derived from more technical evidence.

The vase is of double interest, from its subject as well as its technique. The subject is a remarkable one, and is especially interesting, from a typological point of view, for the light which it throws on the manner in which the Epic tradition is modified by artistic and technical influences. To this the first part of the present paper will be devoted.

I.—Subject.

In the centre of the field is an altar, with volutes at the top, and raised upon two steps, of which the lower is a high one, the upper a very small one. On this altar sits a bearded man, facing to the left, draped in a himation; his right knee is drawn up, his foot resting on the volute of the altar; he extends both his arms forward as if in supplication to the figure in front of him. Against his knees rest a spear and a shield. From the left there advances towards him another figure in vigorous motion. Unfortunately the upper part of this figure is much damaged; it seems to be that of a young man, clothed in a short chiton, with a breastplate over it, of which the πέπερυς are visible on the vase. In his right hand he holds, extended at
arm's length behind him, a severed human head with streaming hair, and he appears to be in the act of hurling it at the bearded man in front of him; his left arm has entirely disappeared.

Behind the altar stands a woman draped in a himation; she raises her left hand to her head as a token of grief, and stretches out her right in supplication to the young warrior. A staff, spear, or sceptre, which she seems to hold in her right hand, is, I think, meant to be leaning against the altar.

The altar, the young man attacking the old, and the suppliant woman behind, suffice at once to identify the scene. Numerous other representations, differing more or less from the one before us, show in a similar manner the death of Priam at the hand of Neoptolemus, on the altar of his own palace. The woman may, from the type, be either Hecuba or Andromache; the firm and youthful profile seems to point to the latter. The subject is a favourite one among vase-painters of all periods, either as a separate scene, or forming part of a larger composition showing various scenes from the sack of Troy. Professor Robert¹ has pointed out that the various scenes of the Ilipersis vases were not originally a single composition, from which, in certain cases, various episodes were selected for separate treatment; but that the separate scenes, of more or less independent origin, were later combined into the larger compositions. If we had merely the death of Priam on our vase, our investigation would be a comparatively simple one; it is the complication added by the addition of another element, the barbarous death of Astyanax, whose head we see in the hand of Neoptolemus, that gives to our vase its chief interest.

In its simple form the death of Priam, as we see it represented on vases, conforms usually to one of two main types. The king either lies dead or dying on the altar, while Neoptolemus stands over him, perhaps to give him the coup de grâce, or else he sits or kneels on the altar, and stretches out his arms in supplication to his ruthless enemy. Much more commonly, however, Neoptolemus is represented as holding by one leg the boy Astyanax, whom he swings in the air as if about to hurl him at Priam. Here, too, Priam is sometimes lying dead on the altar, sometimes seated on it; and the same is the case with a third type, represented by our vase and one other, where Neoptolemus is throwing the head only of Astyanax. To put it in a tabular form, we have:

Type A.


(2) Priam sits on altar, Neoptolemus stands over him; no Astyanax.—Example: Röm. Mittheil. 1888, p. 108.

¹ Bild und Lied, pp. 59 sqq.
Type B.

(1) Priam lies dead on altar, Neoptolemus hurls Astyanax by leg.—Example: Furtwängler, Sammlung Sabouroff, 49.

(2) Priam sits on altar, Neoptolemus hurls Astyanax by leg.—Examples: Gerhard, Etrusk. und Campan. Vasenbilder 21; Auvel, Vasenb, cxxiv.; Heydemann, Hünperdis i. (Brygos); Arch. Epigr. Mitth. Oest. Ungarn 1893, p. 120 (Brygos); Arch. Zeitung 1882, p. 59, taf. iii. (Euphorion); Monumenti d. Inst. XI. xiv.; Brit. Mus. Catalogue, B, 205; Berlin Catalogue, 2175.

Type C.


(2) Priam sits on altar, Neoptolemus hurls head only of Astyanax.—Example: our lecythus.

Besides these we have others which show a more or less original treatment of the subject, e.g. the famous Vivenzio vase (Baumeister, taf. xiv., Heydemann, Hünperdis, ii. etc.) where the dead Astyanax lies in the lap of Priam; but these are the most important for the development of the type.

Let us now proceed to consider the theme as it was originally offered to the vase-painter by Epic tradition, and see how he has adapted and modified it. The story of the fall of Troy, doubtless existing in traditions earlier than any of the set epics that recorded it, formed the subject of the Hünperdis of Arctimis and the Little Iliad of Lesches. According to Arctimis’ version, Priam was slain on the altar of Zeus Ἐρησίως in his own palace; but Astyanax was put to death by a common resolution of the Greeks, chiefly at the instigation of Ulysses; this is the story followed also by Euripides in his Troades. According to Lesches, on the other hand, Priam was dragged by Neoptolemus from the altar, and slain at the door of his house; and Astyanax was hurled by Neoptolemus over the walls of Troy,—a tale evidently known also to the writer of the Iliad itself, to judge from Andromache’s prophetic lament (xxiv. 734).

η τες Ἀχιλῶν
ῥίψει χειρὸς ἐλῶν ἀπὸ πόρφυρα,

unless indeed the story of the hurling of Astyanax from the walls was originally suggested by this passage. As to the treatment of these, the two most impressive episodes of the sack of Troy, by other writers, such as Siseschorus, we have no clear evidence; but we can see that, while there was a common basis of accepted tradition, there was considerable scope for variety in the details of the story. We know however, of no literary evidence for a tradition of the beheading of Astyanax, as we see it portrayed.
on two of our vases; nor again is there any literary evidence for a close connexion between these two scenes, so often united on vases. The dramatic effect, if once established in literature, could hardly have failed to leave some trace. The destruction at the same hand and even perhaps by the same blow of Troy's ancient king and the youngest scion of his house, of her link with the past and her hope for the future, forms a most impressive addition to the Illusperis. But those best acquainted with the methods of Greek vase-painters, and especially with the usual development and adaptation of types in early examples, will hardly be inclined to see here a free invention of the artist for the sake of dramatic effect. Though the early vase-painter was always ready to catch at any suggestion offered by technical conditions or accidental juxtaposition, in order to render the scene he was portraying, or to enhance its effect, he rarely if ever ventured on so bold a flight of fancy as would be implied by this combination, if it were a free and original conception. It is far more likely that the suggestion came to him, so to speak, from outside; and I think we may trace the way it came.

The story of the death of Astyanax is very similar to another story also commonly represented on early vases, that of the death of Troilus. In both cases alike it is the youngest and most promising scion of the Trojan royal house that is killed, and killed with circumstances of peculiar barbarity. The murderer is in one case Achilles, in the other case his son Neoptolemus, who replaces him after his death among the Greek leaders. Thus a confusion between the two myths is easy to explain; and that such confusion actually took place among vase-painters seems to me conclusively proved by a comparison between our new lecythus and the representation of the death of Troilus on a vase reproduced in Archaeologische Zeitung xiv. taf. 91. In the two the position of the principal figure, a warrior throwing with his right hand the severed head of a boy, is almost identical; and the presence of the altar in both cases seems to emphasize the identity of the type. In the case of Troilus, the savage cruelty of Achilles, in cutting off the head of his youthful victim, is a regular feature in the representation, and it also has some literary authority. Beheading was regarded by the Greeks as a peculiarly barbarous form of mutilation, and is quoted, for example, in the well-known passage at the beginning of the Iliumides where Apollo mentions various horrors fit for the surroundings of the Furies. In two vases a stage in the story after the death of Troilus is represented; in both his severed head appears. On the vase already quoted Achilles is brandishing it in his right hand, as if about to throw it in the face of the brothers of his victim, who advance to avenge his death. In the other case the head appears between the combatants as they advance. Either Achilles

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34. Lycephron 318 επαφερομένος; mutilation is mentioned in Sophocles' play, fr. 542 R., Dindorf. See Arch. Zeitung xiv. p. 256.
34. 4 Arch. Zeitung xiv. taf. 91.
34. 5 Goethard, Aristonoe Pasichronos, ccxx. 1.
has already thrown it, and it is flying through the air, or else he has impaled it on the end of his spear, and holds it out to horrify the advancing Trojans; the intention of the artist is not quite clear, but I incline to the first hypothesis, especially as the hair seems to trail behind the head as it flies; the process of the story, too, remains the same, only being represented at a slightly different moment. Now, as there is no trace of a similar story about the mutilation of Astyanax, I think it is quite clear from the two vases with the head of Astyanax, and especially from our lecythus, that this beheading is transferred by the vase-painter from Troilus to Astyanax, and that Achilles' barbarity in the one case is inherited by his son Neoptolemus in the other.

But another feature also appears to have been similarly transferred. According to the story, Achilles slew Troilus at the altar of the Thymbraean Apollo, whither he had pursued him. This altar is most prominent on all the vases which represent the death of Troilus. In one case the body of Troilus lies on the altar, just as the body of Priam does in some of the vases representing his death; the body of Astyanax on the Vivenzio vase also lies on the altar, on Priam's knees. When the circumstances of the death of Troilus were transferred, as we see they were, to the death of Astyanax, this altar was transferred also. The altar was particularly convenient where Neoptolemus was represented as hurling Astyanax by one leg; according to the epic version, he hurled him over the walls; but, as Dr. Schneider very justly observes, a deep abyss is a thing which it is impossible to represent on a vase; and an altar against which he could be dashed forms a fitting substitute. But I do not think it would be a probable substitute, unless some suggestion of the presence of an altar came in from elsewhere, as we see it comes from the death of Troilus. Then the rest follows easily.

We have seen that the Ilipocris as represented on vases is not a varied and original design, but a composition made up of several independent scenes, each having a recognized type of its own. Two of these independent scenes have an altar in them as a most prominent feature; the death of Priam, which in the epic is connected with an altar; and the death of Astyanax, in which an altar is introduced from confusion with the death of Troilus. In the process of composition, it was natural that these two scenes with an altar should be condensed into one; and thus we have a technical, almost fortuitous origin for a combination which was developed by the vase-painters with full perception of its dramatic force. That the altar is the same in both cases seems to receive further confirmation from a detail which is not without significance. On the Vivenzio vase and on the Brygos vase we see a palm-tree and a tripod, which do not seem at all appropriate beside the altar of Zeus 'Episkopos in Priam's house. But both a palm-tree and a tripod occur, as the appropriate emblems beside an altar of Apollo, in the Troilus scene on

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9 For a list of these, see Klein, Euphronios, 2nd ed. p. 213 sqq. &c.
10 Treu'sche Neupotexis, p. 172.
11 Heydemann, Ilipocris 1.
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vasos. Their reappearance in the Iliupersis scene serves to prove yet more clearly that the altar by which they stand has also been transferred from Troilus to Astyanax.

Thus the juxtaposition of the two scenes, the death of Priam and the death of Astyanax, is explained, and even to some extent their combination into one. But here we enter upon a question which is not so simple as it at first appears. At first sight, one would certainly say that, upon most of the vases which unite the two scenes, Neoptolemus is represented as hurling the boy Astyanax at Priam. But the intention of a Greek vase-painter is not always what is most obvious to the modern eye; and though in the present case I believe the obvious explanation to be the right one, we must not accept it without some consideration. We must remember and allow for the tendency of the Greek artist to get into as much of the story as possible; often what could not, for local or temporal reasons, have been really visible at once. As Professor Robert puts it, 'narration in a sequence of scenes is entirely alien to early art, which condenses all into one scene—but a scene without exact definition of time or space.'

It is interesting to observe the extreme way in which Professor Furtwängler applies this principle to the scene before us. In the first type, he says, 'Priam, already dead, lies on the altar; Neoptolemus swings Astyanax to hurl him into the abyss; here these two incidents, which according to tradition occurred in two different places, are joined together. In the second type, Priam is still alive; seated or crouching on the altar, he begs mercy of the savage Neoptolemus; the latter grasps Astyanax. Here also two episodes distinct in time are united, for Priam was not pursued and his life threatened at the same time as the child was killed. Yet this composition is just the one chosen and longest kept to; the great vase-painters Euphronios and Brygos have reproduced it.' It is well known that the naive art of early time, instead of avoiding representations like this, condensed so to speak and seeking to group together distinct actions in the same frame, had actually some preference for them. The artists could assume the legend to be well enough known, and so in a case like that which now concerns us they were in no danger of the misunderstanding—into which some modern interpreters have fallen—that Neoptolemus was going to slay Priam by striking him with the body of Astyanax; everybody knew that Neoptolemus was going to hurl the boy from the walls, and afterwards to kill the terrified old man. But art must have had a peculiar delight in uniting these two episodes in the same composition; how could she represent more impressively both the irreparable ruin of Troy and the presumptuous exultation of the conquerors, than by recording at the same time the tragic end of the ancient chief of the people upon the family altar, and that of its last seion, the young Astyanax?'

This extreme view, though based on sound principles, cannot, I think,

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11 E.g. the Euphronios vase, Gerhard, Atlas, Vaserv, cxxxiv. &c.
12 Bild und Lied, p. 17.
13 Sammlung Soboeuff, i. 40.
be successfully applied in the case before us. The possibility of a misunderstanding cannot be so easily dismissed, since it has actually occurred in the interpretation of the vases offered by many archaeologists who are familiar enough with the story represented, and who would certainly not have looked for a new and unknown variety of the myth if the known one would have fitted the pictures. In some of the vases Neoptolemus actually grasps Priam by the hair while he swings Astyanax by the leg in his other hand. We surely cannot imagine the vase-painter, however ill-defined the temporal and local conditions may be, to intend here to represent Neoptolemus as hurling the boy over the walls of Troy with one hand, while he grasps Priam with the other. And the presence of the altar of Zeus 'Eposios makes such a feat still more incredible, since it was inside the palace of Priam in the middle of the town; this fact is still farther emphasized on a vase published by Dr. Hartwig, and attributed by him to Brygos, on which there are visible, behind and above the altar, the remains of a colonnade and architrave which must represent the palace itself.

I think then we may dismiss the theory that the two scenes are only placed in more or less conventional juxtaposition, and not dramatically united. But another point still remains to be decided, though it is rather a matter of detail. Is Neoptolemus dashing Astyanax against the altar, as a visible and representable substitute for the abyss into which, according to the epic, he hurled the child from the towers of Troy, or is he hurling him as a missile against Priam? Here too our new vase is a help. Whatever be the case with the whole body of Astyanax, we can hardly doubt that his severed head is used as a missile, just as the head of Troilus is thrown on the two vases we have quoted. It is a piece of wanton cruelty, to add horror to the death of Priam, and so quite in keeping with the other atrocities that marked the terrible night of the sack of Troy. If the head is so thrown at Priam, it seems natural to suppose that the body is also, when we see it swung in the air. In some cases the shut eye seems to indicate that the boy is already dead, so that there was no need to dash his brains out against the altar, though his corpse could be used as a weapon to assail Priam. For all these reasons I think the more forcible and dramatic explanation is also the more probable, and that the vase-painters developed to the uttermost the tragic horror of a scene which, in its origin, was due to a technical, almost a fortuitous combination.

One more detail on our vase calls for notice. It has already been observed that a shield and a spear lean against the altar in front of Priam. These cannot, from their position, belong to Neoptolemus, who could not well lean his arms against the knees of his victim just before his impetuous advance against him. They must then belong to Priam. And here our literary illustration must come from a source to

18 Arch. Ephegr. Mitt. 1893, p. 123. It must, however, be remembered that here the presence of Astyanax is only a restoration, though a very probable one.
be used with great caution. In Virgil's wonderful description of the sack of Troy there is a confused and mysterious horror which contrasts strangely with the clear and definite, though often cruel scenes depicted on the Ilili vases. The Roman poet is doubtless influenced by the art and literature of later Greece; but there is no reason why he may not have preserved for us some features which belonged to the common inheritance of early tradition; such can only be traced from a coincidence with a representation like that now before us. Aeneas relates how Priam, when he saw all was lost, armed himself, and was about to rush forth into the fray, until Hecuba persuaded him to lay aside a defence to him so useless, and rather to take refuge at the altar of his palace. It is difficult to see what else can be the meaning of the arms leaning against the altar, but that Priam had thus taken them up and laid them aside on second thoughts; and so this—not the least pathetic—feature of the story gains an authority nearly six centuries earlier than it had before, and at the same time new light is thrown upon Virgil's use of earlier material. Whether the huge bay-tree which Virgil mentions as growing beside the altar has also any early authority, it is hard to say; but it may very probably have been suggested to the poet by some pictures of the same subject. If so we may very likely seek its origin in the palm-tree which, as we have seen, grew as a symbol beside the altar of the Thymbraean Apollo at which Troilus was slain by Achilles, and which was transplanted, with other elements of the Troilus myth, to the altar in Priam's palace at which Astyanax and the aged king meet a common death by the hand of Neoptolemus.

II.—Style and Technique.

So far we have been concerned exclusively with the subject represented on our lecythus. Its style and technique are no less worth discussion.

The shape is somewhat higher and narrower than that of the lecythi published by Miss Sellers; the size rather smaller, the total height being 11 inches (275 m.), that of the white ground 5 inches (125 m); the rim of the mouth is concave on the outside, not bell-shaped; a slight ridge runs round the neck just above the junction with the handle; the foot is almost a frustum of a cone, but with slightly concave sides. The first process in the ornamentation has been the application of the slip to form the white ground, over the upper part of the body only. Then the figures and the rest of the ornamentations have all been added at the same time, and in the same black varnish, thinning out to reddish brown. This varnish forms a plain covering, applied with a brush while the vase was on the wheel, on the upper part of the neck, down to the ridge, on the lower part of the body, the top of the foot, and the lower part of the sides of the foot. It is also applied to the back and sides of the handle, the inside being left bare.

16 Aenid ii. 509 &c.
There is a simple and roughly drawn maenander, bordered by a double line, at the top of the body, on the white ground; and on the shoulder is a double circle of diverging rays, doubtless a simplification of the interlacing lotus-bud pattern.

In the figures, the most remarkable thing is the use of the incised lines, which are not only used freely to represent folds of drapery and other details within the mass of black silhouette, but are also used to define or correct its outlines, especially in the profiles of the faces, which are thus drawn with a firmness of touch and a delicacy and beauty of style which give the chief artistic value to this vase. Other portions, such as the feet of the woman behind Priam, are very carelessly drawn. But the fine profiles can only be paralleled upon the red-figured vases of the Attic masters of about 500 B.C., and this gives us the most trustworthy indication as to date.

Our lecythus must be assigned in the first instance to a somewhat small class, of which it is in some respects, especially in skill of drawing, the most advanced example. This class includes a set of lecythi with black figures on a white ground, representing mythological subjects; almost all the examples that belong to it have been found at Eretria. The style and technique show in all cases a distinct affinity; but the ornamentation, apart from the figures, varies; there is usually some kind of palmette decoration on the shoulder, as on the later white lecythi with outline designs. But this decoration varies in almost all classes, and I doubt whether any hard and fast rule can be made about it. Doubtless it is usually, on outline lecythi, later than the simple ray pattern; but on the other hand it is impossible, judging by the style, to place our lecythus later than those published in this Journal in 1893. In most cases we find purple used pretty freely on the figures; in one case, the Siren lecythi, white, which, on the whitish ground, is remarkable—to this we shall have to recur.

These Eretrian lecythi, as we are I think justified in calling them from the place where they were mostly found, without as yet drawing any conclusions as to where they were made, form a distinct class among the lecythi with black figures on a white ground. Such lecythi are of course found in great numbers almost wherever Greek vases are discovered; their old name, vases of Locri, is due to their frequency at Locri in South Italy; but it was never a name of any scientific value, and it is now generally given up. The ordinary run of such white lecythi with black figures is almost entirely devoid of artistic or mythological interest, seldom rising above the most common-place shop-work; apart from the Eretrian examples there are very few which repay any detailed study. Many of them may be of later period. They do not therefore afford us much help in an attempt to assign to the Eretrian lecythi their due position in the development of vase-painting.

Other vases with white ground are more important to us. Alabastri are nearest akin to lecythi both in shape and decoration; and alabastra with white ground and black figures upon it form an interesting class—those in
particular which have representations of negroes have been often published and discussed. It would clearly be impossible to speak here of vases with white ground in general. As M. Pottier has pointed out, there are two rival methods of technique which go back to a very early period in the history of Greek pottery—the one, which gives a hard and smooth surface to the clay of which the vase is made, and then uses it as a ground for decoration; the other, which covers the clay entirely with some pigment, usually white or whitish, and then paints upon this added ground.

All we need notice at present is that there was a very strong growth of this second method in the sixth century, originating, probably, in Rhodes or Asia Minor, and developing to the highest perfection in the fabrics of Cyrene and Naukratis. We shall have to notice later the affinities shown to these two fabrics by the Eretrian lekythi.

There is, however, another class of vases which must first be considered, before we proceed to trace the relations of the different groups. This class, which has been exhaustively treated by M. J. Six in the *Gazette Archéologique*, has white or polychrome paintings on a black ground. Thus it also belongs to the second of the two great divisions in method, since in it also the clay of the vase is completely covered by a pigment which serves as a ground for further decoration—the pigment in this case being the ordinary black varnish which is used on black-figured vases to draw the silhouettes of the figures upon the natural red of the clay, and on red-figured vases to form a background round the figures, which are left open in the same natural red. It is also worthy of note that both varieties of this second method lead to a similar development, whether the added ground is white or black. On the white ground the figure comes to be drawn in outline instead of in silhouette—a process already familiar at Rhodes and Naukratis; on the black ground also we often find outline drawings, but incised not painted, according to the facility offered by the material.

Among these vases with coloured decoration, laid on a black ground, M. Six distinguishes two classes—or rather one clearly defined class, and beside it a miscellaneous set, which have not very much beyond the technique in common. The more definite class includes a number of bowls with a raised boss in the middle—φιάλες ὀμφαλότοσσαι—which are almost certainly an Athenian imitation of the interior of Naukratische pottery. As to the others, the evidence is not so satisfactory, but some of them are certainly of Attic origin, and there is a strong presumption that all are.

The lekythus with white ground, in its finest form, with outline drawings and polychrome painting, has always been considered an Attic product. But the finest specimens have been found in great numbers at Eretria; it may

22 See Δελτιον Ἀρχ. 1888-1892 μετανόη. 
indeed be doubted whether those found in or near Athens itself can surpass those that come from Eretria either in quality or quantity. At the same time it is impossible to draw any distinction between the Attic and Eretrian varieties; there are indeed, even apart from the style, indications which compel us to attribute the outline lecythi found at Eretria to the same hands as not only the Attic lecythi, but even the finest Attic red-figured and outline vases. The only question is whether these Attic lecythi were exported very freely to Eretria, or perhaps more probably some of the Attic potters transferred their workshops to Eretria, where their wares were in so great demand. The enormous number of poor and common-place examples found at Eretria seems to imply a local fabric, of course under Athenian influence.

With the earlier type of Eretrian lecythi to which our example belongs—those representing mythological scenes in black figures upon a white ground—the case is not so simple. The provenance of these lecythi, so far as I know, is almost exclusively Eretria; yet they are customarily spoken of without discussion as Attic. This attribution may be correct; but it certainly is not so obvious as to require no proof. It has been too lightly assumed that, because these earlier lecythi seem to form one series with the later lecythi with outline drawings, of which the Attic affinities are unmistakable, therefore they also were made in Athens. It is not my intention here to decide finally whether the earlier class are Attic or not, but rather to point out that it is a question that has never been discussed, and that the evidence is not so clear as to make discussion superfluous.

There is evidence for a close connexion, political as well as artistic, between Eretria and Athens about the beginning of the fifth century. The story that Eretria was originally a colony of Athens, and that there were traces of the original connexion in some early Attic and Eretrian cults, may be apocryphal; but they at least imply some recognized relationship. The Eretrians and Athenians were united in the famous expedition which resulted in the burning of Sardis; and when the Persians retaliated by the invasion under Datis, which ended in the battle of Marathon, Eretria was one of the first objects of their attack, and the Eretrians naturally applied to Athens for help. This help was already on the spot, in the persons of 4000 Athenian settlers, who had been planted sixteen years before in the Chalcidian territory. Under these circumstances, we need not be surprised to find strong affinities with Attic art in the vases buried at Eretria about the beginning of the fifth century. On the other hand we know very little of the art of Eretria at this time. After the total destruction of the city by Datis, and its rebuilding upon a different site, we find a set of vases which cannot in any way be distinguished from Attic.

For the beginning of the fifth century and the end of the sixth, the time to which we must assign the Eretrian vases with black paintings on a white ground, we have hardly any other evidence of a local style of art.
WITH THE DEATH OF PRIAM.

We must next proceed to notice the affinities which we find in the vases themselves to other early styles, and thus, if possible, to discover their origin and their position in the history of ceramic art.

We have already noticed the essential affinity between vases with black or polychrome figures upon a white ground, and those with white or polychrome figures on a black ground, since in both alike the figures are not laid directly over the natural clay, but over a slip or varnish intended to conceal it. Both these processes—as it has frequently been observed—became popular in Greece about the same time as the rise of red-figured painting on vases, all three alike resulting from a new artistic impulse and a desire to improve on the old-fashioned black-figured technique. Curiously enough, we know the artist to whom both innovations seem to be due; the name of Nicostratus appears both upon vases of this period with black figures upon a white ground, and also upon a vase which seems a new departure in white figures on a black ground. The artistic character of Nicostratus is well enough known, and especially his skill in adapting metal shapes and decorations to pottery; but, although he certainly worked in Athens, his origin is doubtful, and the sources from which he derived his types more doubtful still. The association of his name does not therefore clear up to any appreciable degree the problems before us.

Without attempting to follow the whole history of vases with a white ground, from Mycenaean to Roman times, we may at least notice the immediate source from which this technique was introduced into Greece in the sixth century. There can hardly be a doubt that these were the great vase factories of Naukratis and Cyrene. The character of these two wares is too well known for there to be any need to dwell on it here. What we are now concerned with is the evidence for their influence upon the vases made in Greece itself, which form the subject of this study. The means by which such influence could be exerted are easy enough to trace. Not only objects which clearly show Egyptian influence, but imports of Egyptian fabric have been found on the Acropolis at Athens; and among these were some characteristic fragments of Naukratite and Cyrenaic pottery. The close friendship of Eretria for Miletus too, which led to the Sandis expedition, would easily lead to commerce with the Milesian colony of Naukratis. The occurrence of the name of Nicostratus on a vase found at Naukratis is another link; though this vase, like many others, was probably an imported one, most likely from Athens. But the close connexion between the vases of Nicostratus, with their metallic form and decoration, and those of Cyrene can hardly escape our notice; indeed, this affinity is so remarkable that one

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24 See especially Losselika, Arch. Zeitung 1881, 93-98.
25 Six, Gnesische Arch. 1888, p. 192, A. E.
27 For Naukratis ware see this Journal, 1887, PL LXIX., and Naukratis I. and II. For Cyrene, Puchstein, Arch. Zeitung xxxix. Pl. 10-12. Also Naukratis II. 99-102 for the difference between the two.
28 See especially the vases published by M. Potter in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1892, p. 435-444, which show strong Cyrenaic affinities, and also resemble the work of Nicostratus.
may be surprised it has not taken a more prominent position hitherto in the discussions of the influences under which Nicosthenes worked. That he imitated foreign models is admitted on all sides, whether those models came, as Professor Loeschcke suggests, from Italy, or, as M. Potner shows, reason for believing, from Ionia. The question of Nicosthenes, however, is too wide a one to discuss here, and would take us too far from our subject: what we need now notice is that the association of his name with the white-ground and black-ground vases is at least not inconsistent with their derivation from the influence of Naucratis and Cyrene.

We now come to more positive and direct evidence. The white ground was the common feature that first led us to the comparison, though its actual composition and the manner in which it is applied differs in the various wares, being doubtless to a great extent due to the local conditions and the available materials. The use, above this ground, of a white pigment—purer white than the ground, which is cream-coloured—is a feature common to Naucratite ware and the lecythus with Odysseus and the Sirens (J.H.S. 1892—3 Pl. I.); and it is in both cases used for the nude parts of female figures; but on the Eretrian vase the white is applied over black, and so there is an essential difference of technique, though the result produced in the two cases is similar. The resemblance to Naucratis ware is closer still in some of the late Eretrian vases with outline drawing; closest of all, curiously enough, in those already referred to, which by their Diphilus inscription betray a close connexion with Athens, if not an Athenian origin. Here the white, like the other colours, is laid on directly over the creamy white ground. Another set of vases which we have already noticed as closely akin to the Eretrian lecythi are the alabastra of similar technique—especially those with representations of negroes. There is a close resemblance between these alabastra and Naucratite ware with white ground, especially that variety of it which uses incised lines and chooses grotesque subjects, sometimes negroes. And if, as Dr. Winnefeld suggests, the alabastra served, somewhat like the Panathenaic vases, to guarantee the quality of their contents, as a precious ointment or scent imported from Egypt, it is most natural that their types should be derived from Naucratis, the Greek colony in Egypt most famous for its vases.

We next come to the influence exercised by the painting in white and red laid on over a black ground which is characteristic of the interior of Naucratite vases. In the first place, a whole series has been found on the Acropolis at Athens of vases which were certainly made in direct imitation of Naucratite ware. A glance at the example figured by M. Six in the Gazette Archéologique 1888, Pl. 28, D, will suffice to prove this to any one familiar with the vases from Naucratis. The decorative development of this

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29 See above, n. 17, where the references are given.  
30 The ‘negro’ vases are chronologically applicable, since, as Dr. Bethe observes, one has been found in the ‘Perseschritt’ on the Acropolis, i.e. was made before 480 B.C.
type in Athens, which is followed out by M. Six, does not here concern us; but the fact is a most interesting one, since a direct imitation implies the probability of less direct influence also. And the imitation occurs in the case of that polychrome painting on the black ground which we have already recognized as technically analogous to painting on white ground. There is, however, another class of polychrome painting on black ground, also treated of by M. Six, which is not confined to decorative designs, and of which the origin is not so certain. Some specimens of this technique were found at Naucratis, but not enough to justify us in assigning it to that town. Sometimes the painting is applied over a black glaze which covers ordinary red Greek pottery (as in the best known example by Nicothenes); sometimes it is applied to ware which is black throughout. In both cases the analogy to Naucratis ware does not extend beyond the technique, the decorative forms being different, and subjects and human figures being frequent, while they are entirely absent on the inside of Naucratite vases, which alone has this black ground. I have elsewhere stated my reasons for believing that there is no sufficient reason for believing the black ware with polychrome decoration to have been made at Naucratis itself; but it is doubtless associated with Naucratis, and with those towns in Asia Minor which combined in the colonization of the city. Several examples of the technique have been found in Rhodes, and the ware is one which is known to have been made in Lesbos. All this fits in excellently with M. Potter's theory that Nicothenes derived the models for his vases from Ionia rather than from Italy.

We have, however, wandered rather far from our Eretrian vases, in our attempt to sketch out the influence, direct and indirect, of Naucratis. In the case of Cyrene we can keep closer to the subject. First of all, the technique, with its black figures on a white ground, is almost exactly similar; and the way in which the profile of the faces is outlined with incised lines on our Prism lecythus finds a very close analogy in the Cyrenaic vases figured in Archäologische Zeitung 1881, taf. 12 and 13. We find also a surprising correspondence of types, which, considering the comparatively small number of examples of each kind which we possess, can hardly be explained as a coincidence. Thus Odysseus, tied to a column instead of the mast of his ship on the Eretrian lecythus J.H.S. xiii. Pl. I., is remarkably similar to the Prometheus, tied to a similar column, on a Cyrenaic vase in Gerhard's Ausserlesene Vasebilder ii. 86; and the hat of Odysseus in the same picture reminds us strongly of the hat worn by Arcesilas on the well-known vase in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris—doubtless a sun-helmet such as the African Greeks had found necessary. Again, Hercules on the Eretrian lecythus J.H.S. xiii., Pl. III., is certainly the same type as the Atlas on the same Cyrenaic vase with the Prometheus just mentioned.

The analogy of the very curious treatment of the sea on the Siren

21 J.H.S. 1889, p. 126. 22 C. Smith, Naucratis i. p. 49. 23a Naucratis ii. p. 47.
lecythus to that on a fragment from the temenos of the Dioscuri at Naukratis has been noticed by Mr. Cecil Smith. The fragment does not seem to have been made at Naukratis; it resembles no known local ware, and is most probably imported from Ionia. Still we have here one more link of connexion, if not with Naukratis itself, at least with that branch of Greek handicraft with which Naukratis was in commerce. Many of the analogies here noticed have already been mentioned by Miss Sellers in her publication of the three Eretrian lecythi. The need for a systematic collection and study of vases with a white ground must be felt by all who have had occasion to deal with any of these vases; and until such a collection has been made, anything written about them must be more or less tentative. But it at least seems clear that both the technique and the types of the lecythi with black figures on a white ground found at Eretria were derived to a great extent from the African colonies of Cyrene and Naukratis, and that they also show affinities with other classes of vases which are probably Iionic in their origin. It remains to be considered whether these conditions are sufficient to determine where the lecythi found at Eretria were made; for we have already seen that the conditions of their discovery do not point clearly to any other place than Eretria as their origin.

The common assumption that all these lecythi were made at Athens seems to rest mainly on the similarity of the later lecythi, with outline drawings, found at Eretria, to those found and doubtless made in Athens—which, as we have already seen, is not certain: it does not follow that the earlier examples, showing similar shape and decoration, but a different style and technique, were made in Athens also. The facts may easily be explained on another hypothesis. Nor do the influences which we can trace in the earlier lecythi from Eretria seem to me to imply of necessity an Attic origin. Affinities with the wares produced in the African colonies of Cyrene and Naukratis and in Ionia need not surprise us at Eretria. The friendship of Eretria and Miletus was very close and enduring; the Eretrian expedition to Sardis having been undertaken in requital of similar aid given by Miletus to Eretria a hundred years before. And in the case of a city of such commercial activity as Eretria, this friendship would certainly imply close relations with the colonies and allies of Miletus. I think these considerations justify us, at least until further evidence can be produced, in concluding that the class of lecythi of which we have an example before us was made at Eretria, where, so far as I know, examples of this style and technique have exclusively been found. An affinity with Attic art need not surprise us; when we consider the historical relations of Athens and Eretria at the beginning of the fifth century. Later, the lecythus with white ground seems to have been taken up by Attic potters, and to have developed in Athens.

12 Quoted by Miss Sellers, J.H.S. 1892-3, p. 2. For the fragment, see Naukratis ii, p. 31, and Brit. Mus. Catalogue of Vases, B. 108, 19, with illustration.
18 A similar treatment of the sea may be seen also on the well-known lecythi with the "sail-hauling". Dumont and Chaplain, Céramiques de la Grèce propret, Pl. xxviii. (the sea is not shown in the Plate). This is said to have been found in Attica.
under the same influences which we can trace in the earlier Eretrian examples; and the great series of white lecythi with outline drawings may well have been made both in Athens and Eretria, though always under a predominating Attic influence. But the first development of the lecythus with white ground into something beyond the ordinary 'vases of Locri,' and the recognition of its ultimate possibilities, seem due in the first instance to the potters of Eretria. The Attic potters, who carried the technique to its highest perfection not only on lecythi but also upon cylices and other vases, may easily spare this credit to a city of which the artistic attainments have hitherto met with scant recognition. There is no adequate reason why Eretrian provenance should be assumed to imply an Attic origin.

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Note.—I add a brief description of another lecythus of very similar character, which tends to confirm the view expressed above as to an Eretrian fabric.

Lecythus with black figures on white ground—probably from Eretria—in private possession.

Total height 8½ in. (22 cm); height of white ground 3½ in. (09 m).

Decoration and shape exactly as Priam lecythus.

Subject.—Hercules clad in lion's skin, advancing to right, club in right hand, with left (very roughly drawn) seizes by the throat a kneeling Amazon, armed with shield and spear and high-crested helmet (Hippolyta). From right, another Amazon, similarly armed, advances against Hercules; on left, another runs away, but turns her head and strikes back at him with her spear.

Style and technique.—Purple retouching; incised lines freely used, in the case of Hippolyta alone for whole outline of profile, as on Priam lecythus; but half of it is against arm of Hercules, not white ground. Her mouth is wide open; the mouth, open, but not so wide, is incised on the other profiles. The drawing is vigorous and generally shows a tolerably free and advanced style, but is in places very careless; e.g. Hercules' left arm and hand are a mere shapeless bar of black. There are two conventional branches in the background behind the central group. The figures go all round the body of the vase. The white ground is smoother and less creamy than in the Priam lecythi.

There can hardly be a doubt that this comes out of the same workshop as the Priam lecythus, though it is very inferior in execution.

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28 Dr. Waldbrook suggests to me that the pigment used for the Eretrian white lecythi was the same as the Eretrian earth mentioned by Pliny, xxxv, 38. He tells me this passage suggested to him a fabric of vase with white ground at Eretria before his excavations there led him to the same conclusion.
SELECTED VASE-FRAGMENTS FROM THE ACROPOLIS OF ATHENS.—II.

The vase-fragments represented on Plates II.-IV. are with one exception here published for the first time and all belong to red-figured works. For the permission to publish them I am deeply indebted to M. Kavvadas, and I wish also to acknowledge help kindly given me by Dr. Wolters and Mr. Cecil Smith. Three of the works are in the early severe style, one shows the developed severe work and two belong to the advanced fine period. They are distributed on the plates merely with regard to convenience of publication. Nothing is more noticeable to any one glancing over the mass of vase-fragments from the Acropolis than the fact that while the preponderance of black-figured over red-figured works is very great (Dr. Graef puts the proportion at more than three to one), the vast majority of the former are poor in design and carelessly executed but the latter are nearly all careful and good. This seems to show—for the proportion can hardly be due to accident—that the older style continued in favour, probably because it was cheap, long after the introduction of a new method, and that the new school only produced works at the highest level of their ability, and by so doing ultimately commanded the market both at home and abroad. It is not till the second period of red-figured work that careless and hasty productions are turned out. Inferior artists seem to have contented themselves with imitations of successful masters: thus for example one seems to note imitations of Duris in museums.

i.—Pl. II. owing to the interest of its subjects deserves the closest attention. It is a small kylix executed with great care, and with an unusually large number of figures in its outside scenes considering the period at which we must place its execution. There is no difficulty of identification. The interior shows the struggle of Peleus and Thetis with slight variations from the ordinary scheme, while $A$ and almost certainly $B$, as Dr. Hartwig has already conjectured, present scenes from the Iliupersis. The interior reminds one strikingly of the Berlin kylix of Peithinos, though

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1 Dr. Wolters informs me that one fragment of this kylix was found, in August 1886, east of the Parthenon, somewhat deep down, under a layer of poros-fragments, which in all probability contained débris from the Persian devastation of the Acropolis. The rest of the vase fragments here figured were not noted when found, but fragments of the vase figured on Pl. IV. a were turned up west of the Erechtheum, at the spot where the fourteen archaic statues were discovered all together.
there is sufficient difference to prevent the supposition that both are from
one hand: but both painters must at any rate have worked from similar
designs. Dr. Hartwig, in the chapter of his *Meisterschulen* which he devotes
to Peithinos, has fully emphasized the archaic and stylized severity of this
painter's work and has seen in it a definite tendency opposed to that of the
rising naturalistic school. The painter of this kylix aimed rather at a free
drawing of the human form, but had not reached the mastery of draughts-
manship which we see in Euphranor's, while he had no desire to stylize like
Peithinos. The scheme of locked hands in this interior scene may well be
contrasted with the same in the cup of Peithinos, as converted into a con-
ventional sort of maenander. Here we see Peleus with bent knee and lowered
head, clad in short chiton girt up round the waist, with sheathed sword at
his side (the hanger rendered in purple), holding Thetis round the waist and
just lifting her off her feet. His name Ἐλευς is laid on in purple.
Unfortunately the head is only half preserved and the eye is broken, but it
seems to have been rendered by a simple black point. The usual ephesian
type is here presented, and the growing beard is rendered with thin *Firmus.*
The hem of the sleeves and neck of the chiton are represented by a triple
line. On his back is the conventional and heraldic lion, exactly as in the
Peithinos-vase down to the carefully drawn mane. On another fragment
are the toes of his right foot and part of the bent leg, on which hangs one
coil of a snake. This is more carefully drawn than in the Peithinos-vase.
The row of thick dots no doubt is intended to represent the upper side, the
small scattered flecks the under side of the creature. Thetis wears a long
chiton with stiff parallel folds relieved by the ladder-pattern, which is so
common on vases of this period (cp. the Peleus and Thetis frags. of the
Acropolis *Jahrbl.* 1888, Pl. 2, and here p. 101, the Athenodotes-vases *J.H.S.* x. 1,
the Antaios-krater of Euphranor's etc.), and a himation with swallow-tail folds,
unnaturally spread out on the right. The outline of her bent legs is to be
traced beneath the drapery. The interior field is surrounded by two circular
bands of the colour of the clay, and a segment is cut off from the circle by
a similar strip, on which rested the right foot of Peleus and probably the
right foot of Thetis, at least in part, while her left foot is near to but does
not touch the circular band. The smaller fragment is not quite correctly
placed in the drawing: it should be shifted a little to the left, so that the
base-line of the segment may meet the exterior circle below the left foot of
Thetis. As Mr. Cecil Smith has pointed out to me, it is clear from the
relative position of the fragments that Thetis is being actually lifted off her
feet into the arms of Peleus. The sandal of the left foot does not touch the
enclosing circle and is therefore meant to be in the air, and we should restore

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*I take the opportunity of hailing the appearance of this great work with delight. Two or three more comprehensive works of the kind accompanied with reliable plates would probably solve nine-tenths of the questions which are debated in connection with Greek vase-painting.*

*Two small fragments have recently been fitted to this vase, belonging to E, and thus the left arm of Thetis has been added to the in-
terior.*
the right foot as touching the ground only slightly with the toes. Hence we get a slight difference of position from that given by Peithinos, who represents Thetis with both her feet flat on the ground, and the advantage is all on the side of our artist. Turning to the exterior fields, a fragment already published (Eph. Arch. 1885, Pl. 5, 3), which corresponds to the smaller fragment of the interior, has long since been rightly interpreted, so far as it goes. The head of Kassandra is unfortunately missing, but the drawing of the fragment seems more severe than that of the similar Vienna fragment published by Hartwig (Arch. Epigr. Mitt. aus Ost. xvi. ii. Fig. 1 a). The nipples are here indicated and the breasts hang in the same direction: the drapery, exactly similar to that of Thetis, conceals what it was difficult to draw correctly. The embroidered robe of the image with its silhouette representations of choruses male and female and its apparently conical shape have been already noted by Dr. M. Mayer and others. It may be added that the lower part of the Palladian in the Vivenzio-vase is less markedly conical, but no doubt the goddess here as there was represented with outstretched spear and shield. Right of Kassandra and somewhat behind the basis of the image is an altar, with blood-splots (purple) and in the interval the 'unklare Faltenteil' (Hartwig), which might possibly belong to the himation of Priam, as it is quite clear from the next fragment to be mentioned that the altar was the seat of the aged king here as elsewhere. But the relative position of the fragments being shown by the inside, it is likely that here as in the Vivenzio-vase sat a female figure, though there is hardly room for two figures as in that work. Next we may restore Priam seated much after the fashion of the scene in the vase of Brygos. On the next fragment we see the right leg of Neoptolemos who is striding to the left. Part of his short chiton, the knob of his sheathed sword, and a greave are visible. Behind are preserved the head and arms of Astyanax. Neoptolemos is about to hurl the child at the seated Priam: the child is still alive, the eye being wide open, as in the vase of Euphronio, while Brygos on the other hand represented him as already dead, and in the Vivenzio-vase he lies dead on the lap of his grandfather. It is unfortunate that here, as in the interior of Euphronio's kylix, the figure of Neoptolemos is almost entirely wanting. At this point in our vase there is a great confusion of legs, as on the exterior of Brygos' kylix, parts of two standing and one recumbent man and one standing woman crossing one another. This appearance of confusion is enhanced here by the fact that the circle bounding the exterior scenes on the inside is so small, having a diameter of only m. 084. Behind the body of Astyanax stands a female figure to right, clad apparently in himation and chiton with hands outstretched towards a warrior, of whom we see the greaved legs, the shield and lowered spear and a part of the chiton, advancing to her. The letter Ε is in the field between them. There is no motive such as we have in the Brygos-vase, where Akamas leads away Polyxena, or in the Vivenzio-vase where Demophon and Akamas lead away Aithra. Rather the woman is supplicating mercy from one who advances with hostile intent. Noack's restoration of the
fragmentary exterior of Euphronios' kylix as representing Odysseus and Menelaos pursuing Helen and Aithra is no doubt correct (v. Aus der Anomia), but this is a different scheme. I do not see any other possible view than that this is ELENÊ and the advancing warrior Menelaos; and this view receives support from the remaining figure of the fragment, viz. the recumbent dead warrior, who lies 'en face' in the attitude of the fallen warrior in the Bourguignon kylix (Meisterschalen Pl. X.), which is also that of Eurytion, and Palaisto in the respective vases of Euphronios. The anatomy of the body is almost hidden by the leg and arm which cross it. Blood is pouring from three wounds (purple). The left arm and shoulder rest in the shield, which is half shown. The hair falls in schematic curls on either side of the helmet, which covers the face, though the hair is indicated on the forehead by rows of dots and the eyebrows and the closed eyes with lashes are visible. Long curling appendages to the crest fall down on either side, as in the fallen warrior (Gerhard, Trinkschalen Pl. D). Behind the figure again we see the foot of a man advancing to left. If in the dead man we naturally see Deiphobos, it may be conjectured that this belonged to Odysseus. Before turning to the small fragment which is all that remains of $B$,* the position of the handles must be ascertained. From the interior one concludes that $A$ contained three groups, and the conclusion is also inevitable that the handle on the one side falls over the warrior who lies dead. If that is so, the extended arm of Kassandra must come under the other handle, and obverse and reverse are thus closely coupled together. Aias must therefore have been the last figure of $B$ on the one side, and on the other the warrior to whom the foot belongs, who has been tentatively named Odysseus. The small separate fragment of $B$ represents a figure with shield, greaves, and short chiton very similar to Menelaos, advancing to left, while the leg is seen of another warrior engaged in combat with an antagonist, whose leg bent at the knee and encased in a greave is seen overlapping the leg of his foe. In this duel then the issue is practically decided. The first-mentioned warrior must have been engaged with an antagonist over the body of a fallen Trojan archer (?) whose trousered leg is visible. The other pair of combatants on the right would be immediately followed by Aias in this case, and we have the following arrangement of $B$:

$$
\begin{array}{cccccc}
\text{Odysseus(1)} & \text{Trojan} & \text{Fallen} & \text{Greek} & \text{Greek} & \text{Falling} \\
\text{left} & \text{right} & \text{left} & \text{right} & \text{Trojan} & \text{Aias} \\
\end{array}
$$

and of $A$:

$$
\begin{array}{cccccc}
\text{Kassandra} & \text{Female} & \text{Priam} & \text{Neoptolemos} & \text{Helen} & \text{Menelaos} \\
\text{Palladium} & \text{figure} & \text{right} & \text{left (Antymanax)} & \text{right} & \text{left} \\
\end{array}
$$

* Since writing this, I have heard from Dr. Wollers that two additional fragments of $B$, which have been added. He writes Wir haben zwei Fragmente hinzugefügt, welche das einzelne gezeichnete Fragment, auf das hier figirte, beweisen.
Roughly therefore the number of figures on both sides is the same, but there is no exact correspondence, and the two sides are dovetailed into one another. It would be an unprofitable task to attempt to give names to the combatants of *B*. As to the style of the vase, no doubt Hartwig’s estimate of it is correct, that it is a work of the school of Epiktetos. The close
connection with the b.f. style is shown (a) by the designs on the peplos of the Palladion, (b) by the liberal use of purple, (c) by the absence of palmettes and meanders under the handles and round the interior, and the use of circles bounding the interior scene, formed by leaving a strip of the clayground. There is nothing except profile-drawing, so far as the feet are concerned, in what we have. The full-face is attempted in the dead warrior but there is practically covered by the helmet. It would seem too venturesome to ascribe the work to any particular master in the present state of our knowledge. It is much to be hoped that Dr. Hartwig will speedily be enabled to do for the school of Epiktetos what he has done for the subsequent vase-painters. I do not think that Chachrylion for instance can be connected with this vase. It certainly differs very widely from the Vienna fragments, which are nearer to Chachrylion's work than to any other which has yet been recognized. At the same time the rounded treble-line edges of the drapery and the unnatural wave of the himation of Thetis remind one of several of the vases brought together on the first five plates of the Meisterschalen.

ii.—I should like to insert here cuts of parts of the Pelens and Thetis vase from the Acropolis (published incompletely in Jahrbuch 1888, Pl. 2). The two heads, incomplete though one is, are valuable helps towards judging

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8 Perhaps I may say that the least satisfactory chapter in Hartwig's book seems to me to be the one on Chachrylion. It is difficult to attribute to one hand the Cambridge signed kylix Pl. II. 3 and the Bourguignon kylix Pl. V.
of the style of the vase. I am bound to say that they only confirm to my mind Hartwig’s view, that this vase is in the style of Peithinos. The head of Hera is just the expressionless type so characteristic of that master. The eye-lashes are carefully indicated as on several figures of the Siosias-vase in Berlin, and with the ornamental separate curls of Zeus one may compare those of Dionysos in that vase. But the inscription remains a standing puzzle. It is as plainly as possible — ος ἐραφαῖε. Nothing but the neighbourhood of the staff could explain a miswriting of | for Ν. The vase cannot however be the work of Euphranios, unless we suppose that the latter painter was so many-sided as to work in two distinct styles according to the nature of his subject.

iii.—Pl. III. 1.—Fragment of a kylix with exploits of Theseus. Unfortunately this appears to be a quite isolated fragment. The kylix was of the older shape derived from the ‘Kleineister,’ with edge setting back at the top, above the outer field. All that is preserved is part of the struggle of Theseus and the Minotaur, which formed a portion of one of the exterior scenes. It may be conjectured with probability that this was not one of a series of scenes, as in the later Theseus vases; but, as in the Epiktetos kylix of the British Museum, it occupied the chief position and was similarly flanked by a female figure to right and left. Theseus, whose face exhibits the older type common to the Epiktetan school, with almond-shaped eye without any attempt at a profile view, with wreath of purple on his head, clad in short girt chiton, the sword-hanger crossing his breast, holds the head of the Minotaur with his left arm, and in his right hand, which is missing, doubtless held the sword and was about to give his antagonist the coup de grâce. The Minotaur’s head and chest are preserved, the head covered with double strokes and flecks, though the chest exhibits no such round spots as were introduced by other painters on the analogy of Argos Panoptes (e.g. Duris A. V. iii. 234 or the painter of the amphora A. V. iii. 160). The head is bent and with his right hand he no doubt grasped at the sword of Theseus, as with Duris, and in his left probably held the stone, which is his usual weapon. The rendering of the anatomy is scanty, the arms of Theseus show no inner drawing, and it is noticeable that even the eyebrow of Theseus, whether by accident or design, is omitted. The same peculiarity, outside of the Epiktetan circle, is to be noted on the fragmentary kylix in the possession of Dr. Hauser (Meisterschalen Pl. XVIII. 1), and within it can be paralleled on the Memnon vases. In the field we read ΕΣ, the letters being divided by the head of Theseus. A spot of purple colour at the end of the wreath of Theseus but disconnected with it resembles an |. It is perfectly correctly rendered in the illustration, but I am convinced that it is not intended to be a letter but rather belongs to the wreath; for otherwise the spacing of the letters would be very peculiar, and in such a position we can only restore either ΘΕΣ [ΕΣ] or ΕΡΑΦΑΙΕ. Which of the two stood there, it is not easy to say. One other letter, in either case Ε, would have occurred in the break above the Minotaur’s head. It seems to be most probable that this is a work from the hand of Epiktetos, and it is not in the least an objection to this
view that we have another similar work from his hand. He seems to have produced a large amount of works from his atelier and the same subject might often be repeated.

iv.—Pl. IV. I.—Fragments of a red-figured Lutrophoros (Am. Journ. of Arch. 1888, p. 358, Class. Rev. 1888; 188, Klein Lieblingsinschriften, p. 45). This vase was at first called a krater, but since the drawings were made of our two fragments, a great number of others have been added, which when put together make the neck of a large Lutrophoros almost complete; this is decorated with a long procession, of which these two show the one end. The thickness of the clay is considerable. On the larger fragment a bearded man wearing wreath and himation over his left shoulder leaving his right arm and shoulder free is walking to right. In his left raised hand he holds three branches, and his right hand is raised. He is directly followed by two women, the first of whom turns back to converse with her neighbour. Both wear chiton, and himation drawn over the head so as to serve as veil, with stephane, the first also having her head covered by a cap. The first holds in her left the three branches, the second a staff over her shoulder (is it part of a σκαθείον?); her left hand is upraised in the same attitude as that of the man. The separated fingers are treated in a very lifeless manner and nails are not indicated. Beneath the man’s shoulder only four divisions of the ‘serratus magnus’ are shown.

On the other fragment a youth with fillet, wearing the ‘iulus’ and draped like the man, also walks to right holding in his left the same three branches. He is separated from the bearded man of the preceding fragment by a figure, whose head is lost. On the left edge of the fragment are two unexplained objects, which I at first supposed to be part of a Nike flying to left. The upper one however is probably not a wing, and the lower might be a piece of drapery. What is the scene represented? The branches are no doubt intended for the sprinkling of an altar with purificatory water (περιπαντίπα). A sacrifice is therefore about to be performed. Can this be the προκάμα or προσέλευτον γάμων, the sacrifice performed on the day before a marriage? (cf. Becker-Goll Charakles iii. 361). This representation would be a suitable subject for a Lutrophoros.

On the small fragment we read the letters ΩΔ retrograde, and by the man’s head OΩΓΟ ΚΑ. The latter is of course ΚΩΛυπτοδέσωρος καλός, and as there is room for an O in the smaller fragment, I should regard the inscription as a repetition of the same love-name. For instances of the dropping of a nasal in vase-inscriptions see Kretschmer Die griechischen Vaseninschriften § 142. This name is associated with Leagros on the h.f. hydria of the Museo Gregoriano; and the severity and stiffness of this

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4 Three branches are similarly held by the priestess on the h.f. amphoros with sacrifice to Athena (Berlin 1888).

5 As I have not seen the other fragments of this vase, I fear that what I have conjectured above may prove valueless.

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6 Surely these are not portraits, as Reich (Führer II. 247) says. Apart from the fact of the beards, are these figures to be regarded as anything but genre-types? Is the young rider really meant for Leagros on the interior of Euphronios’ Geryon kylix?
vase show its proximity to the b.f. style. The Olympiodoros in question is
doubtless the son of Lampon, who commanded a lochos in the Athenian
force at Plataea (Edt. 9, 24) and thus we obtain, it seems to me, a rough
date for this vase, as between 510-500 B.C. It seems to me that
Furtwängler’s dating (Bert. Phil. Woch. Jan. 20, 1894) is preferable to
Hartwig’s, who would make Leagros of the age to be celebrated as \( \alpha \kappa \lambda \varsigma \) from 500 to 490. If Olympiodoros and Leagros are mentioned together as
\( \kappa \alpha \lambda \varsigma \), and both occur on r.f. and b.f. works, they must have been approxi-
mately of the same age; and quite apart from considerations as to Leagros,
the later date makes Olympiodoros younger at Plataea than we should
expect; and if, as is probable, his son again was the Lampon who was one
of the founders of Thurii, the earlier date better suits the age of Lampon
the second.

v.—Pl. III. 2. Pyxis with scenes from female life. A continuous frieze
depicting life in the Gymnaiokonitis is here presented, the drawing being on
a small scale and of extreme beauty and delicacy. Two female figures, one
seated and one standing; are completely preserved, and portions of four
others. All are clad in identically the same garments, in Ionic chiton and
overdress thrown over it in various ways. In the centre on a \( \epsilon \iota \phi \rho \overset{\circ}{\iota} \) \( \kappa \alpha \lambda \delta \lambda \iota \varsigma \), whose rim and bosses are richly ornamented (the feet as usual
are in the shape of beasts’ claws turned inwards), sits a woman to left,
in long-sleeved chiton, with himation wrapped loosely round the lower part
of her body, her hair bound with a long purple fillet; she stretches out her
arms towards the woman approaching from the left, of whom one foot only
and part of the chiton are preserved, apparently rather to receive an object
from than to offer one to her neighbour. It was no doubt a box containing
articles for the toilet. Above in the field are the letters \( \varepsilon \iota \kappa \lambda \varsigma \varepsilon \); behind
a purple fillet hangs on the wall and vertically written is \( \kappa \alpha \nu \iota \varsigma \tau \rho \alpha \varsigma \tau \), no doubt her name. The kindred male name Nausistratos
occurs on the lip of a lekythos fragment in the Ashmolean Museum at
Oxford. Behind the seat is a cock, drawn in a very natural manner, with
ample use of purple for the comb, tail and inner markings. Behind, a
female figure with similar head-gear and dress, only that the dress is drawn
over her left shoulder, advances to right, holding in her right a long stylized
flower and in her left a spindle with clew of wool and whorl (purple and
black). Before her is a simple stool with cushion, towards which another
woman advances holding out a mirror in her right. Between them in the
field vertically written is \( \varepsilon \iota \iota \tau \alpha \), in front of which is a break, so that
\( \Psi \alpha \kappa \lambda \varsigma \alpha \tau \) is probably the name meant, and above is \( \iota \kappa \alpha \lambda \varsigma \varepsilon \). The name
\( \varepsilon \iota \iota \tau \alpha \) is not impossible ("Eliso was a river in Elis), but Melite is a
Nereid’s name in \( \textit{Iliad} \) xviii. 42, and as such frequently seen in vases in
which Nereids play a part, and as the names of Nereids were particularly
favoured for scenes from female life (cp. the r.f. pyxis of the British Museum,
Dumont et Chaplain, Cér. de la Grèce Propre Pl. IX.) there is no doubt this is
the right reading here. To the extreme right are the tail and foot of another
cock. On the other side of the central pair are portions of another pair
and a swan between them. Only enough of the figures remains to show that their attire was similar to that of the other four women. One holds a long taenia (purple) the two ends of which hang down and show an inscription in white letters ΟΔΑΜΑΣ κα(λ)οσ and κα(λ)οσ. The only uncertain letter is the first, which does not altogether look like an Ο and might be an ornamental mark. The love-name Damas occurs with that of Chairestratos on an amphora (Culina Mus. Br. 1756) and Δάμας καλος is also to be found on the Alkaios and Sappho vase of Munich. But on the whole I am inclined to restore this as Ιττίοδαμας κα(λ)ος. Vertically written between the two is ΜΑΧΡ, which Reisch (Zeitschr. für österr. Gymn. 1887, p. 46) restored as Μάκρος. But the position is of itself enough to disprove the view that this was an artist’s signature, and to the style of Makron’s vase this ptyx shows no resemblance. It is undoubtedly another female name: but whether Μάκρος (a ‘nurse of Dionysos’ Ap. Rhod. 4, 450) or Μαχρος (C.I.G. 2, 2322 b) or even Μαχρος (C.I.G. 2, 2322 b) we may be content to leave undecided. The name Hippodamas suggests the author of the vase, but even without that guide one cannot help comparing the interior of a fragmentary kylix from the Acropolis with the same name (Jahrb. 1887, p. 164), which is undoubtedly the work of Hiero, not of Duris, who prefers to write the name with one Π while Hiero doubles the letter. We may compare the attitude of the woman here, who is walking to right, with that of this lyre-playing boy. The drapery, in the hoop-like manner in which it encircles the waist of the seated woman here, resembles the arrangement of the himation on the boy’s shoulder. Finally, the type of face here, with the short upper and projecting under-lip and strong chin, is exactly the somewhat sensual type so characteristic of Hiero. Cocks do not occur in the scenes from the Gynaikonitis so often as other animals, but ducks, geese and swans seem to have been favourite playthings for the children (Penelope had twenty geese κατά οίκον), and the practice of keeping such domestic pets was common at Athens (Stephani, Comptes Rendus 1863, p. 51). For a similar inscription on a taenia, only in red letters on white, see the Louvre fragments of Apollodorus in Hartwig’s Meisterschulen, Pl. LXXIX. 2a, ο παις καλος. This is probably the earliest extant specimen of these ptyxides with scenes of female life. It is probable that the class was in demand for the purpose of presents after marriage or at the birth of a child (ύμακαλυπτήρια, and υπτήρια).

vi.—vii.—Pl. IV. 2 and 3. Finally, we have two fragments of the finest free r.f. style. (a) Part of a large flat lid of a vase, to which other fragments have since been added. Athena stands in graceful attitude by her olive-tree, on which she lays her right hand and towards which she looks. The

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* See Paen. ὁμ. Kost. in B. xxi. 29 πίνα καλούσ καθως τοῖς άληθείς, προσωπική, φορεία, αρτόπα, κατάλληλοις, ευκάλπης; τίθενς, μέρος, κατά ενεργεία καὶ τοιχω, ον γενέσθαι ήμας.
** These other fragments are mostly from the edge, so that very scanty portions of the figures are preserved. The lower half of the body is preserved. Dr. Wolters tells me, of one man in chiton and tall local boots in rapid motion to right. Can this be Dionysos as in the hydria from Kertch, and is the subject after all the contest of Athena and Poseidon?
weight of the body rests on the right leg, and the left becomes visible under
the chiton, which is girt and has a long kolpos. In her uplifted right hand
she holds a spear. She wears the Corinthian helmet raised, and with long
plume, and an aegis of the collarette shape. Spots of dark colour on the edge
of the plume and borders of the aegis originally bore added white pigment,
with which the fruit of the olive-tree was also rendered. On her arms are
bracelets. It is natural to inquire whether in this figure we have a free
representation of any of the statues on the Acropolis, but difficult to give any
satisfactory answer. The attitude will not suit the Athena of the west pedi-
ment of the Parthenon, while the resemblance to the Parthenos is practically
nil: nor can it be held that this is a reminiscence of the Lemnias, The
inscription on the field is also difficult to restore. ΕΥΕ [Μ] ΝΟ[ΡΟΣ] is prob-
able the name of dedicator or artist, and in the third line the fragmentary
letter looks like π or ρ. It may be ἔπε[οίσιν αῖν. It would be too daring to
suggest 'Ερ[γίνο]. Probably it ran in some such form as 'Αθνα[σιάτη]θυκε[ν]
Εὔνε[ξ]ξ[ό] Ρο[ς δ] δε[να] ἔπε[οίσιν]. The style of the work is very much
like that of the Kodros-vase, which one would suppose to be of exactly the
same period. The name of Mikhon is preserved on several Acropolis
fragments as a painter of this period, but of course he was only one among
many.

(b) This kylix fragment is remarkable for its very fine drawing. A
bearded warrior stands to left, with outstretched right hand, which perhaps
held a patera, a libation bowl, his waist and sword in sheath at his side
suspended by a cord that passes over the right shoulder. The letters 'Ι
retrograde in the field are apparently a part of his name, but I am unable
to offer any suggestion as to their completion. The helmeted head is a
beautiful piece of drawing. The fore part of the helmet is in the shape of
the snout of an animal (bear?) with the eye shown. Above that is a purple
wreath from which springs a large decorative leaf. The part that covers
the head is rendered in a careful trellis pattern. The eye is in profile and some
locks of hair escape from beneath the helmet. The anatomy is also note-
worthy. Not only the linea alba but the linea semi-lunaris are delicately
rendered with a double line, as is the groove of the elbow. The intersection
of the linea alba with the upper transverse line of the rectus muscle forms
a sort of closed diamond. Antaion on the krater of Euphronios shows an
approximation to this in the meeting of double lines. The double drawing of
the supra-umbilical lines alba, as in the Peirithoos of the Berlin Centauromachy
fragments (A.Z. 1888, 17) or in the kylikes of Aristophanes, has been pointed
to as a stylistic indication of later date, though it is already found in
Euphronios. The more thorough use of the double line as here is a safer
indication however of the later r.f. period. In the field we read -ευος -ευαι.
The first word is doubtless one of the names ending in -ευος, but which
one cannot say. Pistothenos suggests itself, but this vase cannot have any-
thing to do with a potter who is associated with Epiktetos and Duris, apart
from the fact that he only signs with ἔποιησε. The other word seems to
have been ἐκεραμευος. It seems very strange to find it here on a r.f.
kylix of fine style, but what other restoration is possible, all the letters being certain? After all we have only an insignificant proportion of the output of Greek vase-painters preserved to us, and so are often confronted with apparent idiosyncrasies.

The fragments here published are of absorbing interest and the illustrations will be of value to all who read the forthcoming publication of Dr. Wolters and Dr. Graef and see these works treated in a wider context. To the appearance of the important results of their laborious investigations the archaeological world is looking forward with great anxiety.

G. C. Richards.

Note.—My attention has been called to the fact that Studniczka (Jahrbuch ii, 154) regards the fragments published in Vol. xiii. of this Journal Pl. XII. as certainly Chalkidian, which I was not aware of at the time when I published them. As Kretschmer points out (Die griece, Vaseninschriften p. 69), the inscriptions give no support to this hypothesis, which must rest on considerations of style only. Pending the appearance of Dr. Loeschcke's work, it is somewhat hazardous to dogmatize on these matters; but I see no sufficient reason for departing from the view expressed by me, that these fragments show Corinthian influence but are Attic in origin. Dr. Kretschmer (ibid.) reads the peculiar inscription of this vase as Φιλόμπτων, and suggests it may be a short form of Φιλόμπροτης. I cannot think of any exact parallel, but his authority is a high one on matters of this kind.
GREEK HEAD IN THE POSSESSION OF T. HUMPHRY WARD, ESQ.

The Greek head of which four different views are given on Plate V, 1, 2, and in Figs. 1 and 2 comes originally from the Borghese Palace whence it was acquired previous to the great sale. It is now the property of Mr. Humphry Ward, to whom I owe very sincere thanks for permission to publish it in this Journal. When the head came into Mr. Ward’s hands it was tilted upwards at a very unpleasing angle and restored with a nose totally out of keeping with the style and proportions of the face; disfigurements which perhaps account for its neglect by the many archaeologists who must have seen it in its old Roman home. Even in that condition however, a close
examination of the treatment of the hair and the eyes showed this acquisition of Mr. Ward's to be nothing less than a Greek original of the first half of the fifth century. In effect, when Mr. Hamo Thornycroft had mounted the head at a proper angle and replaced the old plaster nose by one more in keeping with the general character of the face, the full beauty of the head soon became apparent. Thus restored, the head was exhibited during the spring and summer of 1893 at the Burlington Fine Arts Club. I saw it there immediately on my return from Rome and was not only confirmed in my belief that the work was an original but I was also struck with its likeness to the 'Aphrodite' on the central slab of the now famous throne in the Museo Boncompagni-Ludovisi, and was thus led to connect it with that monument and a whole series of kindred works.

The head is apparently of Parian or, as it is perhaps more prudent to say now-a-days, of 'island' marble of singular transparency, and mellowed by time to a rich tone. A small piece of the chin, as well as the nose from a little below the root, are restored in plaster. The neck with the exception of

FIG. 2.

a small fragment on either side is also plaster. Otherwise the head is in a remarkably fine state of preservation, the surface being still singularly fresh,

1 Hellig, Führer durch die öffentl. Samml. in Rom, no. 886. Published by C. L. Vincenzi, Bull. della Comm. archeol. comunale di Roma, 1887, t. vi, xvi, and by Petersen, Röm. Mittheil. vol. vii. 1892, taf. ii. (pp. 32-34) and Antike Denkmäler Bd. ii. (1891-92) 6, 7.
and the modelling producing an impression of elasticity and firmness. The forehead swells gently over the nose and on either side towards the outer extremities of the eyebrows, thus differing as markedly as possible from the smooth hard brows so common in copies. The eyebrows are delicately arched, and have just that touch of inequality—the left eyebrow appearing slightly more raised than the right—which is so characteristic of original work. The eyes, though tending to the almond shape, are well opened (length of eye = 30 mm., clear height = 10 mm.). The upper eyelid does not project beyond the lower; but the lids, which lie very softly on the eyeball, meet at an angle in the manner characteristic of archaic art; copyists are notoriously careless in the observance of this detail. Enough is left of the nose to show that the present restoration is correct; it has a narrow ridge and projects somewhat beyond an imaginary line drawn to continue the line of the forehead. The mouth is closed, the chin full and round. The oval of the face is charmingly framed by hair parted over the forehead and flowing to either side in gentle undulations. A fillet tied in a knot at the back of the head confines the hair. The ears are placed extremely high; oddly enough the lobe of the ear remains concealed by the waving front hair, but the whole upper part of the ear is allowed to show just below the diadem. Moreover, through some miscalculation on the part of the artist, the ears do not exactly correspond—the left ear being placed somewhat lower than the right.

So curiously individual is the treatment of the ears in relation to the hair that could we but find its parallel on some other work of art we might feel confident of having discovered one clue to lead us to the correct interpretation of the head. One figure alone—so far as I can find out at present—namely the Aphrodite of the Ladovisi throne, shows the ears treated precisely in the same manner (see Fig. 3); only the top is allowed to peep out just below the diadem, while the lower portion is covered by the rich waves of hair, which on the relief, as on the head, flow along the cheek in an unbroken line; it is as if a quaint compromise had been effected between the desire to leave the ear altogether covered—a favourite device of later art—and the childish conscientiousness of archaic workmanship with its insistence on the representation of every feature. In both works, but more especially in the head, the lack of organic connexion between the hair above and below the fillet is another note of imperfect skill very common in earlier Greek art. There is no correspondence between the movement of the waving front locks and that of the wire-drawn hair which in the "Aphrodite" radiates from the crown to the fillet, after the usual archaic manner, and which in the head is roughly parted at the back. The difficulty of rendering hair truthfully, of fusing its separate masses, of indicating its growth, of expressing its windings and reluctances, is a problem far more perplexing to the early artist than the correct rendering of features. Inability to solve the difficulty probably accounts in great measure for the fantastic head-dresses adopted by

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* The ears, which are of normal size, appear fault of the photograph.

on the plate absurdly enlarged, through the
the archaic masters for female statues. So most of the archaic statues of the Akropolis Museum wear their hair dressed in elaborate spiral curls over the forehead, or in conventional bands of tightly crimped hair carried across from ear to ear, generally without any indication of parting. Side by side with these artificial methods, however, there appears from early times a more natural tendency which is to leave the front hair long and simply comb it back to either side. Such an arrangement we find for instance on one of the Akropolis statues of supposed Samian origin (Mus. d'Athènes x.), and at a later date in the maidens from the Louvre Pharsalos relief ('L'Exaltation de la Fleur,' O. Rayet, Mon. de l'Art Antique i. Pl. 12, Brunn-Brockmann Denkm. 58), etc. This more natural method is the exception in archaic art, but with the increase of technical skill in the fifth century it gradually tends to supplant altogether the old elaborate head-dresses. One last point about the hair, marking the head as transitional from the archaic to the fine period, still has to be noted: it is the manner in which the masses of hair on either side of the face each consist of one solid mass modelled to suggest a wavy movement; upon this mass the separate strands of hair are carved, even as at an earlier date they might have been painted (cf. the Sphinx from Sparta, Athen. Mittheil. iv. Pl. V.; examples are numerous). Professor Furtwängler has shown that this method was employed by Phidias in his earlier period when he executed the Lehnian Athena. Judging from extant

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3 See Furtwängler's remarks and the numerous examples of head-dresses he quotes, Meister-"werke der griechischen Plastik" p. 33, 34.
monuments, it would appear that it was not till the latter half of the fifth century that artists understood thoroughly how to subdivide hair into different masses each with a movement of its own, that was yet subordinate to the movement of the whole. In the head now published the solid mass of hair is strongly undercut, so as to stand out well from the face.

The 'Aphrodite' of the throne being represented in profile on a relief and with upturned straining face, it is difficult to establish an exact comparison between her features and those of a head in the round. Yet there is an evident family likeness between the two, notably in the line of profile from forehead to tip of nose, and in the strong full chin. But the figures of the Ludovisi throne have been shown by Petersen (Böhm. Mittheil. vii. pp. 31–80) to be akin to a whole series of works which archaeological criticism has connected with the name of Kalamis. Certainly no one looking at the head under discussion could help feeling reminded of the Hestia Torlonia (Baumeister, Fig. 746) and of the Apollo so-called of the emphalos, with its replicas. They all have in common the same shaped oval and round chin, which are transitional from the heavy forms of the Naples Harmodios and of the boy's head (Ephem. archaicol. 1888, p. 3) to the more pointed oval and delicate chin of the Pheidian period. The broken line formed by the forehead and the nose is a characteristic which our head shares with early Pheidian works, such as the Bologna head (Furtwängler, Meisterwerke, Plate III) executed previous to the introduction of the straight profile such as we see it in several heads of the Parthenon frieze, or on the coins of Elis that reproduce the Zeus of Phidias. Finally, we must notice the high oval skull which is defined by a line running unbroken from the birth of the nose to the knot in the fillet at the back of the head. This construction of head is characteristic of works that may be attributed to Kalamis, to Myron (with modifications), and to the earlier Pheidian period. Later on, about the date of the Parthenon or even earlier, this purely Attic shape of head was modified by the introduction of forms that archaeologists have been accustomed to attribute to the influence of the Argive Polykleitos. The firm mouth and closed lips recall not only the works of Kalamis but a series of early Pheidian heads, among which are the beautiful Apollo of the Museo delle Terme and the Bologna head. These analogies are sufficient to show that the head is a work transitional from the later archaic schools of Athens to the pure style of the Parthenon. The extraordinary likeness of the head to the 'Aphrodite' of the throne shows that the two works, so far as we can feel certain where there is little evidence except the monuments themselves, are the work not only of the same period, but of the same artist. But from the analogies between the draperies and the treatment of the body under the draperies of the figures of the throne and r. e. vase-paintings of the severe style, Petersen has dated the reliefs at about B.C. 470.\footnote{Attributed by Furtwängler to the school of Kritios and Nesiotes, see 50th Winckelmannprogramm, p. 132.}

\footnote{This date has been almost universally admitted. Only G. L. Visconti, who was the first to publish the reliefs (loc. cit.), described them as...}
refers the colossal Ludovisi head (Monumenti, x. 1; Helbig, Führer, no. 876), which he has good grounds for thinking belonged to the figure occupying the throne; he shows it however to be the work of a more archaic master than the artist of the reliefs. The same advance which the Ludovisi head marks on a work like Mus. d'Atthenes xiv. is marked by our head on the Ludovisi head. The artist of the latter work was feeling his way from a conventional to a natural rendering of the lids and of the curves of the mouth; the artist of the head understands natural shapes, and scarcely betrays archaism save in the treatment of the hair.

But we have not yet done with the Ludovisi throne. The close likeness of the head of the 'Aphrodite' on the relief to the head under discussion shows that on the interpretation of the scenes carved on the throne will also depend the further important question of who it is our head is intended to represent. Dr. Petersen (loc. cit.) sees in the central relief a Birth of Aphrodite, the goddess being raised from the sea by the attendant Hours, and in the figures of the sides what might be described as an ancient allegory of sacred and profane love. This view, in spite of the different opinions put forward

works of the 'archaistic' school, a view however which that distinguished archaeologist has probably discarded by now. Since the publication in 1889 of Hausser's Die von Athenen Reliefs, it has become possible to distinguish between the genuine archaic, genuine copies of the archaic (Pastelis and his school), and that curious 'mischkunst,' consisting of combinations and permutations of heterogeneous art forms, that marks the works of the Soulsky-Salpin-Pontius group. The notion that the throne is a copy is of course out of the question; no such perfection of modelling, or accuracy and distinctness of detail (notice in particular the fall of the draperies of the Heavit over the arms of Aphrodite) can be found in copyist's work. As to the possibilities of the throne being archaistic, the distinctness with which the story is told and the total absence of mannerism are sufficient evidence that the reliefs are removed by centuries from those self-conscious yet often senseless mimickries of an older art which Hausser (loc. cit. p. 178) has so severely but so deservedly criticized. There is a still another sort of archaistic art, which Hausser indicated (p. 183), and which Furtwangler has since brilliantly expounded in his Meisterwerke: the archaistic in this case was not last outburst of a decaying art, it was merely a tendency of conservatism that consisted with more progressive methods. In a sense Kalamis himself, as Hausser has shown, might be called archaistic because of a certain tamenessness to the ways of an older generation that marks him and his school. This archaistic note never quite died out, it makes itself felt now less, now more strongly; Furtwangler has well shown how it dominated artists like Kallimachus and Alkamenes during one phase at least of their career. We thus obtain a considerable margin of time within which to date the reliefs of the throne, but Petersen's analysis of their artistic affinities it would be more wise to retain them as well as the connexion he points out between the Birth of Aphrodite on the throne and the same scene on the basin of the Olympian Zeus can leave no doubt that the throne is of the transitional period, i.e. of about 475 to 460 B.C. When I read the above paper before the Hellenic Society, Mr. A. S. Murray raised the 'archaistic' question, and expressed it as his opinion that the throne was the work of a late epoch. In spite of his high authority I feel compelled to adhere to the opinion I have expressed. Mr. Murray further pointed out that the treatment of the hair in statues like the Hestia or the Apollo differs markedly from that of the head published here. On the throne, however (Mr. Murray fully admitted an intimate connexion between it and the head), the veiled figure on the right arm wears a short thick fringe of hair like the Hestia, while the Aphrodite of the central slab has, as already noted, long frock hair. The artist of the throne, at any rate, was not limited to one method of treatment.

\[\text{as Petersen appropriately quotes.}\]
by one or two archaeologists, if Petersen’s arguments are studied in extenso. The evidence derived from the similarity of the scene on the relief to those works which echo for us Phidias’ treatment of the same subject on the basis of the Olympian Zeus is specially strong. Therefore, the chief figure of the throne being Aphrodite, I have little doubt that the head under discussion is also a head of Aphrodite. True, in archaic and transitional art Aphrodite is more often represented with an elaborate head-dress and wearing the matronly veil. But side by side with this more august conception we find even at an early date a simpler and more girlish type. On coins of Knidos dated 550—500 B.C. (Head, Coins of the Ancients, Pl. II, No. 27) she appears with uncovered head and long flowing hair simply tied into a knot on her back. From the likeness to these coins of a bronze head (from Kythera?) in the Berlin Museum it is highly probable that von Sallet is right in identifying the bronze as an archaic Aphrodite (Zeitschrift für Numismatik, vol. ix, p. 141). With long hair loose on her back does the goddess appear on a terra-cotta plaque in the Munich Antiquarium (Annoti 1867 tav. D, Roscher i. p. 1351), where she is clearly defined as Aphrodite by the love-god on her arm. In addition to these instances, which undoubtedly represent Aphrodite, may be cited a much mutilated but fine head from the Akropolis with long soft flowing hair (Athen. Mitth. vii. taf. vii. 1) which Furtwängler (Roscher i. p. 411) inclines to think is an Aphrodite. Impressions gathered from the general character of a work of art are perhaps perilous to go upon, especially in the archaic and transitional periods, but I cannot help noting how characteristic of Aphrodite would be the long slit eyes, the warmth of modelling over the cheek-bone under the eye, the delicate oval, the gracious curves of the mouth that seems to hesitate between a pout and a smile.

The stylistic affinities of the head have already been pointed out; it remains to find out whether its artist can be more definitely named. One answer to the question has already been given, he is identical with the artist of the Ludovisi throne. Dr. Petersen (loc. cit.) has hinted—without however laying much stress on the point—that the throne was actually by Kalamis. I should like to take up that hint, which seems to me to receive further

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* Heibig, Führer no. 886, inclines to interpret the central scene either as the return of Kore from the underworld, or as the resting of a fountain-nymph to the face of the Earth (cf. Ebert, Arch. Münzen p. 179). L. Bloch, in Roscher’s Lexicon, vol. ii. p. 1379 (not rec. Kore), also thinks the central slab represents the avoulos of Posephene.

Wollers, Έγχρωμα, 1839, oddly enough explains the central slab as a scene of childbirth or ἄλκεσις.

Viscontl loc. cit. thinks the several scenes relate to the Eleusinian mysteries.

* Petersen, p. 53, states that Prof. Furtwängler had arrived independently at the same interpretation.

* Galatzi ad silver relief, Petersen loc. cit. fig. ix. and Gxx. Archæologiques 1879, pl. 19.

* Of the similar head of Aphrodite on Corinthian dinhema, Brit. Mus. cat. Corinth. Pl. 11. nos. 8, 9, hemidrachm no. 12. The colossal Aphrodite Ludovisi would be an example of long hair and uncovered head (see Roscher, p. 411). was it not that Petersen (loc. cit. p. 73) has shown that formerly her head was probably covered with a drapery of bronze.

confirmation from the head now published. Kalamis was the artist praised τής λεπτότητος ένεκα καὶ τῆς χάριτος—qualities which he must have had every opportunity of developing in his silver chasing (for to distinguish with Overbeck (S.Q. p. 95) and Prof. Klein between the Calamis aevator ille mentioned, Pliny xxxvi. § 36, and Kalamis the sculptor is surely unnecessary), and it is precisely λεπτότης and χάρις and the delicacy of silver work that strike us in the reliefs of the throne. But we also know of two statues by this same Kalamis which must have had characteristics in common with our head: an Aphrodite just within the Propylaea dedicated by the wealthy Kallias (Paus. i. 23, 2), of which the probable basis (Loewy, I.G.B. 415) may still be seen not far from its ancient site, and the famous Sosandra, one of whose many charms we learn from an oft quoted passage in Lucian was precisely a μείδιαμα σεμνὸν καὶ λεπτὸν, such as we have noted in our Aphrodite. I am fully aware however of the danger of positive attributions except where far more evidence can be adduced than in this case. I only wish to point out that the head like the throne has precisely those qualities which ancient criticism noted in Kalamis; it seemed to me that the hint thrown out by Petersen became in the light of the head something of a solid suggestion. Those who think that even by saying this I am going too far, will at any rate feel that by the publication of a head that has characteristics in common, on the one hand with works like the colossal Aphrodite Ludovisi and the Hestia Torlonia, on the other with the Apollo of the Terms and the Bologna head, an invaluable contribution has been made to our knowledge of Greek art in the period that immediately preceded Phidias.

KENNINGTON, May 1894.

EUGÉNIE SELLERS.

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POLLEDRAKA WARE.

[Plates VI.—VIII.]

The contents of the famous 'Grotta of Isis' discovered on the Polledrara estates at Vulci in 1839 have been generally known to archaeologists ever since the publication in 1844 of Micali's Monumenti Inediti, where a selection of them is given on Pls. iv.—viii., pp. 37—71. The quality however of the drawings there given is very far from answering the present requirements of study; and an adequate publication of these important remains has long been badly wanted. In the course of last year Professor Victor Horsley had a series of elaborate drawings made of some of the principal objects in the tomb, as a present to Professor Montelius. As the latter did not intend to publish the drawings in their elaborate form, Professor Horsley most kindly arranged with Mr. Murray that some of the more important should be presented to the Hellenic Society; it is thus owing to him that the Society is enabled to put this valuable series of drawings within the reach of scholars.

The drawings here given of the hydria (Pls. 6—7) were made by Mr. F. Anderson, a fact which is in itself a guarantee of their reliability: they show more of the detail of the design than will probably be seen at first sight by any one handling the original: as a matter of fact they represent the results of a considerable amount of patient examination of the vase in every variety of light by different pairs of eyes, which however almost invariably served to confirm Mr. Anderson's results. The colours of the design have worn away, not (as has been stated) because they were not fired: such pigments would not have stood a week unless fired: and even now dampness does not injure them: they have faded principally for two reasons: partly because they were laid on a very smooth glazed surface which gave no foothold for the pigment: and partly because the artist at that period evidently was not

\footnote{The name Polledrara has been loosely applied to this particular tomb, but is misleading, inasmuch as several other important tombs have been found in the same locality (see the map in Gaul, Percées de Vulci). The term however will perhaps serve as well as any other to distinguish the peculiar fabric which is the subject of this paper; it goes without saying that its usage does not commit one to a theory of origin any more than the similar usage of the terms 'Mycenæan,' 'Melifæ' or 'Fikelius' as applied to special fabrics.}
well versed in the conditions which govern the fusing quality of colours. In
some parts the original colouring is fairly well preserved, sufficiently so at
any rate to render it easy to determine the character of the drawing, the
colours used, and the method which governed their selection. In other parts the
colours have absolutely worn away, and nothing remains but a discoloration
of the surface, which varies in tone according to the pigment which has covered
it. Moreover the vase has been broken, and the lines of fracture have been
painted over by the restorer: in one case (on the right of Fig. 5) a small
missing portion has been restored: but these imperfections do not materially
affect the design of what is, though not absolutely unique, as yet the
principal existing type of an interesting class of vases.

The hydria (Pl. 6, Fig. 1), which stands 17\(\frac{3}{4}\) in. high, is a variety of this
form of which I know no other example: it has only the most rudimentary
foot, formed by a slight lateral extension of the flattened surface in which
the body terminates: it is very broad in proportion to its height, the greatest
diameter being below the shoulder, at the side handles, which have a slight
upward trend. The clay is not, as might at first sight be supposed, of the
typical Bucchero nero \(^2\) kind: though it has the smooth black surface, it
is not close-kneaded nor grey all through, but dark reddish brown in colour,
and somewhat coarse in texture, with occasional flaws caused by imperfect
levigation. The surface is coated with a thin slip of deep lustrous black,
which is apparently not vitreous, though very close and smooth, and takes
a fine (hand?) polish. In the present case this black tone of the surface is
only here and there preserved, the action of fire having altered most of it to
a tone which varies from a warm yellow to an ashen grey. On this polished
surface the colours of the design were laid and certainly fired: but with
varying degrees of success, the red alone being preserved in anything like
equality: of the other colours, the blue in protected parts is fairly well
preserved: of the yellowish white there is sufficient (principally on the lower
bands of pattern) to render its presence incontestable.

The hydria (Pl. 6, Fig. 1) is very light in proportion to its size, the walls
being very much thinner than is usually the case in Bucchero nero. The lip
and handles show the influence of metal-work: the lip is bordered by a broad
vertical band which seems to have been suggested by a thin hoop of metal
similarly applied in some bronze original: the back handle (partly broken
away) terminates below in a raised ornament in the form of a leaf-shaped
palmette inverted, with a volute at each side; from between the volutes a
raised rib runs up the centre of the handle; the details of these ornaments
are picked out in red, and the eyes of the volutes seem to have been blue.
The side handles terminate at each end in a vertical moulding which finishes
above and below in disc-shaped knobs; on the handle itself is painted a
pattern of lines resembling the arrangement of metopes and triglyphs, with
a central dot in each metope; and on the outer edge of the vertical mouldings
a row of dots between parallel lines, all in red. Within each of the side

\(^2\) See Gell, loc. cit., p. 445, note.
handles is painted an elaborate pattern formed of four primitive lotus
palmettes set outwards in cruciform around a central wheel-shaped rosett: this is painted red, with a touch here and there of blue. This ornament
occurs frequently on Corinthian aryballoi.  

On the inside of the lip is a guilloche pattern picked out in red outline
against a ground of red. On the neck is a band of single disconnected
maeanders, alternately blue and red. On the uppermost part of the shoulder
is a band of alternately a lotus flower and lotus bud (both blue within a
red outline) connected below by semicircular lines incised and also painted
blue; between each flower and bud is a red disk, and above and below each
intersection of the incised lines is a blue dot. The body is ornamented in
three friezes of about equal width, of which the uppermost (Pl. 7, Fig. 5; Pl.
6; Fig. 2) is the most important. In this frieze the back handle forms the
one structural division; in the second frieze it serves a similar purpose, but
this frieze is further divided by the side handles, so that the whole of this
second frieze is divided into three portions (Pl. 6, Figs. 3 and 4; Pl. 7, Fig. 6).
The third frieze is occupied merely with a series of single maeanders, alter-
ately red and blue, each about its own width away from the next. Below
each frieze run two thin lines which appear to have been white but may
have been blue; below the third frieze is a thick red band, and below this
again a thick white band. Lastly, round the base of the body is a series of
rays, alternately in red outline and red silhouette, surmounted by a thin
red line which joins their points.

At either end of each of the side handles is painted within the frieze
the mask of a lion or other animal of the feline race, looking outwards from
the handles, drawn at right angles to the frieze: and a similar head, now in
very bad preservation, appears to have been drawn behind the back handle,
that is, between its lower and upper insertion. These masks are treated in a
purely conventional manner which recalls the full faces of lions on the
eye vases of the Corinthian and Ionian fabrics. The outline, as usual, is
red: the main portion was painted in white, the jowl and probably the upper
part, between and including the ears, blue: the nose is conventionally rendered
by a series of semicircular concentric lines in red. The eye seems to have
been first drawn in red outline and then filled in with a wash of red, the pupil
painted blue: the eyelashes are drawn as a fringe above and below in a red
which stands out in slight relief.

Upper Frieze.—Starting from the right hand side of the upper frieze, the
first group (Pl. 7, Fig. 5) represents the myth of Theseus and the Minotaur.
First on the right is a chariot drawn to the left by a pair of horses driven by
a beardless man in a short chiton, who holds a pair of reins in each hand, and
in his right a two-thonged whip. Facing the horses is a large dog seated on
its hind quarters with tongue protruding; and over it a bird flies almost
vertically downward. On the left, the Minotaur, wearing a short chiton, runs to

8 See Brit. Mus. A 414; Berlin Cat. 1047.
right with head en face, and is seized by its right horn by Theseus, who seems to have held horizontally in his right hand a sword (of which now no trace remains) which he probably plunged into the side of the Minotaur: the monster seems to be holding something in his clenched hands which may be either the stone which is frequent in later renderings of this scene, or possibly he may have been grasping the sword of Theseus: Theseus wears a short chiton and, like all the figures, has long hair falling on his shoulders. Behind him stands Ariadne, in a long chiton and a himation which covers the back of her head and is held aside by her left hand, so that it forms a background to her profile: in her right hand she holds the club, represented as a long thick cord which touches the ground at the left foot of Theseus and rises in a spiral between the legs of the Minotaur. Beside the left foot of the Minotaur a lotus flower on a long stalk springs from the ground, and another beneath the bodies of the horses.

The scene on the left of this is not separated from it by any tectonic division of the field, and therefore might be taken as a continuation of the Minotaur group: it consists however of a series of figures which as a composition may well stand as a separate group, and thus is the more probable from the fact that the figure in it next to Ariadne moves in a direction contrary to her own. First on the right come two Centaurs, moving to the left in single file: they are of the transitional Ionic type, with human forelegs, and apparently are beardless: each carries over his shoulder, not the usual pine-tree, but a tree of which the trunk hanging downwards ends in a broad splay, tapering off to a point, and the stem, tapering horizontally over the back, has pairs of leaves and terminates at the top in a bunch of leaves grouped like the petals of a lotus flower. Close behind the shoulders of the Centaur a dead fawn hangs by its forelegs from the stem of the tree: the left arm of the Centaur seems to pass round it. Confronting them are three human figures, one behind the other: the two foremost seem from the character of their dress to be women; the third figure, who has his arms raised, and appears to wear a short chiton, is probably a man, but the design is here too faded to admit of any certain attribution. Beneath the body of the foremost Centaur, and behind the other, a lotus flower springs from the ground: the stalk of this lotus is obliquely striated with thin red lines; it is possible that the other lotus stalks may have been similarly treated, but if so the traces have disappeared; the central petal of this flower is not of the usual form, but resembles the central petal of a palmette. Between the hindlegs of the foremost Centaur is a wheel-shaped rosette: and between those of the other, a smaller lotus flower springs from the ground. Last on the left is (Pl. 6, Fig. 2) a pair of two-horsed chariots like that in Fig. 5, driven towards

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* The broad mass on each side of the muzzle is not a "Kopfruch" as John (Arch. Reit. p. 254, note 25) supposed, nor yet a mane as Wulff (Zeit. Thurn. u. Pr. p. 4) suggests; it is not easy to understand how a bull can have a mane. It is merely the full-face drawing of the bull's neck, which, in the usual archaic method, has been reproduced on each side, just as the plumes are repeated on each side of the helmeted head in full face (see Murray in *J.H.S.* vol. ii. p. 338).
each other by a youth in a short chiton who holds reins and whip as before; between them stands a figure in a long mantle to left: in the right-hand chariot there may have been a second figure now almost wholly faded: beneath the horses of this chariot a lotus bud springs from the ground, curling over to the left so as to fit into the empty space.

As to the relation of these groups to one another, it is difficult to decide in the present condition of the surface. Probably the myth itself (as usual in the earliest representations) is actually concerned only with the three figures, Ariadne, Theseus and the Minotaur: the chariot and dog on the right, and the Centaurs and standing figures and chariots on the left are merely accessories brought in to fill the space. That such juxtaposition of scenes, related or otherwise, was common in early Greek art is obvious: as a case in point may be quoted the Corneto vase with subjects in relief4 which has on adorning panels Theseus and the Minotaur, and two examples of a Centaur with human forelegs carrying a tree from which hangs a fawn. A similar association of the Minotaur group with a chariot is seen on two of the archaic Corinthian gold reliefs: and on a third is a chorus of women dancing hand in hand, a subject which also recurs on our hydria; even if these particular reliefs did not form part of a connected composition, they at any rate show what kind of repertoire was open to the artist of that date of scenes for selection or for combination. The Corneto vase and the Corinthian gold plaque are already associated by students of mythology5 as giving, with our hydria, the three earliest types of the Minotaur myth in art.

Lower Frieze.—Starting again from the right, beside the back handle, the first group (Pl. 6, Fig. 4) represents a chariot like the one above, moving to left, holding two figures, one of whom in a short chiton (Theseus?) holds in each hand a pair of reins, the other (Ariadne?) wears a long mantle: in the background beside the horses stand three women, all of whom are dressed like Ariadne in Fig. 5, and hold their mantle aside from their face with one hand: the one nearest the chariot is turned towards it, the other two look to the left. On the left the ground space is filled with a conventionalized lotus ornament, above which a bird of the eagle kind flies downward to the right.

Next on the left is a chorus (Pl. 7, Fig. 6) of six figures, who move to the right, headed by one who plays upon the lyre with a plectrum: the second figure holds up in the left hand a cord, which on the analogy of the first scene must be the clue: we may therefore identify this figure with Ariadne, and the personage with the lyre in that case is certainly Theseus. The whole scene thus stands in close parallel with the group of dancers headed by Theseus with the lyre, and identified by inscriptions, which occurs on the François vase: probably the scene on the interior of the Cachrylion cup (British Museum E 14) is merely a shortened form of the same type. On the François vase the dancers are alternately male and female; here there is apparently no distinction of sex, for all have the same dress, a long chiton

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5 Walff, Zur Theseusmyth, p. 2.
6 ibid., Pl. 8, Figs. 3 and 4.
girt at the waist, excepting Theseus, who wears in addition a short over-tunic hanging nearly to the knees. The dance which, according to Plutarch, was celebrated at Delos, was of an elaborate character intended to suggest the mazes of the labyrinth: in the François vase each dancer merely holds the nearest hand of each neighbour, but here the artist has ingeniously carried out the idea by joining the hands of every alternate figure; since the left hand of Ariadne is occupied with the clue, the dancer adjoining her places her left hand on the left shoulder of Ariadne. As if further to emphasize the connection with the Minotaur scene, the dog is again introduced here, and sits at the head of the procession, looking, as before, to the right. Between Theseus and Ariadne, between the third and fourth dancer, and behind the last dancer is a lotus flower, which rests on a conventionalized double stalk, springing from the ground. Lastly on the left is a winged lion striding to right, with open jaws and teeth showing. The head and mane and the tooth-like marking on the back seem to have been painted in a separate tone of colour, which can no longer be identified. Between the hind feet a lotus springs from the ground, the flower partly covering the body of the animal. Above its flank, at the top of the design, are traces of what seem to be the capital of a column.

On the left of this side handle, and partly beneath the back handle, is a seated Sphinx (Pl. 6, Fig. 3), an almost exact counterpart of those on the painted slabs from Caere (J.H.S. x. pp 248—9). The function of this figure is probably like that of the Centaurs above, merely decorative.

**Technique.**—Three colours only are used throughout, a deep purplish red, a creamy yellowish-white, and a deep blue; the white has almost entirely faded, but wherever it has been it consistently leaves a yellowish discolouration of the black surface; the colour is however sufficiently well preserved on parts of the lower ornamental bands to place its quality beyond doubt. Incised lines are very sparsely and, as it would seem, tentatively employed: they occur, as before stated, in the lotus pattern on the neck, and are also used for the outline (and sometimes the details) of the chariot wheels in each scene, laid in throughout by means of a compass. The flesh of both sexes is left in red outline, which forms the basis of the design throughout; it is almost certain that the flesh of the women was not painted white, for in Fig. 5 the chiton of Ariadne was undoubtedly white, and it is unlikely that the foot would have been painted white against it: the details of faces, horses' manes, etc., are also indicated in red lines. The colours are applied generally on a system which is designed to afford effective contrast between different surfaces and variety to the whole. In Fig. 5 the dress of the charioteer is blue, the body of the chariot red: both horses are first drawn in red outline and then washed in, the near one in white, the off one in blue. The dog is in red outline, its mask, belly, tail and

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*This peculiarity, a kind of mane between the loins and tail, occurs on the Vei wall-painting, Micallii, *Mon. Ital.* Pl. 58, Fig. 1, and on the bronze relief from Perugia, Micallii, *Storia*, Pl. 28, Fig. 3; cf. Dümmler in *Rom. Mitte*, 1888, p. 162.*
legs blue; its eye and protruding tongue red; the rest of the body may have been white. The Minotaur has the horns left in outline, mane blue, and short chiton (the edges of the sleeves are plainly indicated on the shoulders) probably white: the details of the face seem to have been left in unpainted outline within the red wash. Theseus has blue hair and white chiton; Ariadne has her chiton white with wavy folds in red; of her himation both sides are seen, the outside covering her body, the inside showing where her hand holds it aside from her face: the outside is left in outline alone, the inside is painted in a wash of red with a broad border left in red outline against the black field.

In the remaining scenes these principles of colouring are consistently carried out: the only one which calls for special description is the dance of figures in Fig. 6, where the three colours are applied in such a scheme that each dancer has hair and dress different from those of the dancers on either side: the arrangement is as follows, in order from left to right:

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<th>i.</th>
<th>ii.</th>
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<tr>
<td>Hair</td>
<td>red</td>
<td>blue</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dress</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dress</td>
<td>red</td>
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Theseus in this scene as the leader of the choros has the distinction of an additional upper-garment, a sort of diplois, coloured blue. The general effect of the whole vase when the colours were still fresh must have been gaudy in the extreme.

I feel that an apology is due for this minute and I fear very dull description of technical details: I have perpetrated it on the supposition that this hydria is the 'Haupttypus' of an important class about which very little is as yet known, and also in the hope that it may save trouble in future classification: the class can never be an easy one to study, inasmuch as its technical insufficiency renders the designs specially liable to destruction. It is probably owing to the consciousness of this fact that few specimens were made in antiquity. At any rate, among published descriptions of vases I have only been able to identify two other examples which seem to belong to this category, and even these represent a slight variation, inasmuch as they are described as 'Bucchero,' whereas we have seen that the true 'Polledrara' fabric is not 'Bucchero here' proper, as it has a reddish and not a grey clay. From the character and technique of their designs however we are justified in assigning them to this fabric.

Treating the hydria as no. i., they are as follows:—

(ii.) Berlin Cat. no. 1543. A trefoil oinochoe (Ht. 9·24 m.) from Orvieto, of the large-bodied Ionian form, with a frieze of figures around the body, painted on the black surface in colours which have very much faded, but of which clear traces of blue and red are preserved. Unfortunately very little of the design can be made out, except that there are human figures with long hair and pointed caps, and a tripod in red. Furtwangler

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8 These caps are probably the Etruscan describes may be that which occurs on the terra-tutulus; the pelasses which Furtwangler scuts slab from Caere, J.H.S. vol. x. Pl. viii.
describes it as 'steifer archaisch etruskischer Stil,' and instances the Polledrara hydria; he classes it by itself, as group 9 of the Bucchero fabrics: but Mr. H. Arnold Tubs, who some years ago kindly examined it for me, stated that the clay is a dull brown, generally neutral; in one place where there is a broad blaze, the clay has a yellowish brown tone. The surface is a highly polished black.'

(iii.) Bull. dell' Inst. 1881, p. 167, no. 26 (Helbig). An amphora of 'bucchero nero astro,' Ht. 0'295. Upon each vertical handle are reliefs, a leopard with head en face, a lion with head in profile, and a bull, all turned towards the mouth [apparently one above the other, in this order]. Of the bull, which is the nearest to the lower extremity of the handle, only the upper part is given. On the neck is a scale pattern running upwards, incised and outlined red. The body is surrounded with zones, divided from one another, above by ribs in relief, and below by painted bands; these zones are decorated with archaic painted ornaments. 'It would take too long to describe minutely the rich polychromy of this vase, among the colours of which blue, red and yellow predominate.' The reliefs also are painted; the leopards have the masks blue, the bulls' heads and legs are red, with bodies white, and horns blue. Of the same class evidently are two vases in the Louvre, of which I owe to the kindness of Pottier the following description:

(iv.) Salle de la Poterie Étrusque, no. 617. Amphora with flat handles of the style of Nicosthenes, 'Bucchero nero,' greyish-black clay, polished surface: much damaged and mended, Ht. 0'35 m. On each handle, in relief stamped from a mould, a file of three animals (lionsess or panthers?). Traces of vermillion colour occur on these animals, and a double red line surrounds the design on each handle. On the neck a series of ornaments painted in vivid red and white colours, consisting of a band of double spirals and another formed by three rows of dots arranged chequer fashion, among parallel lines: on the shoulder a band of vertical arrow-heads formed by punctured dots, with traces of red: on the body, below two raised mouldings a zigzag line in yellow among red lines: on the foot a larger zigzag pattern in yellow. In certain portions of the body one seems to distinguish a blue colour, very pale and much faded.

(v.) Salle 618, same form, Ht. 0'30. On each handle a stamped subject, 1. a nude man running: traces of vermillion on: the legs, arms, and face: 2. (below) a draped woman with a veil on her head, upright before a man who leans with both hands upon a large staff. Vermillion is traceable on the legs, arms, and face of the man, on the legs and face of the woman: clear pale yellow upon the staff and on the border of the woman's mantle. On the other handle, the same details, with colours less well preserved. On the neck, painted decorations as follows: above and below, a band of 'metopes,' i.e. parallel horizontal lines joined at regular intervals by vertical ones: in the upper band, the horizontal lines are red, the vertical alternately red and white: in the lower, the horizontal and the vertical are alike white. Between these is a band of red herring-bone above a band of white single dots, among red and white horizontal lines. On the body between the two
moulded bands, a band of zigzag and of herring-bone among lines, yellow and red. No trace of blue visible.

It seems difficult to decide whether yellow and white are both in use, or whether the one is not merely a discolouration of the other; but in any case the general principle of decoration is the same. The provenance of these two vases is unknown; they formed part of the Campana collection, and therefore probably came from Chiusi. No. 3. was found in a large tomb chamber at Caere, which contained two skeletons and a variety of objects, of which Hellwig gives a list: they include (5) an alabastron of green "smaltos" (Egyptian porcelain?). (6, 7) Two flat bone spoons, apparently similar in every respect to the one in the Grotta of Isis. (11) A hydria which from its description seems to be of the "Caeretan" class. (12, 13) Vases of bronze hammered and with the parts nailed together: one is ornamented with bands of raised dots: [several such vases were found in the Grotta of Isis]. (15, 16) Archaic b. f. amphorae with friezes of animals below the design, probably of the Corintho-Attic class. (16) An archaic Attic amphora. Hellwig on the evidence of the painted vases in this tomb assigns it to the last decades of the sixth century; but in the light of our present vase chronology he would probably himself agree to place it in the first decades of that century. This date coincides well with the chronology usually accepted for the Grotta of Isis: it is clear I think from a comparison of their contents that these two tombs must belong to one and the same civilization, but that the Caere tomb represents a stage slightly later than that of Vulci: at any rate the presence of the two Corintho-Attic b. f. amphorae seems to point to this.

In the Vulci tomb there was also found a sarcophagus of Psammitechus I., whose date was 656-611 B.C., and dangerous though it may be to regard such sarcophagi as independent evidence of date, we are justified in accepting them as confirmation of pre-existing inference; Mr. Murray has pointed out moreover (J.H.S. vol. x. p. 247) that the presence of porcelain objects and ostrich eggs in this tomb is appropriate to a period shortly before 600 B.C., when by favour of that monarch Graeco-Egyptian trade may be supposed to have entered on a new era of prosperity.

The date thus indicated for the Polledrara fabric receives further support when we come to examine the details of style and technique of our vases. Wulff has shown that the type of the Minotaur contest here represented is the earliest that has yet come down to us; and that it precedes, probably by a short interval, the archaic gold relief of Corinth, the terracotta relief from Caere, and a very early Chalcidian b. f. vase, all of which he there describes. The association of these four earliest types of the legend, which stand apart from all subsequent known types of it, foreshadows the connection which I shall endeavour to establish, of Corinth, Caere, and Chaleis, with the fabric we are discussing. It is hardly necessary to add that

10 In an adjoining tomb at Caere, unopened in antiquity, there was found a sarcophagus like the celebrated Campana one in the British Museum, and with it the fragments of various Corinthian vases (Hellwig, ibid. p. 166).
11 Zur Themisauris, p. 4 &c.
our true is *a fortiori* considerably earlier than that of the François vase, of which the date is usually assigned to about 570 B.C.

The same result is obtained if we examine the system of decoration. In its outline the Polledrara hydria belongs to a class of vases which are designed specially to afford space for long friezes, and of which the body is therefore extended laterally at the expense of the height; in the seventh century 'Ionian' vases modelled on this principle had found their way over most of the ancient world; their decoration originally consisted of a series of friezes of conventionalized animals, of which the faces and feet are drawn in outline, no incised lines being yet used; the groundwork is filled in with rosettes or with linear ornaments. Gradually the incised line is introduced, the field is freed, and the uppermost frieze of the body is reserved for a design which is not more decoration; these changes we may regard as taking effect in the last quarter of the seventh century. On the Polledrara hydria we find the most important subject placed on the uppermost frieze; the decorative animals still occur, but their function is merely to eke out the empty spaces in the inherited long frieze; the old ornaments of the horror vacui period have almost wholly disappeared, or are treated as definite organic adjuncts to the scene, no scattered broadcast over the field, but in relative perspective and growing out of the true groundwork of the design: and lastly, though the faces are here drawn in outline, the incised line is already tentatively employed. Allowing for the time which would elapse for such improvements to permeate the various existing fabrics, the period which would best suit these data is the same as that to which the previous considerations also led, viz. about 600 B.C.

The provenance of this fabric has been a question already much discussed. In *Naukratis*, part i, p. 40, I ventured the opinion that it might possibly be referred to Naukratis, and this opinion has been provisionally shared by more than one writer on the subject. A closer study of the examples above described has led me to think differently. We now know that the period to which the Polledrara hydria belongs was marked by a closer communion of artistic ideas between east and west than had previously existed except probably during the Mycenaean period: the reopening of Egypt had led to the dissemination of Greco-Egyptian trade-products, but it was natural that the principal channels of this intercourse should run through those cities which had contributed to form the Greek colonies in the Delta. Thus it happened that the Egyptianizing influences of this period were closely associated with the Ionian traditions of flourishing Asiatic settlements such as Miletus. Dümmler has already shown the complex character of the Ionian influence, part African part Asiatic, in the case of the 'Caeretan' hydriae: the same difficulty in deciding between a fabric imported from such a place as Cyrene, and a local fabric strongly influenced from such a quarter, meets us here again. Let us see for a moment what evidence our fabric offers of influences, either Italian or external.

12 *Riv. Ital. 1888, p. 159 foil.*
The form of our hydria is as yet unexampled, and its technique, though clearly suggesting an imitation of Bucchero nero, is not that of true Bucchero. The form of the Bucchero hydria is well known, and is altogether slimmer and clumsier than this. Gsell has shown that the true Bucchero nero comes into Italian tombs for the first time apparently at about 600 B.C.; it seems to me that our vase is the result of an Italian attempt to imitate this new Bucchero technique on a form borrowed from elsewhere.

The hydria, contrary to most Greek forms, has no prototype in either the Mycenaean or Dipylon fabrics. The earliest instances of its occurrence at present known are among the Ionian fabrics of the first part of the sixth century, at Daphnæ, and in the Caeretan and Chalcidian styles. Another early example is British Museum Cat. B. 58 from Caere, which was formerly referred to Cyrene, but which is more probably of local Italian manufacture: it is clumsier in outline than the others, and approximates rather to that later adopted in the Bucchero nero. Otherwise all these hydriae are of the same general form as that of Polledrara. The Caeretan are usually of this large size and have the swelling body; but the nearest resemblance is offered by a Chalcidian vase, British Museum B 75, which not only has the metallic hoop-formed lip, but has also the moulded palmette at the lower insertion of the back handle; this vase is in a developed k.f. style, and is therefore probably later than ours; but on the other hand it is a Chalcidian vase (Rayet in Gazette Arch. 1884, Pl. I, 2) which first gives us the fully developed type of the Minotaur legend, with the chorus of youths and maidens which we have on the Polledrara hydria also. The Chalcidian and Caeretan fabrics are alike in presenting the general Ionian characteristics, of which the introduction of the lotus bud springing from the ground is one; on the Caeretan hydriae we have the same method of arrangement, the principal scene occupying a long band on the shoulder, and the body of the vase cut in two as it were horizontally by a band of pattern nearly as broad as the principal frieze: the hawk or eagle flying perpendicularly downwards in the field is also common to those hydriae and our vase, and is also found on terracotta reliefs of local Italian fabric of this period (Gazette Arch. 1883, Pl. 49). Since however in the Caeretan fabric the incised line is already in regular use, it is probable that those vases also must be of later date than the Grotta of Isis.

Perhaps the most striking feature of the fabric is the striving after a polychrome gaudiness of effect, and the employment for this purpose of blue, a colour otherwise unknown in Hellenic pottery before the time of the Athenian white lekythi and vases with gilding of the beginning of the fourth century. Another characteristic of our vase is the indiscriminate usage of these colours, not only for dresses, but also for the hair of human figures. The best parallel in both these respects is perhaps offered by the poros sculptures of the Acropolis excavations at Athens: these sculptures, which probably belong to the early part of the sixth century, are indiscrimin-
ately coated with colours of which the prevailing tones are red and a deep blue, with occasional touches of yellow: a notable instance of their unnatural selection is the head of Typhon from the pediment, whose hair and beard are coloured a vivid blue. Collignon (Histoire de Sculp, p. 213) suggests Oriental influence an explanation, and finds a parallel in the blue Ammon and green Osiris of Egyptian art. The mummy cases of about 600 B.C. certainly seem to exhibit a peculiar preference for vivid colouring of the hair: and on the whole I think we are justified in regarding these characteristics of our fabric as, directly or indirectly, borrowed from Egypt. To Egypt we must also turn for the explanation of various details in our design; the lotus is so far the leading motive of the decorative repertoire that even the pino-trees of the Centaurs fall under its spell; and the seated dog suggests the jackal which figures in the book of the dead, or the jackal-headed Anubis. The colossal lions’ masks are I think due to the same source: the only analogous instance of such a mask similarly employed in Hellenic art is on the scabbard from Vettreesfeld (Jahrb, vol. 1887, p. 63, note 25) where a mask which looks like a conventionalized form of our lion masks is set at right angles to the two friezes of animals in relief. The objects however of the Vettreesfeld find have no relation with our fabric except in so far that they also offer a comparison with early Ionian art. Dümmler (Arch. Jahrbuch, vol. 1887, p. 63, note 25) adduces as a parallel instance the introduction of the animals’ heads in the field of the Mycenaean gem (Schliemann, Mycenae, p. 437, Fig. 530): but this seems rather a far cry. Here again I think we shall find the nearest solution in Egypt: in the British Museum there is a series of some seven or eight ivory implements of uncertain use, formed apparently of a thin longitudinal section of a horn, or tusk, and perhaps intended as the handles of flyflaps. The surface is decorated in each case with a frieze of figures in engraved outline, and almost invariably the decoration is terminated at one or both ends with a lion’s mask treated exactly as the masks on our hydria, and set at right angles to the direction of the frieze. These ivory objects being light and easily transported may very likely have been extensively circulated in the course of commerce, and may thus have suggested the peculiar use of the lion’s mask both at Polledrara and at Vettreesfeld.

Græco-Egyptian art naturally leads us back to Naukratis: and there seems in fact every probability that the products of this city are actually represented in the Grotta di Ipsi: the scarabs and porcelain objects with their bungled hieroglyphics are strongly suggestive of the Naukratis scarab factory: and the ostrich eggs with their peculiar designs part etched and part coloured and the Greek letters incised on them can hardly be otherwise

\[14\] The stalks of the lotus in more than one case are drawn as if joined below and at the flower and bulging outwards between: an obviously Egyptian motive, which reappears also in the lamps upon found in the Grotta of Isis.

\[15\] Furtwängler, Der Goldfund von Vettreesfeld, pl. iii. 1.

\[16\] Wulff (loc. cit.) remarks that the lions in the Vettreesfeld friezes are drawn like those of our hydria, with the mane indicated by a series of concentric curved lines.
explained. On the other hand, although the Naukratis excavations produced specimens of true bucchero aero with traces of colour on the surface (Petrie, *Ibid.* p. 49), no example of this imitated bucchero technique was found either there or at Daphnæs, and if any fabric were exported from Naukratis we should expect it to be the specially Naukratite white-faced ware.

There is one centre of early Greek artistic influence which naturally suggests itself in any discussion of early Graeco-Italian fabrics. The influence of Corinth in Etruria in the seventh century, though probably centring in Caere, was certainly not confined to that city. In order to see how much in our Hydria is due to Corinthian tradition, we have only to look at the early Corinthian metal work: such for instance as the gold reliefs published in *Arch. Zeits.* 1884, Pl. 8; it was from work like this that the Italian (or Sicilian) vases with bands of relief impressed from cylinders drew their chief inspiration. In these cylinder-impressions we see a parallel to the introduction of the pair of Contours with the bent tree over their shoulder in the midst of a scene with which they have no obvious connection; and in the early Corinthian painted plaques we see the same system of drawing the human faces in outline alone and of leaving the flesh of women not distinguished by white colour from that of men (a practice which came very early into use in the Ionia fabrics): it is moreover the Corinthian painters who first indicate the folds of the long chiton by parallel wavy lines in a different colour, and who draw their women with one hand holding the himation aside from the face. Lastly, in the Grotta of Isis there was found a large Corinthian jug of Ionie style and a Corinthian aryballos (Micali, *Mon. Ined.* Pl. v. Figs. 3 A and 5; now lost).

Allowing freely for difference of construction and perhaps a slight difference in date, the nearest analogy to the combination of borrowed elements we have traced in the Polledrara fabric is seen in the large terracotta panels from Caere in the British Museum and Louvre which also have the characteristic red and dotted outlines. From their size and construction it is evident that these panels were not imported, but of local product. In any case, we have in the wall-paintings undoubted evidence showing what was the local style of art: in the Veii paintings (Micali, *Mon. Ined.* Pl. lxviii. Figs. 1—3) many characteristic features recur, such as the seated dog, the elongated animals, the curious marking of the lion already noted, and the decorations of the field (a survival from Mycenaean tradition): the same three colours are applied with the same fantastic desire for variation and contrast: and in the wall-paintings given in Micali, *Storia*, Pl. 67, though they represent a considerably later stage than those of Veii, the same principle of colouring obtains, including even the blue tint of the man's hair. On the whole then, I think the best solution which presents itself for the Polledrara fabric is that it was a local Italian ware, made possibly at Caere.

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17 Murray, *Handbook of Archaeology*, p. 36: part of an ostrich egg decorated in the same methods was found at Naukratis, see Petrie, *Naukratis*, i. Pl. xx., Fig. 15.

18 Micali, *Storia*, Pl. xx, Figs. 1 and 12.

19 Petrie in *J.H.S.* vol. x. p. 343.
under the combined influences of Ionian and Naukratian imports acting on an artistic basis principally derived from Corinth.

The Grotta di Isis has furnished another instance which seems to show that the local Italian potters were in fact imitating pottery like that of Naukratis. Although in this tomb no true Naukratian white-faced ware was found, we have one vase from it (Micali, Mon. Ined. Pl. v. Fig. 2) which can only have been suggested by that ware: it is a small two-handled cup of the form which was the prototype of the early Ionic kylix and of which many examples, usually decorated with eyes, were found at Naukratis (Petrie, Ibid. Pl. x., Figs. 4—6). It is carefully made of dark red clay with a smooth surface, which has been covered with a black paint on which designs are laid in deep red, yellowish white, and blue: ht. $\frac{4}{2}$ in., diam. $\frac{6}{2}$ in. Unfortunately the back has much flaked off, especially on the exterior, owing to imperfection of firing or fusibility, and with it the design has also come away.

**Exterior.**—Around the offset lip is a band of simple meander between lines, all in white. Below on the shoulder a band of elaborately drawn lotus flowers, also in white: below this is the main frieze. **Obs.** A winged Sphinx between two lions, all moving to right: the body of the Sphinx is white, picked out with black; the lions seem to be drawn in red outline, with a wash of red on the mane. **Rev.** A Sphinx followed by a lion moving to right, both painted in white. In the field are linear patterns like those of Naukratis, such as a swastika with voluted ends, a lozenge with lattice. Within each handle is a large point rosette, of which the centre is red, the outside white. Below, a band of simple key pattern in white: and round the base rays alternately red and white.

**Interior.**—Lip as outside: below, concentric bands around a large central rosette which has twelve petals alternately red, white, and blue. Next to it is a band of 'triglyph' pattern (cf. the similar pattern on the hydria, ante, p. 207) with alternate metopes occupied with a white square or a point rosette in white: then a band of meander of unusual form, of which the main part is red dotted with white,\(^\text{20}\) with a wavy white thread passing through the interstices: lastly, next the lip, is a band of point rosettes, formed of a large white centre with a red ring in it, surrounded by white disks. All the different bands are separated from each other by white lines.

It is clear that from its technique we may class this as one more specimen (no. iv.) of the Polledrara fabric. The clay is of the same character as the usual Italian 'red ware'; the frieze of animals, the lotus pattern and the character of the linear ornaments all point to Naukratis: moreover it is specially at Naukratis that we find vases of this kind with bands of decoration covering both interior and exterior, and especially such ornament as the frieze of large point rosettes.

It would seem from what has preceded that the Polledrara method of decoration, originally applied in Italy to vases imitating the technique of

\(^{20}\) The dotted line also occurs on the handles of the hydria and on the Cane slab (J.H.S. vol. v. p. 250).
Bucchero nero, came to be applied to Bucchero proper. Whether the principle of polychrome painting on Bucchero ever attained any importance outside Italy is at present difficult to determine. Most of this ware as yet found outside Italy, representing a large variety of sites, is unpainted: it is true that some of the fragments from Naukratis inscribed with Lesbian dedications have faint, but unmistakable traces of colour, but in these instances the colour (red) is usually painted within the engraved letters of the inscription, and at any rate does not suggest any independent scheme of ornament. 31 So far as I know it is only from Rhodes that we have yet got vases resembling the Polledrara style. A trefoil oinochoe of Ionian form in the British Museum, found in Rhodes in 1884, belongs to this category: it is decorated in two, or possibly three colours, of which only a brilliant red (corresponding to the red of our hydria) is well preserved: the patterns on the neck consist of single maeanders within parallel lines: on the shoulder, a lotus flower and bud design, inverted: the central petal of the flower is edged with dots: on the body, single maeanders as before: and below, a band of lotus flower and bud, the flower more calix-form. Two other oinochoes of the same fabric but with the design more faded, were found in the same excavations and are also in the British Museum. The vases are lightly modelled: the clay is reddish in tone, and the surface has a greyish black slip, like that of our hydria: in fact the whole technique is closely analogous to the true Polledrara fabric. Billioti's diary of excavations shows that this ware was found under conditions very similar to those of the Grotta of Iesis, and that it is probably of the same date. 32 From a later series of Rhodian tombs we get the true Bucchero nero: in a tomb at Camirus for example was found a kantharos of the characteristic Etruscan heavy form and construction (Gsoll. Fouilles de Vales, suppl. Pl. A—B, no. 54, p. 463). If therefore we are correct in assigning the Polledrara ware to an Etruscan origin, it would seem that Rhodes must have imported both Polledrara and Bucchero ware from Italy: when we consider the important position of Rhodes as a centre of commerce, this does not seem an impossible contingency.

Judging from present evidence, the Polledrara ware does not appear to have continued later than the early part of the sixth century B.C. Stephani in Compte Rendu 1874, p. 42, describes a series of vases painted with designs in the polychrome on black: from the description these seem to be of Polledrara technique, but from the character of the subjects they must belong to the fourth century: perhaps with the new growth of Italian vase-painting in that century, there may have been a brief revival of this almost forgotten technique.

31 The fragments alluded to by Mr. E. Gardner in Naukratis ii. p. 47, type J, have of course no real resemblance to Polledrara ware: their designs are painted in white and red on a glaze which is characteristic of Naukratis pottery: they belong more properly to the class described by Sis. in Graeco Arch. 1888, p. 193 and p. 231.
32 Naukratis i. p. 40.
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Returning now for a moment to the early Italian pottery, I am inclined to agree with Gsell in his conclusion that the Bucchero nero was introduced into Italy about the end of the seventh century B.C. Previous to this date there had existed in that country two principal local fabrics of pottery; the primitive handmade greyish brown ware of the class to which the hut-urns belong; and the finer wheelmade, but still primitive red ware or impasto Italico. On both these fabrics painted decoration of a rudimentary character had been occasionally employed. The large hut-urn in the British Museum has both on its sides and lid a geometric pattern painted in a whitish red colour which has almost faded; and on a large lebes from Falerii in the same collection a rude design consisting of waterbirds and linear patterns is painted in a white pigment, also faded. The introduction of the Bucchero nero brought with it a new system of decoration by means of bands of figures impressed from cylinders, and this system was applied to the red ware as well. The habit of painting the design however still continued. Local artists attempted to imitate first on the red ware, afterwards on the Bucchero, friezes suggested by the imported Corinthian and Ionic vases, while adhering still to their own technique. Hence arose a series of vases decorated in the same methods as that of the wall-paintings. The Grotta of Isis contained a specimen of this ware in the large diota (Micali, Mon. Ined. Pl. v, Fig. 1). This is decorated with two friezes of animals moving to right, including reindeer, lions with protruding tongue, sphinxes, horses, and an ibex; in the field are rude palmettes. In the upper frieze is drawn an archaic ship (figured in Torr, Ancient Ships, Pl. 3, fig. 12). These animals have the faces drawn in red outline, the bodies in particoloured silhouette, which is sometimes spotted (like the animals on the Veii wall-paintings) with yellowish white. The chief bands of pattern are a rude cable, a strip of crossed lines, and below, a series of concentric semicircles. A similar diota exists in the Louvre (Salle des Vases de style Corinthien, Case B. no. 660), and has also a ship among animals, between bands of cable pattern; but the style appears to be later than ours, and it has occasional incised lines. A still later stage of the same fabric is shown by the two vases published in Gazette Arch. 1881—2, Pl. 28—9, 32—4. Both were found at Caere: they are of the usual Etruscan red-brown ware, on which the designs are painted, apparently in yellowish white and red; unfortunately the prints are too defective to enable one to ascertain definitely the technique; but the general character corresponds with our diota, while the ornament, the crossed lines and the simple cable pattern are all characteristic of the style in question. One of these vases is a pot (marmite, chytra) on roughly modelled legs, similar to Mus. Greg. ii., Pl. 100, Fig. 8 (which seems to be of the same fabric): the other is a cup on a circular foot; the buttons on the sides of one and lid of the other are suggestive of Bucchero: both are purely Italian forms. But the most conclusive evidence of their local manufacture is the occurrence on the pot of an Etruscan inscription, which somewhat recalls the Aristonophus vase and the Italot hydria in the British Museum, B 60, and in point of date seems to stand between them: on the reverse is a man in a chariot attacked by a
lion, a scene obviously suggestive of Mesopotamian influence. The pot has three distinct scenes, two lions confronted, the birth of Athene, and the Calydonian boar, and seems to suggest the influence of the so-called Corinth-Athens amphora. It seems to belong to the first quarter of the sixth century; in that case the diota of the Grotta di Isis, the earliest of the series, would date from shortly before 600 B.C.

It would seem therefore that this painted red ware went on being made in Etruria side by side with the Polledrara fabric, each probably reflecting the successive phases of foreign influence brought to bear on Etruria. Towards the middle of the sixth century, the fine b.f. vases began to pour in, and must have been the cause of the extinction (for a time at any rate) of both classes; the painted red ware on the one hand gave way to the orthodox b.f. style; the Polledrara succumbed to its inherent difficulties, and henceforward Italian Bucchero nero was unpainted, and probably received but little figured decoration either stamped or moulded.

To sum up, the conclusions to which the preceding remarks seem to point are as follows:—

(i.) Polledrara ware includes

(a) Vases of reddish clay with black slip.

(b) True Bucchero nero,

both with polychrome decoration (red, white or yellow, perhaps both, and blue) on the black surface.

(ii.) This ware is a local Etruscan fabric of about 600 B.C. and reflects the various influences which at this period were affecting art in Etruria.

(iii.) The series (a) gave way to (b), as Bucchero became more common in Italy.

(iv.) The Polledrara ware found in Rhodes is of the (a) series, and may have been imported from Italy.

(v.) The development of Polledrara ware went on pari passu with a series of Italian vases painted in similar methods on a red surface (impasto Italico).

Plate VIII.

These two bands (reproduced in full size) form part of the decoration of the bronze 'bust' found in the Grotta di Isis (Micali, Mon. Inéd., Pl. vi. Fig. 2). The upper band (Fig. 1) curves outwards so as to fit the hips of the figure; the lower band, as placed at present, comes immediately below. Judging from its present condition, the figure was found in fragments and has been put together in modern times on a core of deal, roughly carved to follow the present form as far as the top of the waist band; from this point upwards the thin sheets of metal seem to have been backed with stiffened paper glued to them. From the head to the lower part of Fig. 1 the bronze is fairly well preserved; Fig. 2 is considerably broken, and the restorer seems to have exercised his imagination upon it; some of the band is wholly destroyed; from that which remains, it is evident that when complete it must have
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covered a still larger space than the circumference on which it is now fastened and which is itself too large to fit on to the band above: some of the sheets have been nailed down overlapping others in such a way that portions of the design are hidden [the unshaded outline in Fig. 2 represents an instance of this]. When perfect, it must have included at least six chariot groups and the Sphinx. Under these circumstances I am inclined to think that the bronze represented originally not a bust, but a full-length figure. It is true, as Mr. Murray suggests, that the bust as a form in art was familiar at this period and place, as is seen from the alabaster vases found with it in the Grotta. But in any case it is certain that the artist has modelled the figure (after his lights) as far as the hips: and that point seems to me an unlikely spot at which to break off. It is possible that the bands formed the upper and lower border of a dress; from a comparison with the marble figure from the Grotta, it would seem that the bronze must in that case have been about 25 inches high; this would leave about 10 inches unaccounted for: these were probably represented by a plain sheet of copper, which in the excavations got misplaced or rejected as valueless. In Micali’s drawing the ’bust’ rests on a square plinth decorated apparently on the upper surface and on the four sides with animals. Micali, p. 53, says ‘si ripetono differenti animali.’ Unfortunately this plinth has completely disappeared, or it might afford some evidence of the original disposition of the bronze.

The general idea of such a figure, nude to the waist, with broad tightly fastened waistband and decorated skirt, is exactly analogous to the figures on the early Corinthian gold reliefs (Arch. Zeit. 1884, Pl. 8, Figs. 2 and 3). It is obvious that it is to such work as this that we must look for the motives which inspired our bronze reliefs. The lion in Fig. 1, the dotted surface of the skins, and the peculiar form of the horses’ bits recur in Protokorinthian pottery; the large tail of the animal on the left with decorated end, and the browsing ibex, belong to Asiatic Greek art: the form of cable pattern and the eight-spoked wheel are probably local contributions to the design.

Cecil Smith.

The waistband is decorated with a simple meander pattern slightly repoussé, in a field which is filled with diagonal notched lines.
ARCHAEOLOGY IN GREECE—1893-4.

The excavations of the French School at Delphi are now in full activity. They have been looked forward to for years with the keenest interest, but hitherto there has been nothing to record but negotiations and preparations. Now that the work has actually begun, it has proved that even the most sanguine anticipations were not unfounded. The find in inscriptions and in sculpture is of extraordinary richness and interest, and will form an epoch in the history of archaeological discovery no less important than those marked by the excavations of Olympia and of the Athenian Acropolis. In comparison with Delphi, other discoveries must seem of inferior importance. But much valuable work has been done during the season, especially by the various foreign Schools in Athens.

In Athens itself, the excavations in the neighbourhood of the Pnyx and the Areopagus, begun by Professor Dörpfeld last season, have been continued. It will be remembered from last year’s report that the chief object of these excavations was to solve some disputed questions of Athenian topography, especially the position of the spring Emeacronos. A primitive system of waterworks was discovered in the hillock of the Pnyx above the modern road; and these had been superseded later by an aqueduct and cistern, which there seemed to be good reason for attributing to the sixth century. There were also some traces of a building for the distribution of the water. Thus considerable probability was gained for the theory of Professor Dörpfeld, that the Emeacronos was in this part of the town, although at the same time there was no evidence certain enough to convince those who were committed to a contrary view.

The excavations were continued this year in the hope of discovering some such evidence. But though several interesting things have been found, there is as yet nothing conclusive as to the topographical question. The immediate practical result is most welcome. The excavations having shown that the ground in this region is full of buildings and antiquities, the Greek government has proceeded, on the representation of Dr. Dörpfeld, to expropriate the land. It will thus be possible to clear it entirely and to remove the earth to a distance, instead of merely turning it over and leaving it on the spot or in the immediate neighbourhood—a necessity which has hitherto cramped the work. Excavations are promised here on a large scale next season, and it can hardly be doubted that when all the region in front of the Acropolis, and
between the Areopagus and the Pnyx, is laid bare, some of the most difficult problems of Athenian topography will find their solution, and many ancient buildings or precincts, hitherto known only by name, will be identified. If the excavations, thus begun on the west, be continued also on the north and east of the Acropolis, we may really look forward to no remote future to a time when the topography of Athens will no longer be, as it is now, a field for almost unlimited conjecture.

The work of the present season has been devoted to two main objects, the tracing of the aqueduct of which only the end was found last year, and the identification of some of the other buildings known to have been situated near the Ennesacrounos, in order to place beyond a doubt the identity of the Ennesacrounos itself. The part of the aqueduct nearest to the cistern was destroyed, and consequently there was some difficulty in finding the place where it left the rock: this was, however, discovered, and the cutting was traced in the rock for a considerable distance towards the Theatre of Dionysus. Its identity with the previously known aqueduct, coming down from the upper Iliusus valley and underneath the palace garden, is thus placed beyond a doubt. It is provided with perpendicular shafts at intervals, to help in the construction and to facilitate clearing, and has other peculiarities which serve, in Dr. Dörpfeld's opinion, to confirm its attribution to the sixth century B.C.; many of these it has in common with the great aqueduct in Samos, made under Polycrates. The Athenian aqueduct was frequently repaired in later times, and it was found necessary to protect part of it with large segments of tile wells, placed together to form a pointed arch. It must always have remained the chief source of the water supply for the part of Athens west of the Acropolis.

With a view to deciding the topographical problem, excavations have also been made in the neighbourhood of the Areopagus. The immediate object of these was the discovery of the Odeum or some other building recorded to have been situated near the Ennesacrounos. Deep trenches to the north-west of the Areopagus led to no result, and so the work was transferred to the south side, where the earth is shallower, in the angle between the rocky edge of the Areopagus and the modern road. Here the first discovery was a basilica-shaped building of Roman period, chiefly interesting for a long inscription on one of its columns, containing the regulations of the religious club of the Iobacchi, who doubtless occupied the building. Many small antiquities were found, mostly relating to the worship of Dionysus. Others, mainly connected with Artemis, were found in the apse. On digging deeper an earlier stratified remains was found, but nothing of decisive import, unless we except an early wine-press. Dr. Dörpfeld attributes great importance to this, as an indication that he has found the Lenaion; but until further evidence is forthcoming, it seems more prudent to draw no further conclusions. The new position, just in this region, which he assigns to the Dionysion et Aigaias, will not yet be admitted by those who prefer to follow the hitherto accepted theory about it. The great attainment of the season has been, not so much the establishment of any new topographical evidence,
but the persuasion of both the Greek authorities and the German government that the excavation is promising enough to be worth carrying out on an extensive scale; and so most valuable results may be expected from it next year.¹

Meanwhile the Greek Archaeological Society has attacked the same topographical problem from a different point, by excavating on the traditional site of Callirrhoe, on the Ilissus. It has not been disputed that this is the Callirrhoe of Plato and later writers; the only doubt was whether it was identical with the earlier Callirrhoe, transformed by the Tyrants to Emenecrounos. M. Skiás, who conducted the excavation, states that its result was purely negative, showing that there never could have been a copious natural spring in this place, though M. Nicolaides, the treasurer of the Society, states in the 'Εφημερίς 'Αρχαιολογίας² that evidence for the spring was found. Unfortunately it was necessary to fill up the excavations again; but it seems clear that there was nothing decisive in their result.

Last spring there were found in some of the houses lying in front of the Theatre of Dionysus, towards the Ilissus valley, some drums of columns which in their forms and style of execution resemble those of the Stoa of Attalus. There can hardly be a doubt that they come from the long stoa of which the foundations are visible, stretching from the Theatre of Dionysus to the Odeum of Herodes Atticus; and thus the identification of that building as the Stoa of Eumenes receives further confirmation.

A fine piece of the town wall was found in the spring of last year close to the modern Sophocles Street. It is on the accepted line, and so gives no new topographical indication. It is apparently of fourth century construction, being built of squared blocks of conglomerate, and it is about five metres thick. Outside it were some graves lined with marble slabs, probably of Byzantine period.

In the cutting for the continuation of the Piraeus railway, near the Athena Street, was found a metope, set between triglyphs, which contains a representation of mourning women. I need not describe this in any detail, since it has been published by Dr. Wolters in the Mitteilungen for 1893. There can be no doubt that it comes from a funeral monument of rather elaborate architectural form. The subject is especially interesting from its resemblance to the famous sarcophagus of 'les pleureuses' from Sidon.

A marble slab, sculptured in relief on both sides, has been found near New Phalerum, in the region generally assigned to the Hippodrome.³ The reliefs are of graceful fourth century work. On one side is represented a youth carrying off a maiden, who seems to accompany him willingly, in a four-horse chariot; Hermes, whose name is written over him, leads the way, as in the traditional scheme of the rape of Persephone; the other two figures

¹ Dr. Dörpfeld has already published in the 1893 Mitteilungen a provisional account of his excavations.
² 1894, p. 126.
³ This too has already been published by M. Carvillas in the 'Εφημερίς 'Αρχαιολογίας for 1893, Pl. 9 and 10, though only found last June.
are assigned the names of Echelos and Basile. Though the full mythological significance cannot here be discussed, it may be noted that Echelos is a hero already known to have been associated with the Athenian Hippodrome. Over the other relief is written a dedication to Hermes and the nymphs. It represents Artemis, two bearded figures, one of whom, with horns, must be a river-god, and a charming group of three nymphs. The meaning of these reliefs has been discussed by M. Cavvadias, they are certainly amongst the most beautiful of their kind.

Outside Athens, one naturally turns first to Delphi, where the excavations of the French School are being carried on with the most remarkable skill and success. After long negotiations and tedious delays, the village of Castri has at last been almost entirely removed to its new site, about half a mile nearer to Itea and the sea. A most elaborate system of inclined tramways at different levels has been laid out; down these the trucks run of themselves, to be hauled up again by horses when they reach the end. The whole of the earth is shot down into the ravine of the Pleistus, not immediately below Delphi, but at the projecting point of the road below it, close to the new village. All worked stones, of which the purpose or connexion is not obvious, are piled on terraces beside the tram-lines, so as to get them clear of the site, to which they can easily be brought back if afterwards identified or required. On a site like Delphi, with the steep slope of its rock, the deep accumulation of its soil, and the masses of heavy stones that have to be moved, the engineering of the excavation is a most complicated and difficult work; but it is excellently carried out under the able direction of M. Convert, and thus the archaeologists in charge are free to devote all their attention to the record and study of what is found. M. Homolle, the director of the French School, and other members of the School, are of course constantly on the spot.

The work began with the clearing of the portion of the site immediately below the temple, close to the spot where the French excavators in an earlier campaign had cleared the portico of the Athenians and a piece of the sacred way leading up to the temple. They have now reached to the temple itself and its immediate surroundings, and are still continuing over the whole area below the temple included between the zig-zag windings of the sacred way. A provisional publication of the results is decreed by the French government, and is already in progress. Meanwhile I am permitted by the courtesy of M. Homolle to give a summary account of what has been found. I have to thank him and his colleagues for the kindness and liberality with which they have shown me all their discoveries, and even allowed me to study them at leisure; and I am sure my experience will be confirmed by all other visitors to Delphi. Such a statement would be superfluous, but that contrary rumours have been spread, most unaccountably, through some of the Greek papers.

The lowest of the monuments as yet discovered on the sacred way is a semicircular structure, like an exedra, containing the inscribed bases of a series of statues of the legendary kings of Argos, from Danaus to
Perseus and Hercules. This dedication of the Argives is mentioned by Pausanias, and so a fixed point is gained to help in the identification of the other structures that lie above or below it. It is just in front of the house familiar to former visitors to Delphi as belonging to the hospitable guardian of antiquities. It is now used as a provisional museum. Following up the slope of the sacred way, we soon come to two buildings, one in 'poros' stone and one in marble, which are identified, provisionally indeed, but with great probability, by the excavators as the treasuries of the Sicyonians and the Siphnians. Both were surrounded by fragments of corresponding materials, belonging to the sculptures which probably once formed their decoration. Among the 'poros' sculptures, one is a pediment, representing the struggle between Apollo and Hercules for the tripod, while Athena in the centre acts as arbiter, and other figures fill the sides. The colour is well preserved, and a curious feature in technique is offered by the background, which is hollowed away entirely behind the upper part of the figures, so that they stand out against a black shadow—a fine and original effect. Another portion, finer in execution, belongs to a frieze representing a procession of warriors leading a number of oxen; the leaders are identified by painted inscriptions as the Dioscuri; and the same two figures are probably repeated in two horsemen who stand in front of a ship. But these 'poros' sculptures, interesting as they are, cannot compare in excellence to the marble friezes from the next building. The subjects of these seem to be a group of seated gods, a gigantomachy, and a Homeric battle. They show a vigour and naïveté of detail, a freshness of conception, and a delicacy of execution such as can find no parallel elsewhere, except, as M. Homolle has pointed out, in Attic vases of about 500 B.C. To this period they must be assigned, and to Attic art, as is proved by the similar style of the treasury of the Athenians; in a dedication of the Siphnians this is probable enough. The colour, here also, is brilliantly though only partially preserved. The group of seated divinities reminds one of the east frieze of the Parthenon; and although it of course falls short of the dignity and perfection of the Phidian work, it has a grace and charm of its own. And in the gigantomachy there are scenes, one particularly of a goddess in her car drawn by lions who tear a giant that opposes her, which seem almost to anticipate the boldness and originality of Pergamene art. All the decorative details of this building, the carved mouldings, cornices, &c., are cut with a depth, clearness, and delicacy that can be matched nowhere, except perhaps in the Erechtheum. It is simply a revelation of what decorative carving can attain to.

The next building that can be identified, as we turn the corner and mount the eastward bend of the sacred way, is the treasury of the Athenians. Almost every stone of this building has been recovered, and it can probably be actually reconstructed. It is covered with inscriptions, mostly official documents relating to Athens; among these was the already famous ode to Apollo, with its music added. The metopes of this building, the greater part of which have been recovered, offer a most valuable contribution to the
history of Attic art, especially since they are known to belong to the time just after the battle of Marathon. They represent the labours of Heracles and probably also of Theseus, and are again of great vigour and delicacy of style, like the frieze of the treasury of the Siphnians, but a little more advanced; the resemblance both to fine Attic vases and to the best early Attic bronze work is again very clear. Between this building and the already known stea of the Athenians is a rough rocky patch, free from monuments, and with a great mass of rock projecting in the midst. This must, as M. Homolle has observed, be the rock of the Sibyl. Here too was set up, most appropriately, the colossal marble sphinx, on the column dedicated by the Naxians. This sphinx is now all but complete. Its head was among the earlier objects found, though it was not at first identified. Various other bases bring us up to the front of the temple. Here are the remains of the great altar, bearing, probably, the record of a reconstruction by the Chians and of the right of προμανεία given to them. Various omphali, of the conventional form and decoration, may also be seen. Though the basis of the temple itself is fairly well preserved, it is still extremely difficult to trace its plan. The cellars beneath it, which used to be shown before the village was removed, have not yet been cleared completely; but they appear to be merely structural appliances to save material. Curiously enough, no sculpture from the temple has been found below it or at either end. But a horse's head, almost certainly from the chariot of the setting sun in the east pediment, has been found in the high wall of earth that still remains above the temple, and so more may be hoped for from this quarter. The horse's head is a fine work, and is most interesting as giving us a clue to the style of Praxias and his master Calamis.

The most interesting of the isolated finds is a large archaic Apollo, which was actually made into a buttress in later times to support a terrace wall. As it is in Naxian marble, and bears the signature of an Argive artist, it will prove fatal to some theories about early art, of which it is an interesting though not a beautiful example. The inscriptions will probably surpass in number all previous records. As many as forty are sometimes found in a single day. The most interesting of all is the hymn to Apollo, which has been performed at the French School and at other concerts in Athens. The music is most impressive even to a modern ear, and some pieces of it seem strangely familiar to those who have heard some of the Greek plays performed in England—a result most creditable to the musicians who had reconstructed so accurately from so scanty evidence.

There are still large areas and great masses of earth to be excavated, so that the promise of the site, richly as it has been fulfilled, is as yet by no means exhausted; certainly there is no fear lest Delphi should disappoint the expectations that have been formed. Certainly both the continuation of the work and the publication of its results will be awaited with the utmost eagerness.

At Delos last summer the theatre was excavated by M. Chamonard of the French School. The plan of the stage buildings is a very peculiar one.
They consist of a central structure of two or more stories, surrounded by a colonnade which supported a platform twelve feet high all round; on the front this was finished in the usual manner as a proscenium, at the sides and back it was rougher, having merely square pillars instead of the usual columns and pinakes. Fortunately an inscription has been found relating to this structure, which is of the highest importance for the decision of the disputed question whether the actors had their place on the top of the proscenium or in front of it. In the inscription—which was quoted by M. Homoile at an open meeting of the French School—the proscenium is identified with the λογεῖον. This finally disposes of the assertion that the proscenium in the Greek theatre was not the λογεῖον. The only course open to those who maintain Dr. Dörpfeld's view is to say that λογεῖον does not mean the place from which the actors usually spoke; but considering the use which has hitherto been made of the term λογεῖον in the discussion, such a contention will not be easy to establish. The theatres of Magnesia and Tralles have also been recently excavated by the Germans, that at Magnesia by Dr. Hiller von Gärtringen at his own expense—an admirable example. Both have been published with plaus by Dr. Dörpfeld in recent numbers of the Athenian Mitteilungen. Both have the curious subterranean passages of which several have now been discovered in theatres, leading from under the stage buildings to the middle of the orchestra. At Magnesia there are two such passages, one of Greek times and one of Roman. The latter must clearly, as Dr. Dörpfeld says, have served the same purposes as the numerous subterranean passages in Roman amphitheatres. Both theatres have, in addition to the ordinary arrangements, a peculiar late reconstruction, with a double flight of steps leading up from the orchestra to the front of a proscenium ten or twelve feet high; the position of these is slightly different, the late proscenium at Tralles being somewhat farther back than at Magnesia. At Tralles it is still, in spite of the staircase, explained by Dr. Dörpfeld as merely a background for the actors in the orchestra; but at Tralles he explains it as a stage ten feet high on which the actors stood, and quotes the analogy of Aspendus. After this it will be difficult to impugn the accuracy of Vitruvius in asserting the existence of a stage of this height—more still to maintain it to be practically absurd.

The excavations conducted by the Americans at the Heraeum near Argos have been continued both this spring and last under the direction of Dr. Waldstein. The magnificent foundation of the later temple now stands bare, and the terrace on which the earlier temple stood has also been entirely cleared; only one line of blocks remains of the structure itself. Around have been found porticoes and other buildings, including propylaea on a very fine scale. A good deal of these still remains to be excavated. In sculpture, the later campaigns have yielded nothing to compare to the very beautiful head found the first season; but there are some more fragments from the metopes and other interesting pieces. A vast amount more of early pottery has been collected, and also many Egyptian imports of quite early date. In the last season several tombs of Mycenean period have been found in
the immediate neighbourhood of the temple, and have yielded a good deal of pottery, interesting both for its shapes and its decoration.

At Eretria, the excavations of the American School have been continued by the Director, Professor Richardson. The remains of the temple and of the altar of Dionysus have been found close to the theatre, which has also been a little more cleared. A tumulus has been opened; and proved to contain a solid tower of masonry; but the attempt to find the temple of Artemis Amaranus has not yet been successful.

Excavations have been made by the British School on the site of the temple of Apollo at Abae, in early times one of the chief oracles of Greece, and destroyed by the Persians. An account of the results will soon appear in this Journal, by Mr. Balber and Mr. Yorke, who conducted the work. Although the high expectations which were raised by Herodotus’ description of the riches of this temple were not realized, a good many objects of interest were found, especially early decorative bronzes, and all that is left of the plan of the temple and the surrounding buildings has been laid bare.

At Mycenae, M. Tsountas has opened a new ‘bee-hive tomb,’ making the eighth in all, between the so-called ‘tomb of Clytemnestra’ and the lion gate. This tomb had two graves dug inside it, of shape and size not unlike the shaft-graves on the Acropolis. Among the most interesting objects discovered were some mirror handles of carved ivory, with female figures in the characteristic Mycenaean dress. These and the rest of the results are incorporated in M. Tsountas’ new book, Μυκηναί καὶ Μυκηναίος πολιτισμός, which gives a summary account of all his discoveries, as well as those of Schliemann and others, and their scientific results. With this eighth tomb, and its peculiar combination of the built tomb and the dug-out grave, the relations of the two seem to enter on a new phase. It is true that graves have before been found dug within bee-hive tombs, but never on such a scale.

At Thoricus also tombs of Mycenaean period have been excavated by M. Staib. The first of these is of a very peculiar shape; it is an ellipse 9 m. x 3.50 m.; and the pottery which it contained was also very peculiar; it may now be seen in the National Museum at Athens; its ornamentation is a very curious floral development of the Mycenaean lily pattern.

On the island of Oia in Lake Copias a fortress and palace, like that of Tiryns but more extensive, have been observed both by M. de Ridder and by Dr. Noack. M. de Ridder, of the French School, has also made excavations on the lower part of the hill of Orchomenus in Boeotia; he has found a temple, probably of Asclepius, and several graves, and has recovered, among others things, a good many early vases and bronze reliefs.

At Eleusis, M. Philios has pursued his excavations, and has found, just on the left as one enters the great Propylaea, an early well of very careful construction, which has been respected even when the Propylaea were built,

*1 quote this account from Dr. Max Meyer’s letter to the Berliner Philolog. Wochenschrift, 11 Nov. 1893.
one step being displaced to leave room for it. There can hardly be a doubt, that this is the κοιλαῖαρχιαί φρεῖαρ mentioned by Pausanias. 8

At Epidaurus also some more clearance has been made, to the north of the sacred precinct. Here a great building has been found, which was probably in the form of Propylaea, and formed the main entrance to the sanctuary.

The excavations at Troy have been continued at Mme. Schliemann’s expense. A provisional account, which gives an admirably clear notion of the results of last season’s work, has already been given by Dr. Dörpfeld, 9 who directed the excavations, so that they need only be briefly mentioned here. It has long been known that the stratum which corresponds in period to the civilization of Mycenae, and which therefore seems to correspond most naturally to the Homerid Troy, was the sixth from below, not the second. Hitherto a difficulty has existed, since the second city was the only one known to have a massive fortification wall, and so Schliemann has regarded it as the city of Priam. Now, however, it proves that the sixth city had a magnificent stone wall all round it, far more extensive and of excellent workmanship. It is sad to think that Dr. Schliemann did not live to see this confirmation of his most cherished theory. Above this stratum lie three others, an archaic Greek, a Hellenic, and a Roman. The whole series of strata has again been carefully tested and recorded in an undisturbed place, and so may now be regarded as finally established. This summer Dr. Dörpfeld is continuing the excavation at the expense of the German government. The sixth city contains, within its massive wall, many buildings of the well-known type, and has yielded plenty of Mycenaean pottery, as well as of the black local ware which is also found in the tumuli of the Trojans.

Mr. A. J. Evans, in the course of a most successful trip in Crete, found distinct proof of the prevalence of a new alphabet, of which the existence was already beginning to be suspected from the occasional occurrence of letters on objects of Mycenaean period. The results promise to be most interesting. Two inscriptions, one of five letters, one of three, had been found on stone and pottery vases last year by M. Tsountas at Mycenae.

In Cyprus, excavations have been made for the British Museum at Amathus, under the direction of Mr. A. H. Smith; Mr. Myres has also watched the work throughout. After it was concluded, he has made some small excavations on prehistoric sites near Nikosia and Salamis, and has also undertaken to catalogue the Museum at Nicosia.

It is impossible to close this report without a reference to the irreparable loss sustained by archaeology in the premature death of Dr. Lolling. By indefatigable exertions he had already got into order the great epigraphical Museum at Athens, and it is said that his catalogue was almost ready to appear. As the writer of the Greek Baedeker, he had earned the gratitude of a still wider circle.

E. A. O.

8 I. xxviii. 6. 9 In the Mittheilungen for 1893.
THE PAINTINGS BY PANAENUS ON THE THRONE OF THE OLYMPIAN ZEUS.

In the elaborate description which Pausanias gives of the throne of the Olympian Zeus, few parts have given rise to so much discussion and so much difference of opinion as the paintings by Panaenus, the brother of Phidias. It has been disputed both where they were placed, and how they were arranged.

It is the aim of the present paper to propose a new composition for this series of paintings, and, by doing so, to justify an old and recently somewhat discredited view as to the position in which they were placed. The cuts which are added serve to illustrate this new suggestion and to make clearer its advantages over those which have been previously made. The restoration of one side (p. 240), which has been very kindly drawn by a friend, must not, of course, be taken as an attempt to reproduce exactly the designs of Panaenus. But, since the groups or the figures that compose them are derived from fifth century works of Greek art, they may well give us a notion of the conditions, as to space and balance of figures, that determine the whole composition; and these conditions may be applied with some confidence, when we remember how closely even the greatest artists of this period often adhered to the accepted scheme for any group or subject.

In order that we may have clearly before us the evidence which we possess about these paintings and their position, I give a plan of the cela of the temple of Zeus at Olympia (p. 236), and also a translation of the description of the paintings by Pausanias.

Pausanias, in his description of the throne of Zeus, first refers to the legs and arms, and their decoration; then he continues—

"And between the legs of the throne there are four cross-bars, each one

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For example, of the two groups, one, that of Theseus and Pirithous, is taken directly from the Polygnotan Argonaut vase, Mon. d. Inst. xi. 39-9. The other, of Hercules and Atlas, is composed after the bocthra, J.H.S. xiii. Pt. III., with the roles of the two figures reversed; the Hercules is from Winckel's Vorlegeblätter, 1888, viii. 1, and the whole is assimilated to the Olympian motif. The drawing was made to show the composition of all three sides, but it was thought better to publish one side only, so as to illustrate the principle of the composition, without laying claim to a complete restoration. V. xi. 3.
stretching from leg to leg . . . (Description of subjects on these) . . . And the throne is supported not only by the legs, but also by pillars equal in number* to the legs, standing between the legs.

'It is not possible to enter underneath the throne, as one goes into the inside of the throne at Amyclae; at Olympia, what prevents this is a set of screens constructed like walls. Of these screens so much as faces the door is only painted dark blue, but the rest of them show paintings by Panaenus. In them is Atlas supporting earth and heaven, and Hercules stands by, ready to take the burden from Atlas. Then there are Theseus and Pirithous; and Hellas, and Salamis holding in her hand the ornament set on the ends of ships. And there is, of the labours of Hercules, that against the Nemean lion, and the wrong done by Ajax to Cassandra, and there is Hippodamia the daughter of Oenomaus with her mother; and Prometheus still held by his bonds, and Hercules is grouped with him; for this story too is told of Hercules, how he slew the eagle that tormented Prometheus in the Caucasus and freed Prometheus also from his bonds. And, at the extremity of the painting, is Penthesilea breathing her last, and Achilles supporting her; and two Hesperids bear the apples of which it is said that the charge was committed to them. This Panaenus was the brother of Phidias, and there is a picture by him of the battle of Marathon in the Stoa Poecile at Athens.'

After this, Pausanias goes on to describe the back of the throne, then the footstool, and the pedestal; then the pavement of black stone in front of it, with a border of white marble.

The most obvious inference from the words of Pausanias is that the paintings were arranged round the two sides and the back of the throne, the front, which was in great part hidden by the legs and drapery of Zeus, being left plain blue. This view is also correct, as I hope to show. But until now it has been open to very grave objections, which are removed by the new arrangement which I have to propose. First, however, we must review the explanations which have been suggested by previous writers, and see how far they are to be accepted, and what difficulties occur in their application.

I.—The Old Arrangement.

The subjects enumerated by Pausanias appear at first sight to be nine, as follows:

1. Atlas and Hercules.
2. Theseus and Pirithous.
3. Hellas and Salamis.
4. Hercules and the Nemean Lion.
5. Ajax and Cassandra.
6. Hippodamia and Sterope.

* See Petersen, *Kunst des Phidias*, p. 352, where this meaning of foot is established.
ON THE THRONE OF THE OLYMPIAN ZEUS.

7. Prometheus and Hercules.
8. Pentesilea and Achilles.
9. Two Hesperids.

The nine groups naturally divide themselves into three sets of three each; these sets were placed upon the three decorated sides of the throne by Brunn, Petersen, Overbeck (up to third edition), and Collignon. Brunn's arrangement, which is accepted by most of those who follow him, is this. He divides the lower part of each side, beneath the cross-bar, into three metope-like spaces, containing the paintings. Above the divisions between the metopes he places the pillars which stand between the legs to support the throne. But, as Petersen points out, this interpretation cannot be maintained in view of the words ἵκος τῶις ποσίν, applied to these pillars; since they can only mean 'equal in number to the legs.' If, on the other hand, the pillars be placed above the middle of the three metope-like spaces, we have a structural anomaly such as it is hardly conceivable that any Greek could tolerate. An improvement might be made by suggesting that the metopes were above, not below the pillars; but this will hardly commend itself as a final solution. There are other very serious objections to Brunn's restoration. The group of Achilles and Pentesilea is said to come 'at the end of the painting,' τελευταία ἐν τῇ γραφῇ; yet Brunn and those who follow him place it in the middle of a side. Again, each side, with its three groups, presents a most unsymmetrical arrangement: the first two groups on each represent two figures in close dramatic relation, while the third consists merely of two female figures juxtaposed. This point comes out clearly in our restoration, if we imagine the two female figures below set side by side in a space to correspond with the two groups above them. And moreover, a throne for use with a footstool can hardly be broader than it is high; the difference would most probably be the other way. Thus it is clear that, if the cross-bar were near the middle, the space either above or below it, if divided into three, must provide spaces of which the height exceeds the length at least in the proportion of 3:2—a shape too narrow for the groups they contained.

II.—The New Arrangement.

In view of these objections, it is no wonder that a new theory which escapes many of them has met with so wide acceptance. This theory was first published by Mr. A. S. Murray in the Mittheilungen of the German Institute in Athens in 1882; it is formally accepted in the official publication of the Olympic excavations; and also in the new edition of his Geschichte der Griechischen Plastik, by Overbeck, who says it is shown by the

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excavations at Olympia to be right. The suggestion which has met with so wide and so authoritative an acceptance is that the paintings of Panaenus were not on the throne of Zeus at all, but were on the barriers which enclosed the space in front of it. The position of these barriers can be seen on the accompanying plan. Remains or traces of them have actually been discovered in the temple, running across the three intercolumniations on each side, in front of the pedestal, and then crossing the nave of the cella from side to side. The paintings are arranged on the inside of these barriers, after the description of Pausanias, in the manner indicated on the plan, the numbers corresponding to the groups, as enumerated on p. 234 above. It is clear that by this arrangement we escape some of the difficulties in fitting the description to the artistic and structural conditions. Symmetry within each side is preserved, since in each we have the group of two female figures in the middle, and the scenes of closer relation and more violent action at either end: we also have a possible explanation for the description of group 8 as 'at the end of the painting,' since the following group is on the folds of the door. We also have the great advantage that thus the groups of Heracles and Atlas and of the two Hesperids, the first and last in the description, are brought together, as is most appropriate from their mythological connexion. We see, then, that there are great advantages in the new suggestion; it cannot, however, be accepted until we have also considered what objections there are to its application. For the sake of clearness I number these objections, and discuss them in turn.

(1) The shape of the available spaces.—The length of the various panels of the barrier is established by the extant remains; it is very nearly two
metres, or six feet six inches. Their height is a matter of conjecture, since in no case has more than the bottom of any panel been preserved. In the restored elevation (Olympia, Plates, I. xi. xii.) they are made 150 metre high (11 ft. 11), presumably in order to give room for the groups; otherwise it is hard to see why so great a height should be assumed. To me it seems extremely improbable that a solid barrier of this height should have run right across the cela in front of the statue. The normal height of a man's eye from the ground is only 1·63 metre (5 ft. 4); so that over such a barrier a short man could never see at all the decoration on the pedestal of the throne, not to speak of the paintings on the inside of the barrier, while even a tall man would be greatly hampered in his view of the statue and its decoration as a whole. I should have thought one metre a quite sufficient height for such a barrier; it is the height given to the Nike balustrade at Athens, which also serves as a protection without impeding the view. Now, as has been seen by Petersen and others, and as is shown in our restoration, the groups are of a metope-like composition, and so cannot possibly be adapted to an oblong space two metres long by only one metre high. Even if we grant as possible though improbable a height of a metre and a half, the space is still unsuited to compositions which contain two figures each, at least one of them usually standing. For such groups a square frame is the only suitable one.

(2) Τhe plain blue front (ουτον μην ὄρασικριν τῶν βαρών ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ πᾶς κείμεν ἑώρα).—There is no explanation of the fact that the part of the barrier opposite the door—that is to say, facing those who entered the cela—was left plain. On the contrary, this is the most obvious of all fields for ornament, and must have been covered with designs of some sort, amid surroundings where every available field was so richly decorated. A plain blue barrier running right across the cela would have been most unsightly, especially if it were five feet high. Again, if this were the meaning of Pausanias, it would have been far more natural and intelligible for him to say the barriers were painted by Panaenius inside, plain blue outside. If, on the other hand, the painted barriers or screens formed part of the throne itself, the reason for their being plain in front is obvious.

(3) The order of Pausanias' description.—This order may easily be followed on the plan. Presumably no visitor was allowed inside the barrier; it is therefore clear that the panels numbered 2 to 4 could only be seen from the front or from the north aisle; those numbered 5 to 7, only from the front or from the south aisle; while those numbered 8, 9, and 1 were visible only from the north or south aisle. Thus the order adopted by Pausanias becomes very hard to explain. In any case there must be a gap between 4 and 5, which we should expect him to mention; and besides, the only natural way to describe such a set of works would be to begin either at 4 or

14 Dorpfeld, speaking of the architectural evidence, says: 'Die ehemalige Höhe der Schranken kehnt man nicht.' (tL ii. p. 18.)
and go on round in order. It may be added that if the barriers were 5 ft. high, it would have been very difficult for a visitor to have seen some of the panels from any point of view. And it shows peculiar perversity on the part of Pausanias to choose his starting-point arbitrarily in such a way as to separate 1 and 9, the only two groups which have any apparent connexion with one another.

(4) The purpose of the painted panels.—Pausanias says that they were a set of screens constructed like walls, to prevent people from entering underneatneth the throne, as one goes into the inside of the throne at Amyclae. The barriers between the columns and across the cells do not answer to this description; they only prevent people from entering the space which they enclose in front of the pedestal of the statue. Round the pedestal itself there were other barriers, of bronze, which had nothing to do with the painted panels.

(5) The context in Pausanias.—The description of these screens forms a part of the description of the throne itself; first the throne as a whole is described, then the legs and arms and their ornamentation; then these painted screens; then the back of the throne, and after that the footstool and pedestal. It is not until this description of the throne is finished that Pausanias goes on to speak of the pavement of black stone, with a border of white marble, which was in front of the pedestal, and of which the remains are extant in situ at the present day (see Plan). If, as is suggested, the paintings were on the barriers which surrounded this pavement, surely they would have been mentioned by Pausanias together with it, not in the midst of parts of the throne itself, with which they had no very close connexion. It seems inconceivable, after reading consecutively the description of Pausanias, that these screens were anything but a part of the structure of the throne itself.

(6) The remains and date of the barriers.—Here I cannot do better than quote from Olympia, ii. p. 13 (Dörpfeld) : 'The former height of the barriers is unknown; nor can it be determined whether they belong to the original plan, or were only inserted after the erection of the cultus statue; the latter seems to me the more probable.' Indeed, the addition of the barriers may have been made at any period, since they are merely 'slipped in from above between the columns after the latter were already stuccoed.' They certainly do not necessarily form a part of the work done under Phidias' direction. Professor Dörpfeld also points out, on the same page, that the doors and the triple division of the barrier across the cells are merely a conjectural restoration, based on the supposition that the paintings of Panaenus were on this barrier; they therefore afford no monumental evidence in favour of that supposition. When it is added that the barriers, where extant, though covered on both sides with stucco (ibid. p. 11), show no sign whatever of the paintings that are assigned to them (p. 13), it becomes clear that we have to do here not with new evidence, based upon extant monuments, as to the position of

12. Olympia, ii. p. 11.
the paintings, but merely with a new theory as to the interpretation of Pausanias. I think, after weighing all the objections against that new theory, we may dismiss it as untenable.

III.—A PROPOSED SOLUTION.

The arguments that have forced us to reject the new theory compel us also to accept, in part at least, the old one. They at least show that, however the groups were arranged in the painting, the screens formed an integral part of the throne itself, and were placed between its legs. The great difficulty hitherto found in this view is the triple division of each side, and the unsymmetrical arrangement which results from it. This, however, can easily be avoided.

The screen on the front of the throne being left plain blue, and the paintings being divided between the other three sides, there is no room for doubt as to the distribution of the subjects between these three sides. Within each side, however, the case is different. It is true that the subjects belonging to each side seem at first sight to divide themselves into three groups. But what seems to be the third group in each case is of a different nature from the other two; it consists of two female figures, not in any close or dramatic relation to one another; in fact, it is not a group at all. Hellas and Salamis, Hippodamia and her mother, the two Hesperids, merely stand side by side—and not necessarily in the same panel. Here is the solution of the difficulty. By placing these two standing figures in two panels side by side,

ARRANGEMENT OF PAINTINGS ON THRONE.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Left side</th>
<th>Back</th>
<th>Right side</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Heracles and Atlas</td>
<td>Thessus and Pirithous</td>
<td>Hercules and Nemean Lion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hellas</td>
<td>Salamis</td>
<td>Hippodamia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sterope</td>
<td>Hesperid</td>
<td>Hesperid</td>
</tr>
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instead of in the same panel, we are at once enabled to arrange the groups and figures in a simple and symmetrical manner. We have four panels, not three, on each side. The square, metope-like groups find their natural place above the cross-bar, divided by a central pillar. On each side of this central pillar, below the cross-bar, stands a simple female figure, almost like a caryatid, to help the appearance of strength and solidity which, for the lower part
of the structure, is so desirable. We thus have a perfect symmetry between the various groups and figures, and each is assigned to a place for which it is peculiarly appropriate. Yet no violence whatever is done to the description of Paussanias, who could hardly have followed any different order: he speaks first of the two metope-like groups above, then of the two single figures below. Thus, too, better than on any other hypothesis, the words τελευταία

RESTORATION OF PAINTINGS ON LEFT SIDE OF THRONE.

ἐν τῇ γραφῇ are explained.13 The group of Penthesilea and Achilles does actually occur at the extreme end of the whole series of paintings; the two figures mentioned afterwards are not beyond it, but below it. Thus every test which we can apply is met most satisfactorily by the arrangement which I propose.

13 In fact it was these words that first suggested the new arrangement to me.
There is only one objection which occurs to me; this is that the Hesperids are again separated from the group of Atlas and Heracles, with which we should naturally expect them to be associated, and to which they were joined in Mr. Murray's arrangement. I admit that this objection has some weight, though I think it is lessened by the following considerations. There is no mythological impossibility in the separation of the Hesperids from the group of Heracles and Atlas; according to one version they were the daughters of Zeus, and therefore might appropriately appear by themselves on his throne. And again, if their separation, on the throne itself, from the group of Heracles and Atlas is a thing that requires comment, it is most unlikely that Pausanias, who was familiar with the mythological connexion of the two groups, would have arbitrarily separated them in his description. Such a separation seems only explicable if they were really remote from one another on the monument itself.

In any case, this one objection must be outweighed by the many arguments which tell in favour of the arrangement of the paintings on screens placed between the legs of the throne. Such screens are structurally a great advantage; they made it possible to erect inside the throne whatever supports were necessary for the great chryselephantine statue seated upon it. When we remember the great weight and complicated structure of the framework necessary to a colossal statue, we see that it would have been extremely difficult, if not impossible, to make such a statue seated upon an ordinary chair, of which the seat was supported only at the sides. And, even apart from extra supports, the eight legs or pillars and the cross-bars, as described by Pausanias, would have been unsightly if one could have seen right through from one side to the other, and would have made the whole, as has been suggested, more like a scaffolding than a stately throne. If, on the other hand, each side was completely filled with a screen, then the pillar and the cross-bar would divide the field it offered into four panels admirably adapted for the subjects which were painted upon them by Panaeus. The two caryatid-like figures below, and the two metope-like groups above do not merely add to the richness of the ornamentation; we see in them one more instance of the architectural design which controlled every accessory of the great work of Phidias, and gave to it a unity and breadth of conception without which so profuse a decoration might have impaired the effect of the whole.

F. A. GARDNER.

12 Roscher, Mythologie, s. v. 'Hesperiden.' 16 Cf. VI. xix. 8.
NOTE ON MEGALOPOLIS.

My attention has been called by Professor R. B. Richardson to an occurrence of the word σκανοθήκα which we overlooked when we published our report on the excavations at Megalopolis, believing that we had come across a word not known before. On a tile at Sparta, published in the Athenian Mittheilungen ii. p. 441, and previously, but without the word in question, in the Bull. d. Inst. 1873. p. 191. is impressed the following inscription:

ΠΛΑΙΝΘΟΙΔΑΜΟΙΣΙΑΙΚάΝΟ
ΘΙΚΑΣΙΕΙΚΑΛΙΚΡΑΤΩΣ
ΕΡΓΩΝΑΝΙΚΑΙΩΝΟΣ

No transcription is given in previous publications; I suppose we must read:

Πλάθων δαμώσας σκανοθήκας ἐπὶ Κυλληκράτεως ἔργον α' Νικαίωνος.

It may be remembered that we supposed the Scanotheca at Megalopolis to be situated in the peculiarly constructed western parodos; it could not, from the position of the Thersilion, have stood behind the scena. At Sparta there is no evidence for any such abnormal arrangement; but the occurrence of the name Scanotheca there also does not necessarily invalidate any of our conclusions as to the application of the name in the theatre at Megalopolis, except so far as concerns its unique use.
I take this opportunity of pointing out another omission in the Megalopolis publication, of which the probability was suggested to us by Professor Dörpfeld. In the plan of the Stoa of Philip (Megalopolis, Pl. XV.) three more column-bases should be inserted at each end, in a line parallel to the three that form the extreme aisle in the wing, and at the same distance from the inner edge of the wing as those three are from the end wall of the stoa. That is to say, the new rows of columns come opposite to the sixth column from either end; and thus the wings present a symmetrical structure. The bases are not all extant, but the evidence that they existed is quite clear.

E. A. G.
THE PROBLEM OF THE BACCHAE.

In two recent numbers of the Classical Review two most interesting notes have appeared, the first by Dr. Verrall under the same title as that of the present paper, and the second a notice of the second volume of Rohde's Psycho by Miss Harrison. Dr. Rohde in his work and both Dr. Verrall and Miss Harrison in these notes are led to the conclusion, if they do not assume the fact as an axiom, that the worship of Dionysus is not an indigenous cult in Greece but came in from Thrace and the north. It is a fact which at first sight appears incontestable: the mythology of nearly every state in Greece has the tale of the incoming of the god from abroad. Thebes and Athens, Argos and Orchomenos, Corinth and Brasae—all have their own stories of his advent. The very name Dionysus has a foreign, probably a Phrygian, derivation. Thus it is no wonder that modern mythologists almost without exception have adopted the view of the ancients themselves that the worship is one imported into Greece.

But, though it is evident that much of the later cult is undoubtedly not indigenous, there does yet seem to be a groundwork of a real old folk religion at the bottom of all these Phrygian and Thracian mysteries of later times. It would seem to be an almost unscientific method, if I may use the term without offence, on the strength of certain similarities in customs and cults between the deities of two different countries, to conclude that therefore the two are identical. Plutarch, indeed, and other writers¹ identify Dionysus and Osiris, and so too a modern mythologist has attempted to show that Demeter herself is a stranger colonist from Egypt. But the study of comparative mythology has shown us how similar are the early folk customs and folk cults throughout all the world, and the fair conclusion is not that one people borrowed its customs from another but that all found their origin independently in certain instincts common to all humanity. The case however with Dionysus worship in Greece is somewhat different. Dr. Rohde attributes to it the origin of the belief in immortality and derives both cult and belief from the north. He would not, I think, assert that of necessity the local myths and the customs which gave rise to those myths also necessarily came from the north. On the contrary there is a considerable amount of evidence to show that the cult of a wine god, who originally was known under different titles in different parts of Greece, was one of the

earliest indigenous cults in nearly every Greek township and village. The 
vine was one of the earliest agricultural products of the country and the 
worship of the vine god is essentially a worship of country men in country 
districts. Moreover in regard to this very belief in the immortality of the 
soul it may be remarked that, whereas the personification of the god by the 
priest is an element common in Pelasgic ritual and indeed in very many 
primitive religions, the old Thracian beliefs seem to point rather to a recogni-
tion of the painfulness and worthlessness of life than to any hope for a 
brighter hereafter. We are expressly told that the belief in a future life 
owed its origin to Pythagoras, and before the date of Pythagoras the worship 
of Dionysus must have spread itself over Greece.²

Moreover we have records in the fields both of mythology and ritual 
which would seem to point to extremely primitive and thoroughly indigenous 
cults of the deity. In mythology Thebes and Naxos both claimed to have 
been the place of his birth; we find him nursed in infancy at Thebes by the 
nymph Ino,³ in Euboea by Makris,⁴ on Parnassus by the Thyiaes,⁵ at Athens 
and near Nysa by the Muses,⁶ at Brasae by the inhabitants themselves and by 
Ino.⁷ Finally we hear of the death and tombs of Dionysus at Delphi and in 
Crete, and similarly at Argos there seems to have been a belief in his annual 
death and resurrection in his favourite form of a bull, cf. Plat. Is. Os. 35 
ἀνακολουθείται ἐς αὐτὸν ὑπὸ σαλπίγγων ἐξ θατοῦ ἐμβαλλόντως εἰς τὴν ἄβυσσον 
ἄραι τῆς Πυλαίας.⁸ Indeed throughout Greece we find very many feasts 
and cults of the deity which appear to belong naturally to a primitive 
population in the agricultural stage: at Elis, for instance, where at the feast 
of the Thyiae the women invoke the god to appear as a bull, and the miracle 
of the filling of the wine-jars took place,⁹ at Rhodes at the festival of the 
pruning of the vines,¹⁰ at Phigaleia at the feast called μαζώνες, at which 
there was a contest in eating,¹¹ at Alea where the women were beaten just 
as the Spartan youths at the feast of the Orthia,¹² at Kynaetha where the 
holy bull was miraculously revealed to the worshippers,¹³ and in Attica itself 
where the incoming of the god was commemorated in a distinctly primitive 
fashion,¹⁴ where the marriage of the god to the 'queen' in the Boukolion 
at the Anthesteron clearly belongs to a primitive cult, and the carrying of the 
statue round the town, as at Lesbos,¹⁵ is a direct development of a maypole 
custom.

A further and still more fatal objection to the theory of the importation 
of the worship of Dionysus lies in the fact that the stronghold of the cult 
of the deity lay not in any superior race of conquerors or in any hieratic
caste, but among the poor country people; it was not a state religion in the earliest times but belonged to the country districts. This we see most clearly in the case of Attica: more than one Attic deme claimed to have introduced the cult: Eleutheræ, Icaria and the Semachidæ all have their different legends: Brauron had its special primitive cult, while still another account tells of the introduction of the god from Eleusis. The conclusion to be drawn is obvious: where several districts claim to have originated the same worship, and each has its own legend to account for and justify that claim, the probability is that each of them had originally its own cult and that these several cults, being all rooted in some one natural primitive belief or custom, were later assimilated to one another in one great state religion. And the history of the development of the worship in Athens further bears out this view: it would appear that it was not until the popular tyrant Pisistratus came into power, that the popular god Dionysus assumed the full dignity of a state deity, while the greater Dionysia were not established to overshadow the country festival before the date of Cimon. The rudeness and simplicity of the earlier feast is borne witness to by Plutarch de div. fur. ο πάτρως τῶν Διονυσίων ἔφτη το παλαίν ἐπέρετο δημοτικός καὶ αἰλάρως: ἄμφορες ὤνου καὶ κληματίς ἐπὶ τρίγον τις ἐλκεν ἄλλος ἵππων ἄρρητων ἄμμοι κομπάζειν ἐπὶ πάσι δὲ ὁ φάλλος. From the political side also there is certainly no impossibility in the theory of Welcker that the story of the appearance of Dionysus Melanaigis in connexion with the feast of the Apistaria owes its origin to the enrolment as citizens of the Dionysus-worshipping clan of the Aigikoreis.

Without then entering into any discussion of the origin and nationality of the early worshippers of Dionysus on Greek soil, a question with which I hope to be able to deal on some other occasion in connexion with the Kourotes, I shall be content to have established that in Greece there was an early indigenous cult of a vine and vegetation deity, who was later identified with the stranger god of Thrace and with him passed under the name of Dionysus. This being so, how are we to explain the fact that in nearly every state in Greece where we find the worship of Dionysus established we also find stories of his incoming from abroad? It is to this problem, more especially in connexion with the Thuban myth as embodied in the Bacchae of Euripides, that the rest of this paper is devoted.

The plot of the Bacchae of Euripides is too well known to need recounting here: it is to three scenes in the play that we must devote our attention: the dressing up of Pentheus in the guise of a baccante, the scene of his slaying as reported by the messenger, and the return of Agave with the head of her son (vv. 810-860, 925-945, 1043-1152, 1170-1200).

The first of these scenes has a more than half comic character: when Dionysus and Pentheus re-enter from the palace (925), Pentheus must indeed have presented a ridiculous figure. He has a lock out of place; his girdle

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16 Mittelhaus, de Baccho Attico, p. 63.
17 Ib. p. 54.
19 And. de Thb. p. 290.
20 Suid. s.v. Aστεφαν. 
THE PROBLEM OF THE BACCHAE.

is loose, his dress does not hang straight; he is at a loss in which hand to hold his thyrsus. Finally, after he has been further made up by Dionysus, he is led through the middle of the town to be the laughing-stock of all Thebes (854, cf. 961). Nonnus (xlvii. 108ff.) gives a somewhat similar account of his dressing up and also dwells at some length on the crowding of the Theban men to see Pentheus led out. In the second scene Dionysus conducts Pentheus to the pine-grove and there they find the maenads resting quietly. Pentheus cannot get a good view of them, so Dionysus bends down a tall pine and, setting him on the top of it, lets it go, so that Pentheus appears perched aloft. Then the god disappears; a voice is heard calling on the maenads to punish the intruder and at the same time a column of fire appears reaching up to heaven. The maenads, catching sight of Pentheus, at first pelt him with sticks and stones; then, at the bidding of Agave they tear up the pine-tree by the roots and so Pentheus falls. In spite of his entreaties they fall upon him and 'Agave acts as priestess and begins the murder. Laying her left hand on his shoulder and her foot against his side, she wrenched off his shoulder with heaven-sent power.' Then there is a scramble led by Ino and Autonoe for parts of the body. Eventually Agave seizes the head and, fixing it on her thyrsus, rushes off with it to Thebes calling on Bacchus to share her triumph. Nonnus again gives a similar account emphasizing her race back to Thebes:

xlvii. 217 καὶ φονίω ταχύσσομοι ἀνέδραμε χάρματι λίποις.

Theocritus (xxvii.) tells us that there were twelve altars set up by the women, three to Semelis and nine to Dionysus, and that on these they offered specially prepared cakes, according to the rites prescribed by the god. He further emphasizes the scramble for pieces of the flesh. From Oppian we get as the cry of the revellers:

مواقρο οἱ Διὼν

ἀπ' οἴκες φλογερὸν πατραίον, αὖ ξέλιξον

Γαίαν.

In the third scene, with which we have to deal, the following points, which seem the salient ones in the myth, call for special consideration. In the first place Agave returns proud of her exploit. She has the prize of victory in the hunting (vv. 1147, 1200, 1239, Nonnus xlvii. 222, 233) and enters the city calling on Bacchus (v. 1145) and with the cry of triumph:

φέρομεν ἡ ὀρέων

θυκα νεότομον ἐπὶ μέλαθρα

μακαρίαν θήρας.

Further, as having been the first to strike the victim, she has special honour among the revellers:

Chor. τε ἡ θαλάσσα πρῶτα;

Ἀγ. ἔμοι τὸ γέρας

μάκαιρ 'Ἀγαθή κλησάμεθ' εἰν θεάσουσ.
In honour of this victory she is to give a feast to all her friends, and Cadmus himself shares the honour she has won:

1241ff. γαυροὺμενος δὲ τῶν ἔμοις ὁμοίων ἄγρευματι
καλεῖ φίλοις ἐς δαίτα: μακάριος γὰρ εἶ
μακάριος ἦμων τοιαῦτα ἄξειρασμένοιν.

Nonnus xlvi. 221 Κάθε μάκαρ, καλέο σε μακάρτατον.

Finally the head of Pentheus is to be fixed on the triglyphs of the palace:

1212ff. Πενθεύς τ᾿ ἐμὸς παῖς ποῦ ἄνειω; αἰρόθιω λαβὼν
πηκτῶν πρὸς οἴκους κλιμάκων προσαμβᾶσθε
ὡς πασσαλεύῃ χρήμα πρεσβύφοις τοῖς.

Nonnus xlvi. 232

... ὑμῶν ἔμοι στείχεσθε ταύτα προπολλαμα δὲ Κάθειν
πῆξατο ταῦτα κάρηνον ἡμῖν ἀναθήματα νῖκης...

The main points then of the whole story, as we shall treat it, are the following. The king of the country is elaborately dressed up as a woman and in this guise is led through the town to be a laughing-stock to the inhabitants and so out into the woods. There he is set upon a tree and at a given signal is pelted with sticks and stones by the assembled women. After a time the tree is pulled up by the roots and the body of the king is torn in pieces by his mother and her two sisters. Then there apparently follows a scramble for the various limbs and eventually the mother seizes the head and races off with it, fixed on her ivy-wreathed thyrsus, to the town. Here she proclaims herself as victor in the hunt, ordains a feast and bids her servants fix the head on the triglyphs of the palace. Such is the main story; minor points, such as the technical uses of particular words, will be dealt with in their proper places.

Now we have seen that in all probability the worship of Dionysus was not a cult introduced into Greece from abroad in the way described by Euripides, and, this being so, we are justified in looking for some other interpretation and explanation of the story. In dealing with Greek mythology the most fruitful source and origin of myths lies in early custom and ritual; indeed it is a safe rule to go by, that, where in the later accounts mythical stories are celebrated and perpetuated by means of feasts, in by far the majority of cases the ritual is older than the myth and indeed gave birth to it. This is to be proved not only by a comparison of the religions of various Greek states, in which feasts, which are in their origin identical, have totally different stories tacked on to them, but also by a comparison with similar festivals in other parts of the world belonging to peoples in the same stage of civilization. In the present case, then, our inquiry must divide itself into two chief heads:

(1) the consideration of Greek and other cults and customs, which may have any bearing on the question;
(2) the examination of the Dionysus worship as we know it in Thebes, to see if any such ritual, as would give rise to this myth, can be found there, and, if so, to assign a name, if possible, for the feast in which these customs were preserved.

(1). That at certain seasons of the year it is an almost universal folk custom to take out of the town or village some figure representing the vegetation god of the past season and to return bringing back into the village another figure of the new god, has been sufficiently proved by Mannhardt and Frazer. The existence of this and other similar customs in ancient Greece and Italy has also been established by these writers in connexion with such ceremonies as those of the Argei and Mamurius Veturius at Rome and of the Thesmophoria and Adonis rites in Greece. Further, unless I am mistaken, we may see distinct traces of this custom in those festivals in which the statue of the god or goddess is carried out of the town and then brought back again, this being a natural development of the earlier custom due chiefly to the sanctity supposed to reside in the statue itself. Such rites are to be found in the Toneia at Samos, and perhaps also in the Anthesteria and Plutneria at Athens. The same principle is involved in rather a different manner in the cases where a goddess is regarded as having a double character as mother and virgin. Thus we find Hera as a virgin and bride at Hermione, and as a virgin, bride and widow at Smyrna; so too Athene was regarded as a mother goddess at Elis, and there can be no doubt that, hierarchically speaking, the maiden Persephone of one season became the mother Demeter of the next. It is then perhaps in some similar custom and belief that we are to look for the origin of the myths of the introduction of Dionysus, accompanied as it generally is by the death or exile of some earlier king.

In treating the Pentheus myth in detail it will be most convenient to divide the story under the various heads of the various stages of the ceremony, looking for parallels, drawn from somewhat similar customs, to each particular act. These heads then will be:

(a) The dressing up of the figure as a woman.
(b) The leading of it through the town for all to see.
(c) The setting of it on a tree.
(d) The pelting with sticks and stones.
(e) The tearing to pieces and scramble for the parts.
(f) The carrying home of the head on the thyrsus at racing pace.
(g) The fixing on the triglyphs of the house.

(a) The dressing up of Pentheus as a woman is perhaps the point hardest to explain in the whole story. The emphasis laid upon it in all the

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* Lact. Inst. 1. 17; Polyacem. 1. 23; Ath. xii. 20; Find. ii. vi. 34; Paus. viii. 22. 2.
** Monodot. p. 12; Ath. xvi. 12.

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accounts and the half comic character given to the scene by Euripides would seem to make it impossible that it should be simply a disguise demanded by the exigencies of the case. Also we must bear in mind that in the corresponding stories of Orchomenos and Argos, to be discussed later, the victim is in reality a woman. This phenomenon may point to an original gynaeococratic age, such as that proposed by Topfer in the case of the Minyadæ; and so perhaps an originally feminine personification of the deity was superseded by a male dressed as a female. However that may be, it is a phenomenon common to many forms of folk custom throughout Europe. Thus in Russia, on the Thursday after Whit Sunday, the villagers cut a young pine-tree, dress it as a woman and bring it with rejoicing into the village: three days after, on Trinity Sunday, they drag it out and throw it into water. So too at 'the burial of Carnival' in Leuchin a man dressed in black woman's clothes and accompanied by a train of male mourners, dressed as women, was carried out of the village to a large dung-heap, where he was drenched with water and burned. For an early Estonian instance Mannhardt quotes Thomas Hiarn (c. 1500 A.D.): 'every new year a figure of straw was dressed as a man and called Mätsiko; the people attributed to him the guardianship of their flocks from wild beasts and the keeping of their boundaries. They all accompany him out of the village and set him on the nearest tree. A later record tells us that at the feast of the Annunciation a large straw figure was made called 'metsa isä' (father of the wood) or 'metsa emä' (mother of the wood), according as it was dressed as a man or woman; this was kept in the cowhouse till the day of the procession; then it was fixed on a long pole, carried first round the village (b), then out into the wood where it was set on a tree (c). This was followed by gross revels. This festival relates no doubt to the destruction of the old deity but to the setting up of the new one, but the carrying on a pole and the setting on a tree are clear parallels to the Pentheus case. In Italy used to be observed the custom of 'sawing the old woman' on the Fourth Sunday in Lent; at Palermo the part was played by an old woman, at the back of whose neck was a bladder of blood: this was sawn through and the blood spurted out. At Florence the old woman was a figure stuffed with walnuts and figs and fastened to the top of a ladder. At Mid-Lent this was sawn through and there was a scramble for the fruit. In many places of Germany on the eve of St. Peter Stuhlfeyer (Feb. 22) or on Rupert's Day, the straw-witch, the old woman or the grandmother of winter, was driven out or burnt; sometimes the dead spirit of winter is conceived as a bird and in Saxony this song is sung:

'rut 'rut Suntevnebel!
Sünne Peter dai os kuenen:
Sünne Tigges kuevet noch:
hai verbitt di Has un Huoff,
Laut un Sant
Lof un Grass.

Or:

Herauss, herauss du Schwellenvogel:
S. Peters Stuhlfeier ist kommen,
verbeut dir Hauss und Hoff und Stall
Häwscheppen Schewer und anders all.
Bis auff diesen Tag übers Jahr
dass sie kein Schade widerfahr.

Other instances of the vegetation spirit being represented as a woman will be found in the Golden Bough i. pp. 262, 263, 267, 271, 272, 278, etc., Mannhardt, Bk. pp. 414, cf. p. 420.

(c). Little need be said of the leading of the figure through the village: it is a feature common to nearly all such forms of ritual. The figure, as Mr. Frazer has shown, may be greeted either with cries of sorrow or with jeers of derision and loathing. In Thebes, if we may reconstruct the ritual, the yearly Pentheus seems to have undergone the latter treatment.

(c). The setting of the figure on a tree is also an extremely common feature in these rites. Among the Saxons of Transylvania the Carnival is hung on a tree. The Metzik of Esthonia was, as we have seen, set for a year on a tree. So too, in the provinces of Orieus, the 'grand Mondai' is carried solemnly round the village and then put on the oldest apple-tree. This is in April; at the apple-gathering the figure is taken down and either burnt or thrown into the water. The first apple-gatherer of the year is called the grand mandar of the next season. It is only a modification of the rite when the figure is set on a pole or as in the case of 'the old woman' at Florence at the top of a ladder. So we find a very similar instance to the one discussed: in Austrian Silesia on the Fourth Sunday in Lent a straw figure made by the boys is dressed by the girls in women's clothes. Attached to a long pole it is carried out of the village followed by a troop of young people alternately rejoicing and lamenting. In a field outside the village the figure is stripped of its clothes and ornaments; then the crowd rushes in and tears it to bits scuffling for the fragments. Every one tries to get a wisp of the straw, which if placed in the manger would make the cattle thrive. So in Upper Lusatia, Death, a figure made out of straw and rags, was dressed in the veil of the last bride and smock of the last dead; then, with signs of

καὶ τὰς αἰσθήσεις ἐνα τάτωσαν ἐγγίνας βάθους
καὶ ἤδρας ἤθελαν κατέρχεται 'Επε Βαδίω
καὶ τὸν ἑτ ηλευτον καὶ ηγέταν, cf. Πολυελ.

Baddere: μεγαλο καλι.
the deepest mourning carried in on a pole, pelted with sticks and stones (d), and finally plunged into a pool outside the village. Then all those taking part plucked a green twig and brought it home. Nor again are those cases in any way different from the parallel custom of representing the spirit as a tree dressed up as a man or woman as was the case at the Boeotian Daedala. So too we find Marena (Winter) in Russia represented by a tree which is afterwards thrown into the water. Often again the figure of Death is made of birch or of the branch of a beech and sometimes it is lying on a little tree and carried about by girls collecting money. Indeed we may say that one of the commonest ideas about this spirit conceives it as residing in the tree just as we see the goddess on the coins of Myrin, and that naturally this belief is reflected in folk custom.

Of customs obviously belonging to the class of maypole ceremonies which we find in Greece perhaps the best instance is the feast of the 'Daphnaphoria' celebrated once in eight years at Thebes, as described by Proclus. Probably however the feast was originally an annual one, as we find the priesthood was annual (Paus. ix. 20, 1). A boy of noble birth and distinguished beauty, wreathed with laurel, richly dressed and with his hair let down, formed the principal figure in a procession headed by his nearest relation carrying a pole, called καπνόθε, decorated like a maypole with ribbons and coloured balls. He is followed by a band of maidens holding out boughs of olive and singing songs of supplication. The procession visited the shrines of Apollo Ismenios and Chalazios. Customs such as this show that primitive rites, which may be ascribed to an early tree worship, were by no means extinct in Greece even at a comparatively late date.

(d). Buch 1995

ιωσ δί εἰδον ἐλατὴς διαπότης ἐφημενον,
πρωτὸν μὲν αὐτὸς χερσάδως κρατομαζῶν
ἐβριττόν ἀντιποράμεν ἐπιμαζῶς πέτρων
δημοὶ τ' ἑλασίως ἡκοντιστο
ἀλλαὶ δὲ θύρθους λεπαν δὲ αἰθέρος
Πενθέως, στόχων δύστηροι κ.τ.λ.

At first sight this may appear to be merely a poetic amplification of the ritual: that this is not the case, but that it formed a regular part of the ceremony, will appear from the following similar instances, where it undoubtedly has a special meaning. In Upper Lusatia, as we have seen, the figure of Death is set on the end of a long pole and the tallest and strongest girl runs with it out of the village, the rest pelt the effigy with sticks and stones. Whoever hits it will be sure to live through the year. Similarly in other parts of Lusatia the women who carry out the figure are pursued by

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42. P. Gardner, Types of Greek Coins, Pl. XV. 6.
43. G. B. L. 272.
44. G. B. L. 269.
urchins throwing stones.\textsuperscript{40} Mannhardt quotes another somewhat similar instance from Poland.\textsuperscript{41} But it is in Greece itself that we must look for the most striking parallels to this custom: a cognate instance of such a ceremony is that of the Ἀθηναία of the maidens at Troezen, Paus. ii. 32, 2 ὡς δὲ τὴν Δαμήλιαν καὶ Ἀύξιαν, καὶ Τροιζήνας μέτακτιν αὐτῶν, ὧν τῶν αὐτῶν λέγουσιν ὅτι Ἐπιδίαυοι καὶ Λειμυνταί λόγον, ἀλλὰ ἀοικεῖθεν παρθένους ἐκ Κρήτης-στασιασάντων διά ὁμοίως τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἀπάντων καὶ ταύτας φαινὼν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀντιστασίων καταλευκάνω, καὶ ἔφεσίν ἄργοντι σφιζὶ Λιθοβόλια ὀνομάζοντες. So too at the festival of Dionysus at Alea, mentioned above, the women were beaten in accordance, as we are told, with an oracle from Delphi (Paus. viii. 23, 1). The Thessalian women are said to have beaten to death Lais ξυλιναὶ χελώναι, in consequence of which a feast was instituted in honour of Aphrodite Anasia, in which doubtless the practice of beating was preserved, and at Thbes it will be remembered that the βούλμος was beaten ἀριναῖας ράβδους.

Similarly at the Eleusinia there would seem to have been a Lithobolia.\textsuperscript{42} It also appears at the Roman feasts of the Lupercalia and Nones Caprotinae. This rite appertains always to festivals the object of which is to stimulate the powers of generation. Mannhardt connects it with the similar beating of Fauna with myrtle, of Pan with squills, and of Demeter with whips of tree bark, while similar instances in modern customs are plentiful such as that where the ‘Laubkönig’ carries a long stick in his hand with which he beats children and dogs.\textsuperscript{43} It combines the notions of the destruction of the evil spirit and the stimulating of the generative powers. But why is such a stoning resorted to in the case of Pentheus, who is doomed to death? Surely for the same reason that the φίαμακος at Athens was stoned,\textsuperscript{44} that the scapegoat in Asia Minor was beaten with squills and the branches of trees,\textsuperscript{45} that Mamurris Veturius was beaten with rods, and that the slave at the Chaeronean festival was beaten with agnus castus.\textsuperscript{46} The answer is given us by Mr. Frazer: \textsuperscript{47} it is to dispel any malignant influences by which the figure may be possessed, in order that his spirit and reproductive powers may be transmitted to his successor at a time of full activity. It will be noticed that many of the objects with which the representative of the spirit was beaten had in themselves special magical powers, and this may find a parallel in the pelting of Pentheus with the magical thyrsus and the roots of the oak-tree. If then we are able to show grounds for the belief that the Pentheus myth found its origin in some form of ritual skin to the carrying out of Death in modern Europe, we shall be also justified in assuming that the pelting of the figure set in the tree was originally an integral part of both ritual and myth.

(c) The fate of the body of Pentheus does not seem certain. According to Euripides the various limbs were scattered over the barren slope of

\textsuperscript{40} Ib.  
\textsuperscript{41} Ib. p. 413.  
\textsuperscript{42} Myth. Forsch. p. 299.  
\textsuperscript{43} Ibid. p. 146.  
\textsuperscript{44} Harp. s.c.  
\textsuperscript{45} Teutz. Chil. v. 726-761.  
\textsuperscript{46} Ad. Nat. Am. lx. 26.  
\textsuperscript{47} G. B. ii. 214 f.
Cithaeron and then collected and buried by Cadmus. Nonnus apparently makes each woman carry home a piece of the flesh with her. Similarly on two vases published by Hartwig we see the maenads carrying off legs and arms as prizes. In either case we have numerous parallel rites in modern folklore. The body of Orpheus seems to have been scattered over the fields, the earliest account of it being that Orpheus was slain for not honouring Dionysus; and he is connected with the introduction of Dionysus by Schol. Eur. Acha. 968. The fact that the figure of Death is often torn to pieces is so commonplace that we need not here adduce instances, beyond those already quoted. The scramble for pieces of the victim however introduces to us a new idea: the representative of the god has been killed in the full vigour of life, so there is still virtue in the parts. Speaking generally of the German spring fire festivals U. Jahn says: 'finally when the fire burns low, they jump through the flame, the smoke having healing properties. Then the remains of the fire were carefully collected and carried home as having virtue as a talisman; there they were tied to fruit-trees, buried in the flux-field, or scattered broadcast over the corn.' So too in Austria we find the flesh of the victim stewed over the Easter fire is divided among all the partakers in the rite.

Similar scrambles take place in Austrian Silesia, the parts of the victim either making the crops grow, or bringing good luck to the cattle or causing the hens to brood. Again, if the bearers of the figure on their way home meet cattle and strike them with their sticks, this will make them prolific; a belief which corresponds nearly to the magical power of the thyrsus. At Athens fragments of the pigs of the Thesmophoria brought fertility to the crops. There is however another possibility: if we accept the account of Euripides it appears that the limbs of Pentheus were scattered over the barren slopes of Cithaeron, i.e. outside the immediate cultivated lands of the town. For this we may find a close parallel in the carrying of the figure of Death to the boundary of the village, which is the usual custom at these rites. It is not necessary for me to decide which of these views may be the right one; nor again in the case of the latter is it to the point here to discuss the origin of such a custom; whether it is in its origin simply the driving out of the polluted old year, or whether it is a substitute for the eating of the victim. This question has been fully enough examined by Dr. Robertson Smith in *The Religion of the Semites*.

Another point which we may here notice is the blaze of fire, which

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44 Jahrbuch 1892, p. 162, p. V. with a blaze of light. Cf. Soph. O.T. 909 ff., a passage which may have a secondary reference to this feast under discussion:
45 Aesch. ag. Ere. 24. τινος κρυμματων εις ανοιξιων
46 O. Opy. 95. πᾶρεν ἑπόμενα γὰρ
47 D. p. 134. εἰς τὴν Βάκχου κύρος
48 D. B. I. 267. Μακρύτερα κατάλυσιν
t. τινυς εὐιδέσχεν
49 Id. s.v. τινυς φύλαξ
THE PROBLEM OF THE BACCHAE.

appears stretching up to the sky at the disappearance of Dionysus. This we
may connect with the tradition of the Thracian Basilaeae that at the gathering
of the worshippers of Dionysus in the sacred grove a bright light appeared
ὅταν ἐσθηρίαν μέλλῃ ποιεῖν, καὶ τοῦτο πάντας ὅρμων τοὺς περι τὸ τέρμον
παράβουσιν. οὗτος ἐκαρπίας, μὴ φαίνεσθαι τοῦτο τὸ φῶς ἄλλα σκότος ἐπέχειν
tῶν τῶν ὅστηρ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας νύκτας.51 May this tradition be
compared with the analogous auguries drawn from the fire kindled at modern
rites? In Greece on Easter-day a fire was lighted: it was carefully watched
to see which way the smoke blew. In those parts where it was blown the
flax was sown for the next year and would thrive best.52 So in another
district wherever the smoke went no harm came from the weather to the
crops.53 But these and all the thousand other instances of such fires
undoubtedly belong to a class of sun charms, while it is difficult to conceive
how such can be the case with this miraculous blaze of light; and it may be
that Euripides simply borrowed this incident from the Thracian tradition, the
play of the Bacchae being indeed written at the neighbouring Macedonian
court.54 However we may compare the cry of the revellers as given us by
Oppian: so perhaps there was a similar tradition also at Thebes:

(f). The next point which we may discuss is the racing of Agave home.
This is not a point which is accentuated in ancient authors; but still the fact
is given by both Euripides and Nonnus. As therefore we can find parallels
for the custom in modern rites, and since this running home seems to have
been an important part in the later Theban festival, it will be better to
discuss the matter shortly here. An at first sight tempting theory would
assign this running of Agave to a class of ceremonies dealt with by Mann-
hardt, in which the winner of the race is made King or Queen of the May;55
and certainly no more dramatic scene could be conceived than such an entry
of Agave followed by the other maenads. Further we might perhaps trans-
late μάκαρ Ἀγαθή κηρύσσωμεν ἐν θιάσοις: 'I shall be called Queen of the
May in the revels.' Certainly the constant use of the word μάκαρ at this
stage of the play and also in the other versions of the story would suggest
some such meaning. And in Thebes the epithet μάκαρ had a very special
and definite meaning: cf. Suid. s.v. μακάρων ἡσυχία ἡ ἐκρήσεις τῶν ἐν
Βουσική θησαῦ τὸ παλαιόν, ἄς Ἀρμενίδας. Hesychius and Photios give a
similar record. Further μάκαρ is a very favourite epithet and synonym for
Dionysus, Opp. Cyn. iv. 301; Orph. Ἱμην. 45, 1, 50, 1; 53, 8; 30, 8; 45,
7; 48, 8; 47, 6; 52, 1. It is applied to Thebes in close connexion with
this myth of the introduction of Dionysus, Find. ι.κ. v. 7. And Soph. O. T.

"Come Bacchus of the golden μῆτρα and
drive out Ares the god who is no god (εἰς γαρ
ἀφεῖν Πενθήμερον)." Such is the cry of
the Theban elders. Cf. the similar Theban Invoca-
tion, Soph. Ant. 1144 ff.
210 ταῦτα ἐπονομάζει γάς seems to refer to this epithet more probably than to the epithet Βακχεία for Thebes or Καθμεία νύμφας ἀγάλμα for Dionysus (v. Jebb. in loc.). The frequency of the use of the word in the passage necessitates some special meaning and here there seems to be one ready to hand. Μάκαρ is the very opposite of Πενθεύς and Agave is μάκαιρα as Queen of the May just as Dionysus, the young May spirit, is μάκαρ. It was on the Cadmeia, the μακάρων νύσσων, that the sanctuary of the god originally lay. But translate this as we will, it will appear evident that it was not the winning of any race that gave Agave her place of honour. The head of Pentheus is a prize of victory, but not for running—rather for being the first to strike the figure either when seated in the tree or after it had fallen. 'Who was the first to strike it?' Mine is the honour.' What then is the meaning of this running? Does it like the winning of the race simply point to the rapidity and vigour of action of the spirit? or is it an outcome of the dread which surrounds the effigy of Death, as we sometimes find the bearers of the figure run home lest Death should follow them? or is it like the regnumjum at Rome and the flight after the Bouphonia at Athens—the flight from the consequences of slaying the most sacred of powers? It is thus in fact that we find Agave driven out of Thebes after her deed: but now she is running into the town, not away from it. Doubtless the nearest parallel instance is that at the slaying of the October horse at Rome, when the tail was carried from the Campus with such speed that it was still bleeding when it reached the altar or hearth of the Regia. The reason for the running in this instance is to bring the blood fresh to the sacred altar, in order to renew the holy life there, just as the holy life is renewed by the offering of a child in the following instance: Phot. Abst. ii, 56 Δηματηρίου τῆς Ἀραβίας κατ' ετοι ἐκαστῶν ἐθνῶν πάντα, δὲ ὑπὸ βωμῶν ἐδαπτοῦν, ὃ χρύνται ὂς ξύλον. Such then I conceive to have been the object of speed in bringing the head of Pentheus into Thebes: the special sanctity of the head and its meaning in this instance we must now deal with.

Following the carrying out of Death in modern folk customs we have the bringing in of the new life. 'Death we draw out of the village, Summer we draw into the village,' is the song of the Bohemian maidens. Now, as we have seen in dealing with the scramble for parts of the body, a generative power still resides in the parts of the slain victim, which are taken home and jealously guarded. Further, we find that the life is sometimes passed on from the dead spirit to the new one: this comes clearly to the fore in the Lusatian custom to which we have already referred. On a certain day the women went out in mourning apparel and dressed up a straw figure in a smock, putting a scythe and a besom in its hands; this they took to the boundary of the village and there tore it in pieces, then they cut a healthy tree out of the wood, put the smock on it and brought it home with songs.
Similar is the Transylvanian custom of dressing up a girl, the May Queen, so to speak, in the clothes worn by the figure of Death.\textsuperscript{67} The meaning of this custom has been dwelt on by both Mannhardt and Mr. Frazer: \textsuperscript{68} here I only wish to apply it in the case of the Pentheus myth, where it is the head of the victim which is set upon the thyrsus and carried home, and confuse my attention to the special sanctity given to the head of the victim. The head,\textsuperscript{69} says Dr. Robertson Smith, \textsuperscript{69} is by many nations regarded as a special seat of the soul, and so in Egyptian sacrifice the head was not eaten but thrown into the Nile, while among the Iranians the head of the victim was dedicated to Haoma, \textit{that the immortal part of the animal might return to him.}\textsuperscript{70} So too it appears that in ancient times the heads of rams and asses were used as charms.\textsuperscript{71} The same sanctity occurs in many instances collected by Mr. Gomme from Indian and other sources.\textsuperscript{72} Again we find four horses' heads buried in the corners of the cornfield to protect it against bad weather.\textsuperscript{73} So too courage and vigour are supposed to be given to a man, if he eats his enemy's brains: here the idea is that the life of the dead man passes in to the other, just as Haoma is revivified by the head of the victim. The special sanctity of the head and the taboos appertaining to it are fully discussed by Mr. Frazer.\textsuperscript{74} A striking parallel to the Pentheus offering comes before us in the Aino bear ceremony described by Mr. Frazer: \textsuperscript{75} here we have the leading of the animal round the hut, the shooting at it with blunted arrows, the flesh and sacred parts distributed among the men, and eaten, and finally the bear's skull set upon a pole.

\textit{(g).} But it is as an emblem and talisman nailed above the door of a house or stable that the head perhaps most frequently appears. So in North Germany we find a cow's or a calf's head hung below the roof to protect against disease.\textsuperscript{76} In Westphalia we find the skulls of horses kept by the roof as a talisman against bad weather, illness, and all other evils. In Silesia over the stable doors are hung the heads of oxen, horses, or rams. The same custom is found in Prussia and Holland.\textsuperscript{77} Hence comes the custom common in the Tyrol, Bavaria, Bohemia, Thuringen, Westphalia, Brunswick, and elsewhere, of decorating the gables of houses with rudely carved horses' heads.\textsuperscript{78} So again a fox's head was nailed to the door in parts of Scotland to bar the entrance of witches: \textsuperscript{79} at Hornchurch in Essex a boar's head is wrestled for, while in the belfry of Elsdon Church in Northumberland at the highest point in the church three horses' skulls were found. Jahn deduces as a law that such heads must be hung close under the roof, a part specially sanctified by the presence of the house-spirit.\textsuperscript{80} This question is dealt with by Mannhardt in connexion with the head of the

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{67} 7. B. i. 265.
\bibitem{68} 8. B. p. 419; 7. B. i. 265.
\bibitem{69} 9. Rel. of Sem. p. 322.
\bibitem{70} 10. pp. 440, 456.
\bibitem{71} 11. Eth. in P. p. 18 ff., 35 ff.
\bibitem{73} 13. G. B. i. 187-193.
\bibitem{74} 14. \textit{op. cit.} ii. 101 ff.
\bibitem{75} Jahn, \textit{op. cit.} p. 29.
\bibitem{76} 15. p. 21.
\bibitem{77} 16. p. 29.
\bibitem{78} 17. Gomme, \textit{op. cit.} p. 35.
\bibitem{79} 18. p. 20.
\end{thebibliography}
October horse in Rome which in a precisely similar way was hung on the wall of the Regia, the old palace of the king. It is true that in this case it was a harvest festival, whereas any feast connected with Pentheus was probably in the spring: but we also constantly find the maypole set up on the roof of a house, at a window, over the door, on the wall by the door, over the cattle-shed, etc. (v. Mannhardt, Bk. pp. 161—167, 219, 220, and passim).

We have seen then, even from the few instances here collected, that there is not a single point in the story of the death of Pentheus which cannot be amply illustrated by the closest parallels in modern folk-customs. Indeed if we had to construct a type of the most primitive May custom, as we conceive it to have been, it would be difficult to improve on the story of the Bacchae. Before however we go on to consider the place any such ritual may have held in Thebes, there are still one or two points in the myth which it would be well to indicate as emphasizing the connexion with these customs. In connexion with Pentheus we may first mention his name, with which we must deal later. Here it will be enough to point out that it is obviously connected with the root πεταλ, meaning suffering. So in slaying Pentheus the women were in reality slaying the representative of the suffering of the dead season. He is in fact from one point of view the scape-goat, sacrificed for the whole people, just as in time of plague one of a herd of cattle is sacrificed for all. But that is not the original view in which he was regarded. Rather he was king of the people, and, as such, the representative and embodiment of the god. Moreover he was the specially sacred first-born son offered up by Agave. Finally the confining of the rite to women is a characteristic common to very many of these customs. So for instance in Swabia and on the Moselle it is the women who every year at Carnival time cut down the fairest tree in the wood and bring it into the village. The reason for this is given by Mannhardt: ‘As Minerva’s tree and the Yartrud help women in childbirth, so we often see given to women exclusively the right to cut in the woods the tree which is to serve as Maypole, etc.; this implies an attribute of special influence on animal fruitfulness.’ So also the women come to the fore at the time of the Harvest May: this emphasizes the generating principle of the corn growth and side by side with this its birth out of the womb of the earth. The reason for the confinement of the rites of the Thesmophoria to women is doubtless the same (v. Mannhardt, Bk. pass., esp. 211—216 f.; Myth. Forsch. pp. 351 ff.).

(2). The present state of our argument is as follows: we have seen that in spite of the fact that throughout Greece there existed myths of the introduction of the god, the probability is that Dionysus was a god of the earliest and most primitive population on Greek soil. An explanation then had to be sought for these myths of his coming, different from the most obvious one, that Dionysus was a god of foreign origin. In order to find this,
we examined in detail that one of these myths of which we have the fullest account, and we have seen that the story of the death of Pentheus corresponds most closely to the spring folk-custom of carrying out Death, and further that the bringing home of his head by Agave answers similarly to the bringing home of the Maypole. But where does the introduction of Dionysus enter into this story? It is my object to show that just as the Silesian boys sing:

We have carried Death out,
We are bringing the dear Summer back.
The Summer and the May
And all the flowers gay.

so the Theban women might have sung:

We have carried Pentheus out:
Blessed (*μικάπα*) Lusios bring we back.

The bringing in of this strange Maypole is in fact the introduction of the god; the new god that is, for Pentheus was the representative of the old god. It was not the bringing in of a new worship, but simply the renewal of the spirit of the old deity. In other words, the Pentheus carried out one year was the Dionysus Lusios brought in the year before. Hence it comes that the incoming of Dionysus in most of the states of Greece was accompanied in the myth with the death of some victim. This victim in the myth may be either the priest of Dionysus, or his friend, or again his opponent and derider, or finally some maiden of the royal house, as at Argos. It matters nothing in what character this personage is represented: we may be sure that originally it was the sacred priest or priestess of the god, in whose person was embodied for a time the sacred life. Thus in the Attic myth we find this position occupied by Icarus, the king, the friend of the god, who was carrying the new wine round to his subjects ἄρι ἀμακένων, when he was set upon and beaten to death: with sticks in the wood. His murderers either left him unburied, or, according to others, buried him under a tree, or, according to Hyginus, threw his body into a well. Afterwards, like Agave, *statim ἱὸνας se mandaverunt*. Similarly, according to some, Erigone threw herself into a well called Anigram, which we may compare with the purificatory springs which washed away the blackness of Demeter Melaina and Demeter Erinny in Arcadia. However we may perhaps see in this Icarus myth a

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68 G. B. i. p. 228.
69 The representation of the god by a priest king is too common an element in all religious to need discussion here. Some few of the many instances in Greece may be added. In Homer the priest is honoured as a god (*H. v. 72*, xvi. 601), and, in the case of Maron, dwelt in the sacred grove (*Ili. ix. 290*). In many places in Greece priesthood and kingship were identical (*Plat. qu. Rom. 119*) and in others the priests and priestesses went through all the ceremonies just as the gods did (Paus. x. 34, 4, viii. 13, 1). Soo too ἄξιος is the name not only of the god but also of his priest (*Schol. Ar. Erg. 409*, Hasych. &c.). Finally at Teebra a boy represented Hermes (Paus. ix. 22, 1).
70 Ἐντ. 1535.
71 Ἰβ. 1539.
72 Ἰβ. 1540.
73 Ἰβ. 1541.
reference to a custom of annually slaying the holy priest of the god and preserving the phallos, just as is preserved the head of Pentheus.\textsuperscript{31} Again at Potniae we have a record of a feast of the same nature, though here we do not find it definitely connected with the introduction of the god, a difference which only serves to strengthen our argument. The inhabitants being intoxicated at a feast of the god, as the story runs, once slew the priest of Dionysus. A disease attacked them, and they received an oracle to sacrifice a boy, annually as it seems, to the god. Not many years after, a goat was sacrificed instead of the boy.\textsuperscript{32} Here, if anywhere, we have a transparent piece of mythology; in point of fact there must have been at first an annual (?) priest slain and in after days came in the principle of substitution. At Orchomenos and Argus we have two very similar stories of the Minyadæae and Proctiæae. In both cases we find three princesses driven out in Bacchic frenzy and tearing their children in pieces, and in both cases one of the three afterwards perishes.\textsuperscript{33} Both these two deeds were also commemorated with the feast of the Agronia or Agramia. This feast we must consider in some detail, as it is to it that we must refer the rites described in the Bacchae. The principal Schriftgellena are the following:

Plut. Qu. Rom. 112 ἀγριωλίας δὲ καὶ νυκτέλιον ὅπο τὰ πολλὰ διὰ ἀκότους διαταίρεται, "Η καὶ τοῦτο συμβολική διώσκου καὶ βακχευ-μάτων ἀπαγόρευτος ἢ; αἷς ἄγαρ ἐνοχοί τοῖς βακχίκοις πάθεσι γυναῖκες εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τῶν κιττοὺς φέρονται, καὶ σπαρμάτους δραττούμενοι τῶν χεριῶν καὶ δισεθίοναι τῶν στόματε. They also ask one another riddles. Τὸν, ἐπὶ 38 καὶ ἄγαρ παρ᾽ ἐννομον ὁ τοῖς Ἀγριωλίος, φυλή καὶ διώξεις αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἱερέως τοῦ Διόνυσου ἔφος ἔχοντος ἐξεστὶ δὲ καὶ τὴν καταληφθεῖσαν ἀνελείν..."

These women were taken from the clan of the Minyadæae.

Her. s.v. ἀγριωλίας. ὡρτή ἐν Ἀργείᾳ έπι μεγάλη τῶν Προκτίων θυματέων. ἀγριωλίας ἐνθύσεως παρὰ Ἀργείοις, καὶ ἀγωνεῖς ἐν Θῆβαις.

Plut. Sympr. viii. Proposition, οὗ φαίνετο οὐκ καὶ παρ᾽ ἡμέν ἐν τοῖς Ἀγριωλίοις τῶν Διόνυσον αἱ γυναῖκες ὁι ἀποδεδρακότα ζητοῦσιν εἶτα παύονται καὶ λέγουσιν ὅσ πρὸς τὰς Μύσας καταπέθεσι καὶ κέρκυται παρ᾽ ἐκεῖνως.

Ins. Ath. Midh. vii. 340

Θερασίου ἄρχοντος ἄρχωνθετοῦστος τῶν Ἀγριωλίων Νικομᾶδον... 
ἐπὶ ἱερέως τοῦ Διόνυσου... τοῦ... Ὀυρίγημος ἀπὸ δὲ [τῶν τεχνῶν (!)... 
-ου τοῦ Εὐάγρου Χαλείου τοῦ δεύτε-ρου, πυρφοροῦντος ἡμέρας... 
Στρατοκόπου Ἐθῆς οἱ νικήσαντες κ.τ.λ.

\textsuperscript{31} For such preservation: cf. Jahn, op. cit, p. 524. \textsuperscript{32} Pum. ix. 2. \textsuperscript{33} p. Bossard, p. 1053 ff.
THE PROBLEM OF THE BACCHAE.

Further there was a month Agrionios at Thebes (Iass. in Athenaeum, vol. ix. pp. 333 ff.) and at Rhodes, as is found on the handles of amphorae at Naucratis. In Sicily a month Agrionios came about the beginning of the year. It is doubtful whether the Theban month was the fourth or seventh of the calendar; the older authorities Bischoff and Lipsius give it the fourth place; Lattieschew assigns it to the seventh, but brings forward no arguments in support of this view. If we may regard the Pentheus ritual as a May custom the former view harmonizes well. ἀγριώνιος also occurs as an epithet of Dionysus, Plut. Art. xxix. p. 916—Δίωνυσος αὐτὸν ἀνακαλομένων χαριτώτει καὶ μελαίχειν. ητ ἢ ἐν ἀρέλετε τελεύτας ἐνίοις, τοῖς δὲ πολλαῖς ὀμπστής καὶ ἀγριώνιος.

From these passages we may to some extent reconstruct the Theban festival. It was celebrated in the night by women, a priest, and a πυρφόρος. It consisted of tearing in pieces some figure made out of or covered with ivy; then, like the Thyades on Parnassus, they ran over the mountain looking for Dionysus, whom in these later days they imagined in the hands of his nurses. Probably on the following day there were games and other competitions. And surely at the end of the night this search for Dionysus was successful and the young god was brought into the town. At Argos and Orchomenos more prominence was given to the death of the old god: it was a feast of the dead, such as we also find at the Athenian Anthestenia: at Orchomenos the tragedy is fully enacted in the slaying by the priest of one of the daughters of the old sacred house. Now at these two latter places we have it definitely stated that the feast was connected with the myths of the Minyades and Proetides, myths which obviously correspond to the Pentheus myth at Thebes. There can then be no doubt that the Theban feast in precisely the same manner corresponds to the Theban story. Just as in the story, the feast is confined to women, and it is at night: these women tear some object in pieces, and then summon the new Dionysus whom they bring home. Further I would suggest that the older name of the feast may have been that given by Hesychius, ἀγρία or hunting festival, which being misunderstood would naturally be changed to Agronia or Wild festival. This is supported by the extraordinary frequency of the word ἀγρα in the play and further by the name Ἐλαγρος in the inscription—the name probably of one of the guild, which was perhaps descended from a priestly clan. This however can be nothing better than a conjecture in the face of the more frequent use of the other form.

One point remains to be discussed: whereas in the Bacchae it is the figure of Pentheus dressed as an old woman which is pulled to pieces, Plutarch tells us that the women rushed upon the ivy. So again the cry of Agave on reaching the city is not, ‘Look on this head,’ but φεράμεν ἐς ὀμπρον ἐλακα τετούμεν ἐν μελαθρα, a line which may possibly retain the very wording of the song at the ceremony. What then is this ivy which is torn in pieces and part brought home? I have already had occasion to point out
that originally in Greece there were not any single great statues of many of the gods, but each year the old statue like the old maypole was carried out of the town and a new statue brought in. Where we find statues plunged into water and brought home, the original rite no doubt was to bring home a different statue. Similarly at the Boeotian Daedala there was no one statue, but at each celebration a new one was brought home. And such a rude figure of Dionysus we find set up by the farmers in their fields: Max. Try. 8, 1 γεωργιον Διόνυσον τιμώσει πνεύματε εν ὀρχήσει αὐτοφυώς πρέμυνον ἄγρυμαν ἀγαλμα. Now the primitive statue of Dionysus at Thebes appears to have consisted of a wooden column, which fell from heaven at the union of Zeus and Semele and was dedicated by Polydorus;56 this was apparently bound with ivy, which was said to have wreathed the columns of the palace at the same time,57 and surmounted by a human mask also wreathed in ivy (cf. Voigt in Roscher's Lexicon, p. 1047). Such is the meaning of the name Dionysus περικλίνων, and such the most primitive representations which we have of the god; also he is represented as crowned with ivy on Theban coins (cf. Thraemer in Ros. Lex. pp. 1091 ff., 1113). The view, then, which I adopt, is that Agave in bringing back the head of Penthes on set her ivy-wreathed thyrsus in truth brings back the new statue of Dionysus: and it is noticeable that a still further likeness between the head of Penthes and that of the god lies in the fact that both wear the mitra, a form of head-dress peculiar to women (Bacch. 131; cf. Soph. O.T. 209, Orph. h. 52, 4, Luc. Dial. De. 18, 1). Thus we could not have a more exact account of the statue or maypole, which would be set on the triglyphs of the house of Cadmus or against the column before his door. In later days the shrine was moved to a place near the Preestid gate, and, like the most sacred temple of the god at Athens, was only opened once a year.59 I have already suggested that the annual taking out of the statue at the Attic Anthestera, the conducting of it by night outside the gates and its triumphal re-entry on the following day took the place of an earlier renewal of the statue, the old god being carried out and the new one brought in to the shrine where he was kept for the year; and the case was just the same at Thebes; once a year Penthes, the Dionysus Lusios of the year before, was carried out and the new god was brought in. Finally I would suggest that herein lies the explanation of the fact that in nearly all the Greek states there were two Dionysi worshipped: at Athens, Melanagia or Μάριαξις and Eleuthereus, the black winter god of the Apaturia and the freeing god58 of the Anthestera; at Corinth and Sicyon, Βάργοις and Lusios, the god of the winter revels and the freeing god: so we get ὁμοιάσεις and ἀγροίμων by the side of μελάκις and χαρίδοτης. It is noticeable that the statues at Corinth were made of the pine in which Pentheus hid.60 Finally, as though in confirmation of our theory that the

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death of Pentheus was the death of the Dionysus of the past year, we have
the record which tells us that the body of the god was torn to pieces at
Thebes. Clem. Recog. x. 24, 594 Iovis et filiorum eius sepulcrum manifestis-
simne demonstrantur Mercurii apud Hermopolin, Cypriae Veneris apud
Cyrum, Martis in Taracia, Liberi apud Thebas ubi discræptus traditur.

Such then is the explanation which I would offer of the story of Pen-
thesus, and of the other myths of the introduction of Dionysus. They do not
find their origin in any introduction of the god from without, but in the
yearly inbringing of the new statue. Of this rite we have a full and fairly
accurate account in the Bacchae of Euripides, in which we have, not an
instance of the poet's mythography, but the preservation of an old tradition
as to the original form of the ceremony. At the same time it is of course
most improbable that Euripides himself knew that in his account he was in
reality describing any early religious rite. But it was not the poet that in-
vented the myth; he inherited it in its crystallized form as developed out of
the earlier custom. Whether in other of the ancient tragedies also we may look
for somewhat similar details of other folk customs, which may linger in myths
which have their origin in ritual, is a question which, however interesting,
does not call for discussion here. 100

A. G. BATHER.

P.S.—On January 12 of this year (1895) there appeared in the London
papers an account of what is possibly the survival of a somewhat similar
ceremony to that of Pentheus, among a sect called the Vetiaks, of the
province of Viaatka in Russia. This sect worships a spirit of evil, Kourbane,
and in the spring of 1894, during the great Russian famine, they offered to
their deity, instead of the usual animal sacrifice, a human being. The ritual
is interesting, if not entirely explicable; having secured their victim, they
made him drunk, cut his throat, and decapitated him; the headless trunk
they then suspended from the ceiling of the room, and, after making five
incisions, collected the blood in dishes and extracted the heart and lungs for
further use in their rites; the body was finally cast out by the roadside.
The most analogous points in this sacrifice to the rites quoted and dealt
with above are: (1) the fact that it was a spring offering to stay the course
of the famine; (2) the hanging up of the body between heaven and earth;
(3) the preservation of the heart and lungs, as being the parts in which
resided the life of the victim; and (4) the final casting out of the dead
polluting body.

A. G. B.

100 Since this article was written, Dr. Leaf
has called my attention to an article by Prof.
Jevons (Folklore, vol. ii. pp. 330 ff.), in which,
from a slightly different point of view, he seems
to have arrived at much the same general con-
cclusions as I have. With the Thesban myth of
the Bacchae, however, he does not deal.
THE PARTHENON FRIEZE TERRACOTTAS.

The terracotta relief, of which an illustration is given below, is one of the series of fragments with reproductions of the Parthenon frieze which have of late years attracted considerable attention.

The present fragment \(^1\) was bought by me in Rome, in February 1894, of a small antiquity-dealer in the Via Tor di Nona. The vendor vowed that it had been found in the bed of the Tiber, in the course of the works in connexion with the Ponte S. Angelo, but no doubt his statement merely indicates that the bed of the Tiber is for the moment the fashionable provenience. The terracotta is 10½ inches high, and it is obvious that it contains a part of the design of the slab at the west end of the north side of the Parthenon frieze. The original marble is in the British Museum.

Hitherto, three similar fragments have been identified, viz. : (1) Priest and boy with peplos, at Copenhagen; (2) Upper part of Athene, in the Louvre, (3) Lower part of Athene and figure of Hephaestos in the Museo Kircheriano at Rome. All the fragments are published by Dr. Waldstein in his Essays on the Art of Pheidias. Each of the fragments had been accepted as genuine at its respective museum, and Dr. Waldstein in the text of the work just quoted proposed to regard Nos. 1 and 2 as clay studies for the frieze by Pheidias. The subsequent discovery however of No. 3, and the information to which it led, made the authenticity of the series more than doubtful. This was pointed out by Dr. Waldstein in an appendix to his Essays, and till recently the fragments found no defenders. Prof. Furtwaengler,\(^2\) however, basing himself on the technique of the terracotta, has declared the Copenhagen fragment (and therefore presumably all the fragments) to be genuine antique reductions of the frieze, made in the time of Augustus. It is therefore worth while to reconsider the question with the further light thrown on it by the new fragment here published. For my own part, I am of opinion that it proves incontestably that all four fragments are of recent origin.

The fact which we have to take into account is that there exists in Rome a

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\(^1\) *Rome. Mitth. ix. p. 34, Rev. Arch. 1894, p. 77; see also certain letters, mainly occupied with other issues, addressed by Dr. Waldstein and M. S. Reinach to the editor of the *Notion* (New York), May 3, 31, July 10, 1894.

\(^2\) *Meisterwerke*, p. 743.
series of moulds of a reduced copy of parts of sixteen slabs of the frieze, and that the figures which occur on the terracotta fragments are similar in every detail to those of the moulds. To this Furtwaengler replies that the resemblance is explained by the fact that both are faithful copies of a common original. The new fragment, however, and the figures of the Roman series are not quite similar to the original marble, and the same discrepancies occur in both.

In the new fragment, the finer details of drapery etc. are by no means accurately reproduced. The small creases, if carefully compared with those of the original, are fewer and larger, and more hastily sketched, and in these discrepancies the terracotta agrees exactly with the Roman mould.

It is therefore certain that the two series are not independent reductions, as Furtwaengler suggests.

The Roman moulds are believed to have been based on a series of casts made by Choiseul-Gouffier. Whether this be so or not, it is certain that

* Waldstein, p. 352.
the series as a whole is not ancient because the head of Iris is now known to have been wrongly restored, and because some of the slabs are made up of different parts of the original frieze brought together in a way which proves that the original was in a ruinous state when the moulds were made.

The only possibility that remains is that the terracotta fragments were genuine, and were made by some sculptor to serve as a base on which he founded his reduction of the frieze. This does not seem likely, and each fragment that is discovered increases the improbability. Moreover it is evident that the new fragment was copied from the frieze when it had reached its present state of decay. The drapery on the shoulder of the attendant was once no doubt worked like other drapery of the frieze. The surface of the marble is now however broken away, and the clay has been smoothed down to a plain flat surface over the fracture.

For these reasons I conclude that both moulds and terracottas are works of the present century. One question remains, whether the moulds preceded the terracottas or vice versa. Prof. Petersen inclines to the former view, because the clay seems to have been pushed into a mould in such a way that the front and back of the plaque are not completely united. It appears to me however that the terracotta preceded the mould. Certain strokes, folds, etc., that were evidently drawn in the wet clay with a blunt tool, reappear in the mould.

A. H. SMITH.

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TWO GREEK RELIEFS.

[Plate XI.]

The two Greek reliefs which are published together on Pl. XI. are recent acquisitions of the British Museum, and considerably strengthen its collections in a branch of ancient art in which it had previously been rather weak.

The earliest of the two reliefs is that of Glykylla (Fig. 1). It was brought to this country by a sailor trading to the Levant, and was by him offered to the British Museum, in 1893. It was said to have been found at Thebes, but this is doubtful. In style, at any rate, it is clear that it must be classed with the Attic reliefs.

The material is Pentelic marble, with an untouched surface of golden colour. Height 3 ft. 1 in., width 1 foot 10½ ins. The relief is nearly perfect, only the upper part of Glykylla's face and the left arm of her attendant being injured.

In this charming sculpture we have one of the many forms of the theme of the jewel-casket. The seated lady, matronly and richly draped, is trying or putting on a bracelet about her left wrist, while her left hand is negligently raised. An attendant stands at her feet, holding open the lid of the casket, from which the ornament has just been taken, and watches the putting on. The bracelet is a massive one, with a spirally twisted design.

The casket, as was observed above, frequently recurs on tombstones such as the present. I am not aware that the motive of trying on the bracelet has been recognized elsewhere. It seems to occur, however, on a relief formerly in the Pourtalès collection, and now at Berlin,¹ which has, I think, hitherto been misunderstood. In that relief there is a scene of a seated lady and attendant, somewhat as here. According to the Berlin catalogue, the right hand of the lady holds a small object, that can no longer be recognized, while she stretches out the left hand, with the open palm upwards, to take something from the attendant who stands before her. The left hand is a restoration, and it is impossible to judge from the illustration whether it is certainly correct. If it is so, the way in which the hand is held out and the gestures of both figures are more suitable to the clasping of a bracelet, than to any action of giving or taking.

¹ Panofka, Cat. Pourtalès, Pl. 24; Berlin Comm, Die Attischen Grabreliefs, Pl. 35 fig. 1; Catalogue of Ancient Sculptures, No. 755; No. 74.

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Our relief is crowned by a simple pediment, with small acroterial ornaments, but unsupported by pilasters. On the architrave it is inscribed with the name of the deceased, \( \Gamma \upalpha \kappa \upsilon \upsilon \alpha \lambda \lambda \alpha \theta \alpha \) (\( \Gamma \lambda \omega \varepsilon \upsilon \lambda \lambda \alpha \)) a name which I have not found elsewhere.

The period of the work appears to be that of transition, towards the close of the fifth century. On the one hand, the single name without that of father, husband or drome, and the crowning pediment, unsupported by pilasters, are characteristic of the group of reliefs attributed to the latter part of the fifth century. On the other hand, in the comparatively high relief, with partial undercutting, there has been a considerable divergence from the Phidian tradition. The inscription shows that the Ionic form of \( \Lambda \) had been adopted, in place of the old Attic \( \gamma \), but this fact does not help us much, as the Ionic forms were common in private documents at Athens for a generation before the archonship of Euclid.

The fragmentary state of Phainarete, now in the National Museum at Athens, is in many points of detail curiously akin to that of Glykylla. It seems somewhat later, but is attributed to the fifth century.  

The second relief (Fig. 2), like many other objects in the Museum, had some strange adventures before it reached its present resting-place. It was found, some twenty years ago, by the late Mr. Saunders, the then owner of Alphington House, Jersey. Alphington House, Mr. Arthur Saunders, the present owner, informs me, was originally a large farm-house. It is believed to have been built about the year 1737. About 1825 the house was purchased by Mr. Bernard Saunders, the grandfather of the present owner, and it was enlarged a few years later by the addition of a large wing. When found, the relief was turned face downwards in the cellar and served as one of the flagstones. This cellar was a part of the house in its older form, being placed under the stairs, and hence it is natural to suppose, without evidence to the contrary, that the burying of the relief took place at the building of the house, early in the last century. Mr. Saunders could not tell me the names of the builder or early owners of the house, and it is therefore impossible to connect the relief with any known traveller or collector. Mr. Saunders suggests, and I think correctly, that the Jersey men were frequent traders in the Mediterranean, and in that way the stone might easily have been brought home, as many others were brought to Venice, Pisa, and Marseilles, though regarded as little better than ballast. From Jersey the relief was taken by Mr. Saunders to Inverness, where it remained until it was acquired by the British Museum in the summer of 1894.

A similar accident befell the sepulchral relief of Epigona, which was presented by Mr. J. Johnstone in 1890. This was seen at Athens by Spon in 1676, and by the Abbé Fourmont, about 1720, and was next met with deep down under the foundation of 67, New Bond Street. So too the

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\[ ^1 \text{Koehler, Athen. Mittheil., x. pp. 372, 373.} \]
\[ ^2 \text{Conze, Att. Grabreliefs, Pl. 39, No. 101.} \]
valuable archaic head, lately presented through Mr. Colvin by Mr. R. W. Webb, had been recently rediscovered in a cellar.

The relief is of Pentelic marble. It is 2 ft. 7½ inches high, and 1 ft. 6 inches wide. As may be seen from the plate, the sculpture is nearly perfect. Unfortunately the front surface has suffered in colour and texture from too drastic cleaning, and only the edges are intact.

The meaning of the work is sufficiently plain, and is touchingly conveyed. A lady, now nameless, has died young, perhaps in childbirth. In any case, she has left an infant, whom we see closely wrapped in swaddling-clothes, to the care of a nurse. The mother, as usual, is seated, and her hands toy idly with the lid of her jewel-casket, while her eyes are turned towards the child in the nurse's arms.

The completion of the first volume of Professor Conze's great work on the Attic grave-reliefs makes it easy to review the known examples of this subject. Beside the present relief, we have ten representations, preserved at least in part, of a mother and young child in swaddling-clothes (Conze, Nos. 274-279, 281, 302-3, 306). Five of these are mere fragments, and the remainder are badly broken, so that our relief seems to be the only perfect example of the type. In all these cases the child is held by the attendant, and not by the mother. As the mother sometimes holds a child in her arms when it is past the age of swaddling-clothes, we may perhaps infer that this group of monuments commemorates mothers who died in childbirth, and so never nursed their infants, but left them to the care of others.

The combination of the casket motive with that of the young infant is unusual, and only occurs in one other case (Conze, No. 306). Both there and here, the casket is not the centre of interest, as it is for instance on the relief of Hegeso. The casket is shown, but the mother's thoughts are directed elsewhere.

Above the relief is a pediment, supported by flanking pilasters, and inscribed on the architrave. Of the inscription, however, nothing can now be made out with certainty except the letters...ΕΝكسر... the termination of the deme name, probably of the father, possibly of the husband of the deceased.

The relief is obviously an Attic work, and appears to be a little later than its companion. It is probably about, or shortly after, 400 B.C. In the pediment, with pilasters, we are a step further in the transition from the 5th century stile to the 4th century aedicula. The look directed upwards from under arched and prominent brows becomes common in the 4th century, but hardly occurs in the 5th. It has been noted already that the full form of inscription, which may be presumed to have been written on the architrave, marks this relief as later than the group to which that of Glykylla belongs.

A. H. SMITH.


* Cf. also the votive relief from Sigessa, Mus.
PRIMITIVE PICTOGRAPHS AND A PRAE-PHOENICIAN SCRIPT, FROM CRETE AND THE PELOPONNESE.

[Plate XII.]

§ 1.—CRETAN DISCOVERIES.

In the absence of abiding monuments the fact has too generally been lost sight of, that throughout what is now the civilized European area there must once have existed systems of picture-writing such as still survive among the more primitive races of mankind. To find such "picture-graphs" in actual use—the term is used in its most comprehensive sense to cover carvings on rocks or other materials whether or not actually overlaid with colour—we must now go further afield. Traces of such may indeed be seen on the rude engravings of some megalithic monuments like that of Gavv Innis, on the rock carvings of Denmark, or the mysterious figures known as the Maraviglie wrought on a limestone cliff in the heart of the Maritime Alps, to which may be added others quite recently discovered in the same region.

In Lapland, where designs of this character ornamented the troll-drums of the magicians till within a recent period, survivals of some of the traditional forms may still be found to the present day, engraved on the bowls of their reindeer-horn spoons. Of actual rock-paintings perfectly analogous to those of Cherokees or Zulus, I have myself observed an example—consisting of animals and swastika-like figures painted probably by early Slavonic lands on the face of a rock over-hanging a sacred grotto in a fiord of the Bocche di Cattaro.

But the perishable nature of the materials on which picture-writing, having for most part only a temporary value, was usually wrought has been fatal to the survival of primitive European pictographs on any large scale. If we had before us the articles of bark and hide and wood of early man in this quarter of the globe or could still see the tattoo marks on his skin we should have a very different idea of the part once played by picture-writing on European soil. As it is, it is right that the imagination should supply the deficiency of existing evidence.

In the areas embraced by the older civilizations such as Egypt, Babylonia and China, a different kind of influence has been at work, by which the void caused by the disappearance of the more primitive materials may in a great measure be filled up. For there the early pictographic elements, such as we
still find them among savage races, were, in the hands of priestly and official castes, developed into a more complicated and exact system of writing, by which however we are enabled in many cases to trace back the original forms of the object selected. The same development from the simple pictographic to the hieroglyphic or quasi-alphabetic stage might naturally have been expected to have taken place in more than one European area had it not been cut short by the invasion of the fully equipped Phoenician system of writing.

Even as it is however, it must be allowed that there are strong a priori reasons for believing that in the Greek lands where civilization put forth its earliest blossoms on European soil, some such parallel evolution in the art of writing must have been in the course of working itself out.

For we now know that in the South-Eastern part of our Continent there existed long before the days of direct Phoenician contact an independent form of culture which already as early as the first half of the second millennium before our era might be regarded as in many respects the equal contemporary of those of Egypt and Babylonia. In view of the extraordinary degree of artistic and mechanical development reached by the representatives of what is now conveniently known as the Mycenaean civilization—at least as early, approximately speaking, as the seventeenth century, B.C.—and the wide ramifications of their commerce, is it conceivable, it may be asked, that in the essential matter of writing they were so far behind their rivals on the Southern and Eastern shores of the Mediterranean?

There is moreover a further consideration which tends to make the absence of any system of writing among the Mycenaean peoples still more improbable. At the dawn of history Asia Minor, whether we regard the predominant elements of its population from the point of view of race or of culture, may be said to belong to Europe. Its area from the earliest times of which we have any record was largely in the occupation of the great Thraco-Phrygian race and its offshoots. Its prehistoric remains, as far as we know them from Cyprus to the Troad, fit on to those of a large archaeological area, the continuation of which may be traced over the island stepping-stones of the Aegean to the mainland of Greece, while in the other direction kindred forms extend along the Danubian system to reappear amongst the pile-dwellings of Switzerland and Carniola, the terre-mare of the Po valley and even in Ligurian caves. But it is on the Eastern borders of this wide field of primitive culture that recent researches have brought to light the principal seats of the higher form of early civilization conveniently known as Hittite. Living in the Syrian and Cappadocian regions in the immediate proximity of upper Mesopotamia, and almost in the highway as it were of old Chaldean culture, its representatives yet show independent characteristics and traditions, the sources of which seem to be drawn from the North or West. And of these one of the most noteworthy is the possession of an original system of hieroglyphic writing, the relics of which are scattered from the banks of the Orontes to the Western shores of Anatolia. At a later date
again we find the Greeks of Cyprus and the inhabitants of a large tract of Asia Minor in the possession of syllabic scripts altogether distinct from the Phoenician alphabet.

When it is once realized how largely the early civilization of the Aegean Islands and even the mainland of Greece was evolved out of similar elements to those of Asia Minor, it must certainly seem surprising that on this side no system of writing belonging to pre-Phoenician times should as yet have been clearly ascertained. The geographical contiguity to Anatolia, and the early trade relations which can be shown to have existed between the Aegean Islands and the valley of the Nile would assuredly, it might be thought, have given an impulse to the higher development of whatever primitive form of picture-writing was already to be found amongst the inhabitants of this Mediterranean region. It is impossible indeed to suppose that this European population was so far below even the Red Indian stage of culture as not to have largely resorted to pictography as an aid to memory and communication. And—even if an existing system was not perfected under the influence of foreign example—the race which laid the arts of Egypt and Western Asia under such heavy contribution was at least capable of borrowing and adapting a system of writing.

It is true that Schliemann's great discoveries at Mycenae produced nothing that could be safely interpreted as a form of script. The objects seen in the field of many of the ordinary Mycenaean gems—the so-called 'island-stones'—are simply inserted as the space left by the principal design suggests, and are primarily of a decorative character—and due to the horror vacui of primitive art. Nevertheless, especially when we see a part standing for a whole—as a branch for a tree or the head of an animal for the animal itself—it may be fairly said that many of these gems do bear the impress of people familiar with the expedients of primitive picture-writing, such as we find it still in so many parts of the world. The lentoid and amygdaloid gems in question did not, as we now know, serve the purpose of seals, but were simply ornamental beads worn round the wrist or neck.1 Like the oriental periaists, however, worn in the same manner at the present day, they may often have been intended to serve as amulets or talismans; and both the principal type of the intaglio and the smaller or abbreviated forms introduced into the field may have possessed something beyond a mere artistic significance. Still more is this likely to have been implied in the case of the engraved designs on the bezils of the gold rings from the Mycenaean graves which seem actually to have served the purpose of signets. It certainly is not unreasonable to suppose that in this case some of the smaller objects in the field may have had a conventional religious meaning; and that they were in fact ideographs taken from a recognized hieroglyphic code. The bulls' heads and lions' scalps, the ears of corn and double

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1 See Tsountas, Ἀρχαιολόγικα τάφα τῶν Μυκηνῶν. Εἰρήνα 1885, p. 176. There are probably, as will be seen below, some exceptions to this rule in case of some Crete lentoid gems presenting groups of symbolic figures.
axe certainly suggest that we have here to deal with symbols of divinity, perhaps standing for the divinity itself, or ideas of cult and sacrifice,—the latter form of symbolism being well brought out by the gold ornaments representing oxes' heads with a double axe between the horns. In the same way, to take an example from the practice of modern savages, a drawing of eyes and beak stood among the Iroquois for the Thunder-Bird or a rayed head for a Spirit among the Ojibwas. The whole of later Greek symbolism may in fact be regarded as a survival, maintained by religious conservatism, from a wide field of primitive pictography. The figure that stands as the personal badge of the names of individuals at times actually appears as the equivalent of the written form of the name, as when a monetary magistrate called Leôn places a lion on his dies. The same symbolic script is frequent in the rendering of city names, one of the most interesting examples being found on a coin of Messenbria where the part of the civic legend signifying day is supplied by a swastika—the emblem of the midday sun.

The symbols on the Mycenaean seals are themselves of too isolated occurrence to be used straight away as examples of a hieroglyphic system—though there seem to me to be good reasons for supposing that some at least among them did fit on to such a system. But more recently one or two objects have been found at Mycenae itself and in Mycenaean deposits elsewhere which are calculated more effectually to shake some of the preconceived notions of archaeologists as to the non-existence in Greece of a pre-Phoenician system of writing. The most important of these are the handle of a stone vase apparently of a local material (Fig. 1) found at Mycenae, which has four, or perhaps five, signs engraved upon it, and the handle of a clay amphora from a chambered tomb in the lower-town of Mycenae with three characters (Fig. 2). Single signs have also been noticed on the handles of two amphoras of the same form as the last found in the Tholos tomb of

Fig. 1.—Signs on Vase-Handle, Mycenae.

Fig. 2.—Signs on Amphora-Handle, Mycenae.

Menidi, on a three-handled vase from Nauplia and a stone pestle from Mycenae. Dr. Tsountas in describing these finds lays stress on their occurrence in two cases in groups of three and four respectively, and reasonably asks whether we have not here to deal with some form of writing. Professor Petrie again has discovered a series of isolated symbols on what he considers to have been fragments of early Aegean pottery discovered by him at Gurob in a deposit which he assigns to the period of the Twelfth Dynasty, and again at Kahum amongst Eighteenth Dynasty relics.

Notwithstanding these indications, however, the last writer on the Mycenaean and early Aegean culture, M. Perrot, sums up the evidence as follows: 'The first characteristic which attracts the historian's notice when he tries to define the praehomeric civilization is that it is a stranger to the use of writing. It knows neither the ideographic signs possessed by Egypt and Chaldaea nor the alphabet properly so called which Greece was afterwards to borrow from Phoenicia.' He admits indeed that some of the marks recently observed on the vase-handels bear resemblance to letters, either Greek or Cypriote, but observes that they do not seem to form words, and that they are perhaps nothing more than the marks of the potter or the proprietor, or ignorant copies of Phoenician or Asiatic characters. 'As at present advised,' he concludes, 'we can continue to affirm that for the whole of this period, nowhere, neither in the Peloponnese nor in Greece proper, no more on the buildings than on the thousand objects of luxury or domestic use that have come out of the tombs has there anything been discovered which resembles any kind of writing.'

The evidence which I am now able to bring forward will, I venture to think, conclusively demonstrate that as a matter of fact an elaborate system of writing did exist within the limits of the Mycenaean world, and moreover that two distinct phases of this art are traceable among its population. The one is pictographic in character like Egyptian hieroglyphics, the other linear and quasi-alphabetic, much resembling the Cypriote and Asiatic syllabaries.

In the course of a visit to Greece in the spring of 1893 I came across some small three- and four-sided stones perforated along their axis, upon which had been engraved a series of remarkable symbols. The symbols occurred in groups on the facets of the stones, and it struck me at once that they belonged to a hieroglyphic system. They were however quite distinct from...
Egyptian in character, and though they seemed to show a nearer approach to Hittite forms it was evident that they belonged to an independent series. My inquiries succeeded in tracing these to a Cretan source. Knowing of the considerable collection of 'island' and other early gems in the Museum of Berlin, I addressed myself to Dr. Furtwängler, mentioning my discovery and asking whether any specimens of the forms and characters indicated existed in the Imperial Museum. In response to my inquiries Dr. Furtwängler very courteously sent me several impressions from similarly formed stones in the Berlin Museum, presenting symbols which fitted on to and supplemented the series that I had already obtained. In this case too the source of the stones, as far as it was known, turned out again to be Crete. The impression of a gem taken at Athens some years since by Professor Sayce and kindly placed by him at my disposal supplied a new piece of evidence, and I found that an unclassed four-sided stone in the Ashmolean Museum, which had been brought back by Mr. Greville Chester from Greece and was noted by him as having been found at Sparta, was engraved with symbols belonging to the same series as the others.

The evidence as a whole however clearly pointed to Crete as the principal source of these hieroglyphic forms, and I therefore determined to follow up my investigations on Cretan soil. Landing at Candia early last March, I made my way round the whole centre and East of the island,—including the mountainous districts of Ida and Dikta, the extensive central plain of Messara and the sites of over twenty ancient cities. The number of relics illustrative of the prehistoric periods of Cretan culture that I was thus able to collect was surprisingly great, and in particular the evidence daily accumulated itself of the very important part played by the Mycenaean form of civilization in Cretan story. And, in what regarded the more special object of my quest, my researches were well rewarded by the discovery in site of traces of a praec-Phoenician system of writing in the island, of which two distinct phases were perceptible, one pictorial and hieroglyphic, the other linear and quasi-alphabetic.

From indications obtained at Candia I was led more particularly to investigate the Eastern part of the island and the land which to the borders of the historic period was still occupied by the Eteocretes or indigenous Cretan stock. Here by the site of Praesos, their principal city, has been discovered a remarkable inscription,\(^8\) which, though written in archaic Greek characters, belongs to an unknown language which we may reasonably regard as the original speech of the Cretan natives before the days of the Greek colonization. This fact by itself renders investigations into the antiquities of this easternmost district of special ethnographic value, and here too may some day be discovered the remains of the shrine of the Diktaean Zeus, mentioned by Strabo as existing in the territory of Praesos.

At Praesos itself, which lies on a conical limestone hill near the modern village of Vavéles I observed, besides its primitive walls of rude horizontal

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\(^8\) See below, pp. 354, 355.
and polygonal masonry, fragments of very early pottery, some of which must be classed with the ceramic relics of the first prehistoric city of Hissarlik, while others belonged to the Mycenaean style. I further obtained from a peasant on the spot a prism-shaped stone of the kind of which I was in search, presenting engraved characters (see below, Fig. 29), and subsequently from the same district three other three- and four-sided stones with linear and hieroglyphic symbols (see below, Figs. 22, 26, 35). On the site called Palackastro, the akropolis of which lies on the easternmost edge of the island, opposite the islet of Grandes, and which represents another ancient city, perhaps Grammon, that was situated between the territories of Praesos and Itanos in the same Etocretan region, I secured another four-sided stone (see below, Fig. 35), presenting no less than fifteen hieroglyphic symbols. Two other stones of the same pictographic class found in Eastern Crete (see below, Figs. 23, 24) also came into my possession, and I further succeeded in tracing to the province of Sitia, in which the sites of both Praesos and Itanos are included, two interesting examples which I had observed in the collection of the Archaeological Society in the Polytechnion at Athens (see below, Figs. 32, 36). In gems of the ordinary Mycenaean class I found the whole of this Etocretan district to be specially prolific.

In my search after these minor relics of antiquity, often, it may be remarked, of greater archaeological importance than far more imposing monuments, I was greatly aided by a piece of modern Cretan superstition. The perforated gems and seal-stones, so characteristic of Mycenaean and still earlier times, are known to the Cretan women as γαλότερας or 'milk-stones,' and are worn round their necks as charms of great virtue especially in time of child-bearing. It was thus possible by making a house-to-house visitation in the villages to obtain a knowledge of a large number of early engraved stones, and though I was not always able to secure the objects themselves, on account of the magic power that was supposed to attach to them, I was in nearly all cases enabled to carry off an impression of the stone. Engraved stones of other types, to be described more in detail below, with pictographic symbols, were procured by me from the neighbourhood of Knosos and the Messara district, and others of uncertain provenience were obtained in Candia.

The seal-stones with the linear type of symbols I found to have an equally wide distribution in the island. Two stones from the Praesos district (Figs. 29, 36), of the same angular form as those with the pictographic characters, present symbols of this 'alphabetic' class. They were the first of this type that I came across, and the discovery was the more gratifying that, on the ground of distinct resemblances in outline between simplified forms of some of the hieroglyphs observed by me in the preceding year and certain Cypriote characters, I had already ventured to predict that the pictorial forms would be found to fit on to a linear syllabary like the Aesernic.* But

* I made this forecast in a brief announcement of the existence of the Cretan hieroglyphs communicated by me to the Hellanic Society in 1893.
here such linear characters were actually occurring, and engraved moreover on triangular and quadrangular stones identical with those presenting the pictorial types.

In the case of these quasi-alphabetic forms I was able to ascertain their application to other objects and materials. Of all the remains of ancient cities that I visited during my Cretan journey the most wonderful were those of Goulas, as the site is at present known, lying on and between two peninsular heights, a few miles away from the sea on the Eastern side of the Province of Mirabello. Its natural haven would have been the port of St. Nicolas, in ancient times the harbour town of Latos, but the remains at Goulas itself are, so far as I was able to observe them, so exclusively prehistoric that there seems no reason to suppose that it was ever occupied by a later Greek settlement. The remains themselves are stupendous. Wall rises within wall, terrace above terrace, and within the walls, built of the same massive blocks of local limestone in rudely horizontal tiers, the lower part of the walls of the houses and buildings are still traceable throughout. The site had been observed by Spratt, but so incompletely was it known, that I discovered here a second and higher akropolis with remains of primitive buildings on the summit, one containing, besides a fore-court, a chamber with vases recalling the ground-plan of more than one Megaron of the sixth or Mycenaean stratum of Hisarlik. The whole site abounds with pramaev relics, stone vessels of early Aegean type, bronze weapons and Mycenaean gems, of which I secured either the original or the impressions of no less than seventeen examples. In the mass of remains existing above ground, the ruins of Goulas exceed those of any prehistoric site, either of Greece or Italy, and there cannot be a doubt that we are here in presence of one of the principal centres of the Mycenaean world.

Whilst exploring the remains of this unknown city a most remarkable piece of epigraphic evidence came across my path. A peasant who owned a little cultivated patch below the Northern akropolis, near the ruinous Byzantine Church of Hagios Andonis, pointed out a spot where he had just discovered three ancient relics which he handed over to me. One was a Mycenaean lentoid gem of cornelian, the chief design of which was a two-handled cup, the copy no doubt of a golden original, beside which in the field of the intaglio was a rayed sun and a spray of foliage. The second object was a terracotta ox (Fig. 3) of a type common in late Mycenaean deposits throughout the island, similar examples having been found in the cave of the Idaean Zeus, in that of Psyche in the heart of Mt. Lasithi and in another grotto near Sybrita in company with early bronzes. The third object was a clay cup (Fig. 4) which looked as if it had originally

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10 Spratt, Travel in Crete, ii. 139 seqq. wrongly identified Goulas with the ancient Olcess, the site of which is now known to be at Massenari (Halbbier), also confusing it with Olona (Elonta).

11 See Dörpfeld, Troja, 1883, p. 15 seqq. and Pl. II. VI. A, VI. B, VI. C, and VI. G. From the recurrence of the ground-plan Dr. Dörpfeld rightly observes that the first-discovered foundations VI. A, like the others, rather represent a Megaron than a Temple.
Fig. 2.—Terracotta Ox, Goulás (½ Lines).

Fig. 1.—Clay Cup with Incised Characters, Goulás.

Fig. 3.—Characters on Goulás Cup.
been intended for a vase, but had been rudely and unevenly cut down before the clay was baked. Its surface had originally been covered by a dark varnish. But its special interest lay in the fact that on one side just below the rim are three graffito characters, the two latter of which are identical with the Cypriote μτ and ιο (Fig. 46). Another peasant brought me from a neighbouring hamlet called Prodomos Botzanos a plain terracotta vase of primitive aspect (Fig. 5), with a suspension handle and incised hatching round its neck, which showed on its body three more graffito symbols of the same kind. One of these seemed to represent the double axe-head which occurs among the hieroglyphic forms reduced to a linear outline, while the last, as in the case of the former example, was identical with the Cypriote ιο (Fig. 5b). From Goulas itself I also obtained a perforated steatite

![Vase with incised characters](image)

**Fig. 5.—Vase with Incised Characters, Prodomos Botzanos.**

ornament nearly worn through with use, the face of which was also engraved with three linear marks of a more uncertain nature. It was found near the spot whence the inscribed cup and the other objects were derived.
Nor are these linear signs confined to seals and pottery. On a double-headed bronze axe (Fig. 6), procured by me in the village of Kritis, near the site of Goulas, but said to come from Selakones, in the Eparchy of Girapetra, I observed an engraved symbol much resembling one of the characters on the Knosos blocks, to be described below (Fig. 9), and it is probable that other signs will eventually be found engraved on bronze implements of Mycenaean date. On a bronze axe from Delphi are engraved two symbols as sketched in Fig. 7, the first of which looks like a rude outline of a duck or some other aquatic bird.

The history and even the ancient name of Goulas are lost in the mist of time, and the earliest traditions of the island point rather to Knosos, the City of Minos, as the principal seat of power. But whatever may have been the relative parts played by the two cities in prehistoric times, it is at any rate certain that the same primitive system of writing was common to them both.

From the site of Knosos I procured a three-sided steatite seal (Fig. 30) of the same kind as those from the Eteocretan region, presenting both pictographic and linear symbols, and also a heart-shaped jewel (Fig. 8) of amethyst with four similar characters beneath a characteristically Mycenaean engraving of a flying eagle. But at Knosos the appearance of these linear symbols is by no means confined to seals and jewels. Already, in 1880, certain mysterious
signs had been observed by Mr. W. J. Stillman on the gypsum blocks that form the facing of the walls of a prehistoric building on this site, which Mr. Stillman himself was inclined to identify with the legendary Labyrinth. A native gentleman of Candia, Mr. Minos Calocharinos, had

in 1878 made a partial excavation on this site and laid open some small chambers in which were a quantity of fragments of Mycenaean painted vases and a number of large pithoi containing traces of grain, from which the place is now known to the peasants as τά Ηλάπια. The fragments, at present preserved in the house of their discoverer, where he kindly allowed me to examine them, are in much the same style as those found by Professor Petrie in the Palace of Akhenaten ("Khuenaten") at Tell-el-Amarna, and in the neighbouring rubbish heaps,—a parallel which gives 1400 B.C. as the approximate date for the building. Dr. Schliemann, Professor Dörpfeld and Dr. Fabricius, who all had occasion to examine the small portion visible above ground, were struck by the great resemblance presented by the details of the structure to those of the Palaces of Mycenae and Tiryns. Professor Haltberr recalls the Andreion in which the citizens of Crete used to meet together for their public meals or sysitia.

Whether Labyrinth, Palace, or Andreion, it is evident that the prehistoric building, as yet so imperfectly known to us, belongs to the great age of Mycenae, and that its complete excavation may bring with it new revelations as to the art and culture of the Aegean peoples in the middle of the second millennium before our era. The symbols on the casing blocks of the walls, first noticed by Mr. W. J. Stillman, do not appear to have attracted the attention they seem to deserve, and have been set aside as mere 'masons' marks.'

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12 Second Annual Report of the Executive Committee, Arch. Inst. of America, 1880-1881, pp. 47-49. Mr. Stillman's drawings have been reproduced in Petrot et Chipiez, Grèce Primatives, pp. 490, 492.
15 Althänder auf Kreta, IV. Funde der Mykenischen Epoche in Knossos [Athensche Mittheilungen, 1886, p. 135 seqq.]
17 Dr. Fabricius in his account of the remains (Athens. Mittheil. loc. cit.) does not even mention them. M. Perrot indeed [La Grèce Primative, p. 461], in spite of his strong ex.
paid two visits to these remains with the special object of examining these signs, the second in company with Mr. Minos Calochaerino and Professor Halbherr. Those that I was able to observe are reproduced (Fig. 9a—y) from my own drawings, supplemented in the case of Fig. 9c—k, now no longer visible, by Mr. Stillman’s copy. The signs occurring in pairs are placed together. The conclusion at which I arrived was that, though there need not necessarily be any objection to describing the signs as ‘masons’ marks,’ the marks themselves, like many others of the kind, those for

![Diagram of signs](image)

**Fig. 9.—Signs on Blocks of Mycenaean Building, Knossos.**

instance on the Phoenician walls of Eryx, are taken from a regular script and fit on in fact to the same system as the characters on the pottery and seals. In several cases indeed they occur not singly, as we should expect in ordinary masons’ marks, but in groups of two. Here was the double perception of opinion as to the non-existence of any traces of a system of writing in Mycenaean times, admits that two of the signs present a
FROM CRETE AND THE PELOPONNESE

axe-head reduced to a linear symbol, the rayed stars of the hieroglyphs, simplified to asterisks, and a window-like sign (Fig. 9, d, 1) that occurred on the Goulias cup. One feature however was of special interest, the occurrence—namely on one of the blocks of a symbol (Fig. 9, f), which may be described as a square with three prongs, identical with one that appears on one of the two vase-handles, referred to above as presenting graphic characters, found in Mycenae itself. Here we have an important link between the early Cretan script and that of the Peloponnesse.

It is to be observed that this sign occurs on the stone; as in my sketch, upside down, and were it not from its appearance on the Mycenaean amphora, we should not have known its right position. In the same way the double-axe symbol occurs on the blocks in three different positions. The natural inference from this is that the signs were engraved on the blocks previous to their insertion in the walls of the building.

The incised marks on the slabs of the Knossian building do not any longer stand alone. Professor Halbherr writes to me from Candia, that he has observed, 'fixed into a terrace-wall on the site of Phaestos,' a curious block on which has been engraved, together with two doubtful signs, a kind of broad arrow (Fig. 10) recalling one of the most frequent symbols both on the

![Fig. 10. — Block at Phaestos with Engraved Signs.](image)

hieroglyphic and linear series of the seals.  He observes of this sign that not only from its regularity, but from the depth of the groove, it was in his judgment executed with a chisel. This stone lies in the neighbourhood of a very remarkable early deposit was discovered, containing engraved stones and other objects, to which it will be necessary to return when we come to consider the question of the date of the early seal-stones.

The objects obtained from this deposit are now placed together in the very interesting little Museum which has been formed by the Cretan Syllabog or Literary Society at Candia (Heraklion), mainly owing to the enterprise

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175 This block is fixed into the supporting wall of a field belonging to Manolis Apostolakis to the right of the road leading from Mires to Diliaki and opposite the Akropolis of Phaestos. Its height is 85 cm., length 97 cm.
115 See below, p. 525.
and research of its President, Dr. Joseph Hazzidakis, whose services to Cretan archaeology deserve the widest recognition. Amongst these are two stones exhibiting engraved signs. One of these, a kind of irregular whorl (Fig. 11a and b), convex above and flat below, presents on its lower side

characters so remarkably alphabetic that they might well be taken to belong to much later times—Byzantine, for instance.

But the evidence against this view must be regarded as decisive. The Η and Λ are both found among the early marks observed by Professor Petrie on the Kahun pottery; read another way the Η is a Cypriote Ρ. On the upper side of this whorl (Fig. 11a) is seen a rude engraving of a horned animal—probably a bull or ox—which is quite in the style of the animal representations of a series of very early Cretan intaglios. This figure is followed by a peculiar symbol and, what is extremely remarkable, on the lower side of the stone the same symbol recurs in immediate juxtaposition to what appears to be the bull's or ox's head reduced to a linear form. The engraving of the upper and lower side of the stone seems to be by the same hand. The material itself, a greenish steatite, and the irregular form both occur moreover in the case of another inscribed stone from Siphnos to be described below, bearing letters showing a very marked affinity with Cypriote. Again, every other object from the deposit in which this inscribed whorl was found seems to be of very early fabric. The *prima fave* view of the characters on this curious stone might easily lead to the conclusion that it was of much later date. But the early, irregular form and material, the rude animal, the curious association of signs unknown to the later Greek alphabet, and the place of finding point to an antiquity corresponding with that of the other relics from the same sepulchral stratum.

From the same deposit was obtained a button-like pendant of black

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18. I may specially cite a rude triangular steatite, with a horned animal in a very primitive style, found with other early pendants in a grave of pre-Mycenaean date at Milato. Compare too the animal on Fig. 18a.

steatite engraved with linear signs (Fig. 12) and a sketch of another object of the same class has been kindly placed at my disposal by Professor Halbherr. The object in question (Fig. 13) is of a green stone somewhat more regularly formed than the other and shows on its face a K-like character, though it is uncertain which way up the sign should be set. It was found by Dr. Halbherr in a necropolis of the last Mycenaean period in Messara consisting of oven tombs, but the pendant itself may possibly belong to a still older stratum.

My attention has been further called by Dr. Hazzidakis to a perforated terracotta object, apparently also a kind of pendant (Fig. 14), with an incised symbol consisting of a horizontal line with two cross-strokes, like the Cypriote ρα turned on its side, from the cave of the Idaean Zeus. On a perforated disk from the site of Knosos (Fig. 15) there occurred a sign like a Cypriote ρο. From one of a series of early Cist-graves at Arvi (Arbi), on the South-East coast of the island, containing stone vessels and other relics of pre-Mycenaean date I obtained a green steatite pendant (Fig. 16) with two linear symbols, one on each side, curiously resembling an Alef and Gimmel. Fig. 17, from Central Crete, a perforated triangular steatite of irregular form, also shows on two of its faces curious linear signs. Fig. 18a and b is a dark brown steatite ornament from the Messara district, having on both sides of
Fig. 14.—Terracotta Pendant from Cave of Idaean Zeus.

Fig. 15.—Engraved Disk-Bead, Knossos (2 inches).

Fig. 16.—Steatite Pendant, Arvi (2 inches).

Fig. 17a.—Perforated Steatite, Central Crete (2 inches).
it figures in relief. On one side are what appear to be two primitive representations of animals, the style of one of which recalls the ox on the Praesos disk, while on the other face are two tortoises and an uncertain symbol grouped together like some of the pictographs on the triangular seals to be described below.

To these Cretan examples I may add a pale green perforated steatite (Fig. 19) from Siphnos, in material somewhat resembling the Phaestos disk, one side of which is engraved with characters of curiously Cypriote aspect.

§ II.—THE FACETTED STONES WITH PICTOGRAPHIC AND LINEAR SYMBOLS.

As forming a group by themselves it has been found convenient to reserve the detailed examination of the faceted stones presenting pictographic symbols for a separate section, and at the same time to place with them the prism-shaped seals of the same type with more linear characters.

Another form of bead-seal and two examples of lentoid gems with pictographic groups are also added.

The faceted stones themselves are of three principal types, all of them perforated along their major axis.

I.—Three-sided or prism-shaped (Fig. 20a and b). This type is divided into two varieties—one elongated (a) the other more globular (b).

I. Four-sided equilateral.

III.—Four-sided with two larger faces.

IV.—With one engraved side, the upper part being ornamented with a convoluted relief (Fig. 21).
This form may perhaps be regarded as a later development of an earlier type of Cretan bead, the upper part of which is carved into the shape of two Nerita shells lying end to end with a common whorl, a specimen of which was found in the Phaestos deposit above referred to.

The other stones, which are of ordinary Mycenaean forms including the lentoid type, are grouped with the above as Class V. The figures are taken from casts, so that, assuming that the originals were seals, this gives the right direction of the symbols. In some cases however it is not easy to decide which way up the impression should be shown, and the order in which the sides are arranged is for the most part arbitrary. When one side presents a single type of an evidently ideographic character it has been given the first place, and at times a boustrophedon arrangement seems to be traceable. In Fig. 23 for instance, the first side seems to run from right to left, the second from left to right, and the third again from right to left. The drawings were executed by Mr. F. Anderson with the guidance of magnified photographs from casts, and the stones are in all cases enlarged to two diameters. Effects due to the technique of the early gem-engraver's art, such as the constant tendency to develop globular excrescences, must be mentally deducted from the pictographs. Unless otherwise indicated, the stones and their impressions were obtained in Crete by the writer.
Class I.

Three-sided or Prism-shaped.

Fig. 21.

A. (Fig. 21).—Brown steatite. Crete. Uncertain locality.

Fig. 22.

B. (Fig. 22).—Green jasper. Province of Siteia. Crete.
C. (Fig. 23).—White cornelian. Eastern Crete.

D. (Fig. 24).—White cornelian. Eastern Crete.

E. (Fig. 25).—Crete. (Berlin Museum.)
F. (Fig. 26).—Red cornelian. Crete. Province of Siteia.

G. (Fig. 27).—Brown steatite. Crete. Uncertain locality.

Sides b and c contain what appear to be purely decorative designs.

H. (Fig. 28).—Steatite. Crete. Uncertain locality.
I. (Fig. 29) — White steatite. Praesos.

J. (Fig. 30) — Grey steatite. Knosos. (From a sketch.)
K. (Fig. 31).—This stone belongs to the more globular type, Class I. 4.
Crete. (Berlin Museum.)

Class II.

Four-sided Equilateral Stones.

A. (Fig. 32).—Red cornelian. Sparta (Ashmolean Museum; Mr. Greville Chester).
B. (Fig. 33).—Crete. Province of Siteia. (Polytechnion, Athens.)
Fig. 34.

C. (Fig. 34).—Crete. (Berlin Museum.)
D. (Fig. 35).—Green jasper. Crete. Palaekastro, near site of Itanos.

E. (Fig. 36).—Steatite. Province of Siteia. (Polytechnion, Athens.)
    Sides a and c contain decorative designs.

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Class III

Four-sided Stones with Two Larger Faces.

A. (Fig. 37).—Green steatite. Central Crete. This stone properly belongs to an earlier class.

Class IV

Stones with a Single Face: the Upper Part Convoluted.

A. (Fig. 38).—White cornelian. Eastern Crete.
FROM CRETE AND THE PELOPONNESE.

Class V.

STONES OF ORDINARY MYCENAEAN TYPE.

Fig. 39.

A. (Fig. 39).—From impression taken by Professor Sayce at Athens. This form of gem was in use for the basils of rings in Mycenean times.

Fig. 40.

B. (Fig. 40).—Brown steatite. Knosos. This and the following are ordinary types of perforated lentoid bead but of very early fabric.

Fig. 41.

C. (Fig. 41).—Black steatite. Messara district.
§ III.—Evidences of a Pictographic Script.

It is impossible to believe that the signs on these stones were simply idle figures carved at random. Had there not been an object in grouping several signs together it would have been far simpler for the designer to have chosen single figures or continuous ornament to fill the space at his disposal. As it is, single figures or continuous ornament are occasionally introduced on the vacant sides of stones where it was not necessary to cover the whole stone with symbolic characters; and in the same way small ornamental forms are found in some cases filling, for decorative purposes, the spaces between the symbols. In Fig. 23 one side is purely decorative; in Figs. 27 and 36, two sides, and such features as the small chevrons in the vacant spaces of Fig. 31c, or the network behind the designs on Figs. 33a and 34c and d, are obviously supplementary ornaments. But these extraneous features only bring out more clearly the fact that the signs themselves are introduced with a definite meaning, and are in fact a form of script. A method and intention in the choice and arrangement of the symbols is moreover perceptible, quite incompatible with the view that they are mere meaningless ornaments.

The signs themselves are chosen from a conventional field. Limited as is the number of stones that we have to draw from, it will be found that certain symbols are continually recurring as certain letters or syllables or words would recur in any form of writing. Thus the human eye appears four times and on as many different stones, the broad arrow seven times, and another uncertain instrument (No. 16 of the list given in the succeeding section) as much as eleven times. The choice of symbols is evidently restricted by some practical consideration, and while some objects are of frequent occurrence, others equally obvious are conspicuous by their absence. But an engraver filling the space on the seals for merely decorative purposes would not thus have been trammeled in his selection.

Two other characteristics of hieroglyphic script are also to be noted. The first is the frequent use of abbreviated symbols, such as the head for the whole animal, the flower or spray for the plant. The second is the appearance of gesture-language in graphic form—an invaluable resource of early pictography for the expression of ideas and emotions. Amongst such may be noted the human figure with arms held down (Fig. 36b), the crossed arms with open palms and thumbs turned back (Fig. 31b), and, closely allied to this, the bent single arm with open palm (Fig. 35d). Such features, again, as the wolf's head with protruding tongue—also found on Hittite monuments—or the dove pluming its wing, have probably a significance beyond the mere indication of the animal or bird.

The symbols occur almost exclusively in groups of from two to seven; the most frequent however are of two or of three, which seems to show that the characters thus appearing had a syllabic value. Certain fixed prin-
principes, moreover, are traceable in the arrangements of the symbols in the several groups. Some signs are almost exclusively found at the beginning or the end of a line. The human eye appears thus three times out of four; the instrument No. 16 of the list below occupies the extremity of the group in seven, or perhaps eight, cases where it occurs. The same two symbols moreover are seen on different stones in the same collocation. Thus the horns and four-rayed star occur in close proximity on the stone (Fig. 23b) from Crete and (Fig. 32b) from Sparta. The instrument (No. 16) above referred to occurs five times on as many different stones in collocation with the 'broad arrow.' The arrow-head, again, is twice placed beside the ϕ-like sign No. 54 (Figs. 23b and 35a). In the three cases where the bent leg makes its appearance (Figs. 22b, 25a, 34b), it is in immediate contiguity with a symbol that seems to stand for a door or gate. Such collocations in the small number of instances at our disposal are alone sufficient to exclude the supposition that the signs on these stones were engraved haphazard for decorative purposes.

It further appears, when we come to file the several columns, as on the Babylonian principle they would follow one another in the impression of a seal, that in several cases a hestosphēdot arrangement has been adopted which recalls that of early Greek writing. This is specially noticeable in Figs. 22, 23, 33, as well as in Fig. 34, where by the analogy of other Mycenaean gems from Crete representing ships the vessel must be taken as going in the direction in which the oars slope. It seems usual to begin from right to left.

That these seals were designed to convey information regarding their owners in a primitive form of writing is clearly brought out by another phenomenon with which we have to deal. On Fig. 36a the place of the pictographic symbols is taken by linear characters which no one will deny represent actual letters, and which fit on in fact to an Aegaeon or Mycenaean syllabary the existence of which can be demonstrated from independent sources. This phenomenon must certainly be taken to throw a retrospective light on the hieroglyphic forms that replace the letters on the bulk of these stones. It will be further shown in the course of this inquiry that a certain proportion of these pictographic signs reduced to linear forms actually live on in this Aegaeon syllabary.

In a succeeding section the attention will be called to a still earlier class of Cretan seal-stones presenting for the most part the same typical triangular form as those of Class I. already described. These more primitive stones, which cannot in fact be separated by any definite line of demarcation from the later series, throw a valuable light on the original elements out of which the more formalized pictographic system finally grew. In some cases the same symbols are actually seen in a more primitive stage of development. But on this earlier class the more purely pictorial and ideographic elements

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138 See p. 334 seq. The stones, Figs. 21, 27, 32, 46, might perhaps with greater propriety have been grouped with this earlier series.
are naturally preponderant and the personal relation in which the seals stand to their owners is clearly revealed. They seem indeed to be descriptive of his individual character as an owner of flocks and herds, a merchant, a huntsman or a warrior.

These more naive delineations, of a ruder stage of culture, supply a welcome clue to the interpretation of such ideographic elements as survive in the more conventional forms with which we are at present dealing. Here too we may often see a reference to the avocation or profession of the owner of the seal and may venture to conclude that the more purely symbolic characters have a personal application. Thus for example Fig. 34, exhibiting at the beginning of one column a ship with two crescent moons above it, may be reasonably supposed to have been the signet of one who undertook long voyages. Fig. 24, with the pig and door, would have belonged to some one who owned herds of swine: in which case the two figures of the axe and kid on the other face may contain the elements of the owner's own name. The fish at the head of Fig. 33 may indicate a fisherman. The seal-stone represented in Fig. 23, with the adze and other implements—including one in which I have ventured to recognize the template of a decorative artist,—probably belonged to a member of a masons' guild. The harp on Fig. 31 suggests a musician. It is possible that the individual element of ownership, which on the earlier class is brought out by the complete human figure, may be elsewhere indicated by the human eye alone, which is of frequent occurrence in these stones.

§ IV.—Classification and Comparison of the Symbols.

In the following list I have included all the above signs that have any claim to be regarded as of hieroglyphic value, excluding the small obviously ornamental devices that are occasionally found filling in the space between the symbols, but including one or two like the S-shaped figures that may after all belong to the same decorative or supplemental category. It will be seen from the arrangement adopted that the symbols, where it is possible to recognize their meaning, fall into regular classes like the Hittite or the Egyptian.

The Human Body and its Parts.

Fig. 365. Ideograph of a man standing alone, with his arms held downwards, perhaps denoting ownership. It is followed by linear characters on another facet of the stone. Human figures in this position are frequent on Cyproite cylinders. A similar figure also occurs on a cone from Ramleh, near Jaffa, in the Ashmolean Collection.
indication of meaning we may compare Egyptian also determinative of 'sight,' 'watching,' &c. On the Hittite monuments the eye does not seem to be separately portrayed. On the inscriptions of Hamath and Jerabis (Wright, Emp. of the Hittites, Pl. I. H. 1, line 1, and Pl. VIII. A., line 1) the upper part of a figure of a man is represented, with his finger apparently pointing to his eye.

In the delineation of this symbol on the Cretan seal-stones, four distinct stages are perceptible: (1) the whole eye with the lashes all round; (2) the whole eye with the lashes fully drawn on two diagonal sides of the eye only, elsewhere only faintly indicated; (3) what appears to be an abbreviated form of the latter type; (4) the pupil and iris only, indicated by concentric circles. In one case (Fig. 35) this latter type occurs on the same stone as the complete eye in a place where it would have been impossible to insert the full symbol.

It is, however, difficult to distinguish this latter simplified form, consisting of concentric circles with or without a central dot, from what appears to be a solar symbol. (See below, No. 62.)

Fig. 31b. Another ideograph taken from gesture-language. The sign may have indicated 'ten' or any multiple of ten; thus any great number. So far as the crossing of the arms goes, the symbol may be compared with the two confronted figures that occur twice on a Jerabis monument (Wright, op. cit. Pl. IX.).

Fig. 35d. Also a gesture-sign. The Egyptian open hand indicates a palm measure. The forepart of the arm with open hand is seen on one of the Jerabis inscriptions (Wright, op. cit., Pl. VIII. B. 1. 2). Compare, too, the hand and forearm sculptured on a rock at Itanos above an archaic Greek inscription (Comparetti, Leggi di Gortyna, &c., p. 442, No. 206).

Figs. 23, 25a, 34b. The bent leg in Egyptian = pot, ret, men, &c., as a determinative, is applied to actions 'approaching,' and to agrarian measurements, as arura, 'an acre.' Among Hittite symbols only the lower part of the leg is found, apparently
booted. Cp. ᾳKotko, Yuiia. So far as style is concerned, the greatest resemblance is presented by a bent human leg seen in the field of a gem from the lower city of Mycenae (Tomb 10, 'Eph. 'Aρχ. 1888, Pl. X. 9).

6  Fig. 32d. Possibly = a rump.

ARMS, IMPLEMENTS, AND INSTRUMENTS.

7  Fig. 32b and cf. 41. Resembles an arm holding a curved instrument. As such it may be compared with the Egyptian determinative = a hand holding a club (next), applied to = forcible action. The forepart of the arm holding weapons or implements is common among Hittite symbols.

8  Fig. 24b. The single axe occurs on early seal-stones in the Ashmolean Collection, from Smyrna and N. Syria. It is perhaps represented by a symbol on the Hittite monument at Bulgar Maden (Ramsay and Hogarth, *Pre-hellenic Monuments of Cappadocia*, Pl. II. line 2, near middle). On an inscription from Jerabis (Wright, *op. cit*. Pl. II. C. line 1, and A. l. 4) the axe seems to occur in combination with another object. In Egypt the single axe is a sign of divinity. The present type of axe, however, is altogether non-Egyptian.

9  Fig. 37b. Perhaps an early form of double axe-head.

10  Figs. 23b, 30. The double axe is a form altogether foreign to Egypt. As a Hittite hieroglyph it has been recently detected on an inscription; and it is seen repeated in pairs on a Cypriote cylinder (Casola, *Satamisie*, Fig. 118, p. 128). It occurs as a symbol in the field of a Mycenaean gold ring (Sahliermann, *Mycenae*, Fig. 530, p. 354), where it has been connected with the cult of Zeus Labrandeus. It also forms the principal type of some Mycenaean gems found in Crete—one from near Girapetra, the other from Goula. Bronze axes of the above form are common in the votive deposits of the Cretan caves like that of the Idaean Zeus and of Psychro on Mount Lasethe (see above, Fig. 6).
Fig. 33d. The dagger symbol appears in two forms among Egyptian hieroglyphs, $\Delta$ bakaru and $\Delta$ xaa. When it occurs among Hittite signs it $\Downarrow$ is grasped $\Uparrow$ by a hand (Hamath, Wright, op. cit. Pl. III. H. iv. line 1, and Jerabie, op. cit. Pl. XII. Fig. 1, l. 2). The roundness of the pommel of the hilt on the Cretan sign is probably simply due to the early gem-engraver’s technique, which relies greatly on the drill.

Fig. 21b. Arrow-head. The form $b$ occurs on a triangular stone of a somewhat earlier class (see below, p. 344, Fig. 68), but is here inserted for comparison. Compare, too, the sign on the Mycenaean vase-handle (Fig. 1).

Figs. 34c, 23b, 24c, 30b, 32a, 33b, 35a. The ‘arrow’ with a short shaft is frequent on these stones, one variety (13a) showing the feathershaft. Similar figures are occasionally seen in the field of Mycenaean gems found in the island, where they represent arrows of the chase about to strike wild goats or other animals. The Hittite hieroglyphic series presents some close parallels.

Jerabie (op. cit. Pl. VIII. D. 1. 4, and Pl. X. I. 4).

Garvan and Bulgar Madan (R. and H. Pl. H. and Pl. IV. Fig. 2).

Figs. 23b, 35c. This symbol must be taken in connexion with the next, in which a palmette with curving base is inserted into its arch. Reasons will be given below (§ 319) for identifying this with the ‘template’ used in constructing a design formed of palmettes and returning spirals, which on other evidence seems to have been employed in Crete in Mycenaean days. It may therefore be a badge of a decorative artist.

Fig. 23a.

Figs. 21b, 22a, 23a, 23c, 25c, 32a, 33b, 34c, 35a, 35b, 38. This symbol, which is the most frequent of all, occurring no less than eleven times in the present series, may represent an instrument -like an arbaleon- for cutting leather. Or it may possibly be compared with a tool such as the Egyptians used for hollowing out vessels, and which seems to be represented by the Egyptian character $\Box$ (See De Rougé, Chrétomathie Egyptienne, p. 75.) Compare also Shen $\rightarrow$ a chisel. $\clubsuit$ The projecting shoulders recall a form of bronze celt.
Figs. 34a and 23b. Apparently another instrument of the same class as the above.

Fig. 32d. This form may be compared with the Egyptian = a mallet, determinative of 'to fabricate' or 'build.' The Hittite from Guran (R. and H. Pl. IV. 2, line 2) affords a close parallel to this and the above.

Figs. 31b, 31c. This highly interesting symbol represents a primitive form of musical instrument which, though it at first sight rather recalls a lyre from its horn-shaped sides, is essentially a harp, its opposite sides being connected by three strings and not by a solid cross-piece. Regarded as a harp, however, it presents an entirely new type, apparently standing in the same relation to the Asiatic horn-bow as the simple forms of African and other harps do to the wooden bow. It was, however, played with a plectrum which, as in the case of primitive lyres among savages at the present day, is here seen attached to the framework of the instrument. Although this symbol must be classified as a harp, and not as a lyre, we may well ask ourselves whether an instrument of this form, derived from the two-horned Asiatic bow, may not have influenced—contaminated, as mythologists would say—the form of the Greek lyre, the horn-shaped sides of which are not essential to that form of instrument.

Figs. 23b, 35b, 35d. Perhaps a plectrum as above.

Fig. 25a. A club or sceptre. Compare the Egyptian = club, = mace, symbol of 'brilliance' and 'whiteness.'

Fig. 23c. There can be little doubt that this symbol represents an adze or some similar tool with a wooden handle. The handle shows affinities with the Egyptian a kind of adze or plane, which = stp, 'to judge' or 'approve.' It may also be compared with the Hittite (Jerabia, Wright, op. cit. Pl. IX. lines 7, 8). Long adzes are among the most typical forms of bronze implements found in Crete. They are found in Mycenae deposits, and one in my possession from the Cave of Psychro is 11 35 inches in length. It is probable that the end of the wooden handle of the Cretan implement represented above was shaped like the hind leg and hoof of an animal, as in the case of many Egyptian tools.
Fig. 34d. Saw, shaped like the jaw of an animal, probably formed of wood set with flint flakes. Compare the Egyptian \[=\text{saw.}\] For a somewhat similar saw of wood set with flint teeth from Kahun, see Petrie, *Illahun, Kahun, and Gerob*, Pl. VII, Fig. 27.

**Houses and Household Utensils.**

Figs. 22b, 24a, 25a, 29b. Gate, door, or part of a fence. No. 2 in connexion with a pig.

(a) (b)

Figs. 30a, 32c, 36d. Perhaps variant of above, but cf. the Egyptian symbol for 'shutter' \[\square\]

Fig. 34d. Gate or shutter.

Fig. 32c. Fence.

Fig. 39. This vase evidently represents a metal original closely resembling the Oriental *drink* which serves as a ewer for pouring and sprinkling water. Vessels of this shape form the principal type of a class of Mycenaean gems specially common in Eastern Crete (see below, p. 370), sometimes fitted with a conical cover like Persian ewers of the same kind. The curving spout recalls that of an Egyptian libation-vase—\[\text{Kabah} = \text{libation,}

'sweet water'—but a simpler parallel is found in the ordinary water-vessel \[\text{num} = \text{'water.'}\] It is probable that the Cretan sign also stands for 'water'; indeed, on the lentoid gems referred to, this vase and others closely akin, with high beaked spouts, are seen beside a plant or spray. All this clearly indicates the purpose of watering.

Figs. 32c, 31c. This form of vessel is of ceramic character, and the seat on which it occurs belongs to an early class. It corresponds with a primitive type of high-beaked vases of very wide distribution, extending from Cyprus and the

\[\text{In the case of a closely allied form of vase}

with two handles the spray is seen inserted in the mouth of the vessel. On a gem from Goula a vase of this kind is seen beside a plant, above which is a rayed disc indicating the midday sun.\]
Troad to the Aegean Islands and the mainland of Greece. They occur at Hissarlik, and in the early cist-graves of Amorgos of praee-Mycenaean date, and I found part of the beaked spout of one of equally early fabric on the site of Praesos. Vases of this form are seen on the most primitive class of Cretan engraved gems, going back to the third millennium B.C. (see p. 332), and continue — taking at times a more metallic form — into the Mycenaean period. On two Vaphio gems (Eph. 1890, Pl. X. 35 36) a closely allied *proeious* is seen in the bands of the mysterious beast-headed daemons of Mycenaean art, who in one case are engaged in watering nursting palm-trees. Another representation of the same form of vase occurs above two bulls in the field of a gem from Tomb 27 of the lower town of Mycenae (Eph. 1888, Pl. X. 24).

30 Fig. 40. This symbol belongs to the same class as the above.

31 Fig. 40. Possibly some kind of vessel.

**Marine Subjects.**

32 Figs. 34a, 28a. The first of these vessels is accompanied with two crescents, one on either side of the mast—perhaps a sign of time as applied to the duration of a voyage (see below, No. 65). One ship has seven oars visible, the other six. In form these vessels show a great resemblance to those which appear as the principal type on a class of Mycenaean lenticular gems, specimens of which are found in Crete, one of which in my possession shows fifteen oars and a double rudder, and perhaps an upper row of oars. The double end of the first example—like an open beak—may recall the swan-headed ships of the confederate invaders of Egypt 'from the middle of the sea' in Rameses III's time as seen on the frescoes of Medinet Habou. In the present case, however, no yards are visible.

33 Fig. 33a. Apparently a tunny-fish; the hatched-work behind may indicate a net. Fish as hieroglyphic symbols are common to Egypt and Chaldaea. It looks as if tunny-fisheries had existed off the Cretan coast in Mycenaean times. The well-known gem with a fisherman in the British Museum (Gem Catalogue, 80, Pl. A) may refer to the same industry; and tunny-fish occur on two more Cretan gems of Mycenaean date in the same collection. A fish of the same type occurs as a symbol on Cypriote cylinders (cf. Salamis, Pl. XIV. 48).
Fig. 39. Also apparently a fish. The head is more rounded than No. 33, but this may be due to rudeness of design. Fish of the same rude form are seen on Cypriote cylinders (cf. Cesnola, *Salamis*, Pl. XIV, 48).

**Animals and Birds.**

Fig. 33c. Head of he-goat. This symbol presents a remarkable similarity to the Hittite hieroglyph of the same object, the value of which from its occurrence on the bilingual seal of Tarkumme (Tarkondemos) in Hittite and cuneiform characters is known to represent the syllables Tarrik or Tarku (Sayce, *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* Vol. VII, Pt. II. (1881), p. 207; and *Emp. of Hittites*, p. 182; Theo. Pinches, ib., p. 220, and *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* March 3, 1883; and cf. Halévy, *Rev. Sem.* 1893, p. 55 sqq.). The element 'Tarrik,' again, in the name of this prince, seems to refer to the god Tark (cf. Ramsay and Hogarth, *Pre-hellenic Monuments of Cappadocia*, p. 9 sqq.). The Egyptian goat’s-head sign is of a different character. The neck is given as well as the head, and there is no beard.

Fig. 37a. Bull or Ox. The seal on which it occurs is of primitive type.

Fig. 24b. A doe or kid.

Figs. 23b, 32b. Apparently intended for deer-horns.

Fig. 26a. Horned head of an uncertain animal, apparently an ox.

Fig. 21a. This appears to be rather a *bucranium* or skull of a bull or ox, than the actual head of the animal. As an ornament of the reliefs of altars the *bucranium* occurs already in Mycenaean art. This appears from a lentoid gem in the British
Museum, on which is seen an animal of the goat kind freshly slaughtered, with a dagger thrust into its shoulder, lying on an altar or sacrificial bench, the front of which is adorned with four bucraunia much resembling the above. In this case, to complete the parallel with later classical reliefs, fillets attached to the extremities of the horns are seen hanging down between the skulls.

Fig. 34d. This symbol must be regarded as uncertain. It is placed here, however, as showing a great resemblance to the Hittite sign which has been interpreted as an elongated form of the ass's head. (Palanga.)

Fig. 37b. Perhaps a variant of the above.

Fig. 24a. Pig. A similar ideograph occurs on a three-sided stone of the earlier Cretan type presented to the Ashmolean Museum by Mr. J. L. Myres.

Figs. 23a, 32b. Wolf's head with the tongue hanging out. This symbol shows a remarkable likeness to the Hittite (Jerabia, op. cit. Pl. VIII. D. l. 8, Pl. IX. l. 3), where again we find the same protruding tongue.

Fig. 31a. Dove pluming its wing.

Fig. 40. Perhaps variant form of above.

Fig. 39. Bird standing. Birds in a somewhat similar position occur among the Hittite symbols at Jerabia and Bulgar Maden, and are frequent in Egyptian hieroglyphics.

Fig. 26a. Apparently a bird's head. Heads of various kinds of birds are common among Egyptian hieroglyphics.
FROM CRETE AND THE PELOPONNESE.

49 Fig. 32a. This symbol apparently consists of two birds heads turned in opposite directions.

50 Figs. 28a, 30a. Perhaps a conventionalized sea-horse. The uppermost symbol on Fig. 18b (No. 76 below) may be a simplification of this. Compare on a Hittite seal-stone from Smyrna. A very similar form occurs on an early truncated cone from Tartis.

51 On the steatite relief (Fig. 18b). Apparently a tortoise.

VEGETABLE FORMS.

52 Fig. 34b.

53 Fig. 25b.

54 Figs. 23b, 33d, 35e, 35a. This may perhaps be regarded as an abbreviated form of one of the above, with possibly a differentiated meaning. The form is common to the Hittite monuments, occurring at Jerabis (Wright, op. cit. Pl. VIII, B. l. 5) in a more floral, and also (op. cit. Pl. XIX. 6) in a geometrical form; while at Bulgar Maden (Ramsay and Hogarth, Prehistoric Monuments of Cappadocia, Pl. II. l. 3, beginning) it forms a purely linear sign . The same, or a closely allied symbol, is also seen on the lion of Marash (Wright, op. cit. Pl. XXVII. 111, l. 1).

55 Fig. 25d.
56  Fig. 31c. Perhaps a lily. This form is more pictorial than the others. Compare the Hittite $\mathcal{H}$ Hainath (Wright, op. cit. Pl. IV. 1. 2 and 3).

57  Fig. 32d. I have placed this symbol, as completed, amongst floral forms from its apparent analogy to the Hittite $\mathcal{H}$ as seen on the monument at Iyrib (Ramsay and Hogarth, Prehellenic Monuments of Cappadocia, Pl. III). The dot which occurs above both symbols may be reasonably interpreted as representing the head of a stamen or pistil, as those of the lily, No. 56.

58  Figs. 37b, 40. Tree symbol. On a Mycenean lentoid gem, now in the Museum of the Sylllogos at Candia, a votary is seen blowing a couch-shell before an altar, behind which is a sacred grove with trees in the same conventional style. A similar degeneration of the sacred tree occurs on Cypriote cylinders.

59  Fig. 28b, repeated. Spray or branch, and the same is seen duplicated on Fig. 29c.

HEAVENLY BODIES AND DERIVATIVES.

60  Fig. 33c. Day-star, or sun, with eight revolving rays.

61  Fig. 27a (the rays more revolving). Day-star, or sun, with twelve rays. Star-like symbols occur on Syrian and Asianic seal-stones.

62  Fig. 35b. This symbol, with the tangential offshoots suggesting revolution, seems to fit on to No. 60 and to be of solar import. For the concentric circles as a solar emblem compare the Egyptian $\bigcirc$ $\overline{\text{Sop}} =$ times (times), and the circle with a central dot is also the Chinese symbol for sun. The eye symbol, No. 4, approaches this very closely.
Fig. 35d. This form suggests a combination of solar and lunar symbols.

Fig. 326 and cf. 39. Star of four rays. This symbol is frequent on Cypriote cylinders.

Two small crescent-moons are seen on either side of the mast of the vessel on Fig. 34a. They perhaps indicate duration of time—months—as applied to the length of a voyage.

**Geographical or Topographical.**


The Egyptian = mountain is applied in the same way as a determinative for 'districts' and 'countries.' As = granary, it reappears, with one or two heaps of corn in the middle, in the simple sense of a 'plot of ground.' The Accadian symbol, again, signifying a plot of ground, exhibits a form closely parallel to the above.

And in this connexion a truly remarkable coincidence is observable between the pictographic symbolism of old Chaldaea and that of the Cretans of the Mycenaean period. The linear form of the Accadian Ut-te shows a sun above the symbol of the ground with a plant growing out of it. But on specimens of Mycenaean gems observed by me in Eastern Crete, side by side with the vase for watering already referred to, are seen symbolic or conventional representations of the plant growing out of the ground, recalling the Accadian version almost on amygdaloid cornelian; Zeno (near Praesos) on amygdaloid cornelian; Goulas. In another case the ower divides the two symbols on an almond-shaped stone of the same character; Girapetra.
Geometrical Figures.

67 Figs. 23b, 23c, 25a, 25c, 33d, 34b, 38. This sign may be simply a supplementary figure. On Fig. 38 it is thrice repeated with the sign No. 16, and might, like the similar Egyptian sign $\times$, indicate multiplication.

68 Figs. 34a, 34d. This may be an intercalated sign, perhaps of the nature of a break between words.

69 Figs. 21a, 23c. Repeated in two directions on Fig. 23c. This, too, is possibly an ornamental insertion, but it may however be compared with the Egyptian $\mathcal{Q}$, a coil of thread, signifying ‘to reel.’

70 Fig. 24c. This may be the same as No. 69 with an additional ornamental flourish.

Uncertain Symbols.

71 Figs. 31b, 35c. The late Hittite sign $\mathcal{O}$ occurs at Gurun (R. and H. op. cit. Pl. IV. 2, 1, 2), and perhaps in the inscription near Bulgar Maden (op. cit. Pl. II. 1, 3).

72 Fig. 27a.

73 Fig. 25c.

74 Fig. 25c. Somewhat fractured below.
75. Fig. 34d. A certain analogy is presented by the Hittite sign 

Hamath (Wright, op. cit. Pl. I. H. II. L. 2), Jerebâ (op. cit. Pl. VIII. B. 1. 5), and on the 'Niobe' (Ed. Gollob in op. cit. Pl. XXII.).

76. Fig. 18b. On the steatite relief (Fig. 18b); possibly a conventionalized form of No. 50.

77. Fig. 26a.

78. Fig. 25a. Perhaps a variant of No. 69.

79. Fig. 32c. This symbol presents a certain resemblance to the Hittite forms  

Hamath (Wright, op. cit. Pl. I. I. 1, Pl. II. III. I. 1, Pl. IV. V. I. 1);  

Jerebâ (op. cit. Pl. VIII. J. I. A. I. 3, B. 1. 2);  

Bulgar Maden (R. and H. op. cit. Pl. II. I. 3);  

Gurun (op. cit. Pl. IV. 1).

80. Fig. 22a. This recalls the Egyptian $\lambda = \text{ 'skein of thread,' the determinative for 'linen,' 'binding,' &c. Compare, too, the twisted cord $\sigma \varepsilon \varepsilon = \text{ 'to turn back,' and } \varepsilon \varepsilon \sigma, \text{ the tied-up bundle } \chi = \text{ 'to bury.' On the Hittite } \gamma \text{ silver seal procured at Bor, near Tyana (Ramsay and Hogarth, Pre-hellenic Monuments of Cappadocia, p. 17, Fig. 2), occurs the sign } \lambda \text{ identical with the Cretan.}$

81. Figs. 35c, 33d.

82. Fig. 32c. This symbol, if rightly completed, recalls the Egyptian $\phi = \text{ 'Net, which serves especially to write the name of Neith the Goddess of Sais; also } \phi \phi = \text{ 'at, and its abbreviated form, sometimes described as a twisted cord.'}$
It will be seen from the above list that there are some eighty-two symbols classified under the following heads:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbol Category</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The human body and its parts</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arms, implements and instruments</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parts of houses and household utensils</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marine subjects</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Animals and birds</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vegetable forms</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heavenly bodies and derivatives</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geographical or topographical signs</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geometrical figures</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uncertain symbols</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The numerous comparisons made with Egyptian hieroglyphs in the course of the above analysis do not by any means involve the conclusion that we have in the Cretan signs merely their blundered imitation. Where such occur, as in the case of a well-known class of Phoenician and of some Cypriote Greek objects, we are confronted with very different results. Had there been any attempt to copy Egyptian cartouches or inscriptions, we should infallibly have found, as in the above cases, travesties or imperfect renderings of Egyptian forms. But imitative figures of this kind do not make their appearance, and no attempt has been made to copy even the commonest of the Egyptian characters. Such parallelism as does appear is at most the parallelism of an independent system drawn from a common source. Nor are affinities of this kind by any means confined to Egypt.

Among the closer parallels with the signs of other hieroglyphic systems that it has been possible to indicate, about sixteen (or 20 per cent.) approach Egyptian and an equal number Hittite forms: mere general resemblances, such as those presented by certain figures of fish, birds, &c., being excluded from this rough calculation. Considering that the choice of comparisons is in the case of the Egyptian hieroglyphs very much larger than that of the Hittite, it will be seen that the proportion of affinities distinctly inclines to the Asianic side. Certain signs, such as the wolf's head with the tongue hanging out (No. 44), the he-goat's head (No. 35), the arrow (No. 13), the three-balled spray (No. 54), and Nos. 41, 57, 79 and 80, clearly point to a fundamental relationship between the Hittite and Cretan systems. The double axe moreover is characteristically Asianic, but as certainly not Egyptian. The single axe of the form represented in No. 8 is also non-Egyptian. We are struck too by the absence of the distinctively religious symbols which in Egyptian hieroglyphics are of such constant recurrence. In the Hittite series, on the other hand, as in the Cretan, this hieratic element, though it no doubt exists, does not certainly take up so conspicuous a position.

The somewhat promiscuous way in which the signs are disposed in some of the spaces, notably on Fig. 238, is strikingly suggestive of the Hittite
monuments. When the impressions of the three or four sides of one of the Cretan stones are placed in a row one above the other, as on the analogy of the Babylonian cylinders they would have been in clay impressions, we obtain a columnar arrangement of symbols in relief which curiously recalls the sculptured stones of Hamath or the site of Carchemish. So far moreover as can be gathered from an examination of the Cretan stones, the same boustrophédon arrangement seems to have been here adopted as on most of the Hittite monuments. 186

Yet we have not here, any more than in the Egyptian case, to do with the mere servile imitation of foreign symbols. The common elements that are shared with the Hittite characters are in some respects more striking, and there is greater general sympathy in form and arrangement. The coincidences, indeed, are at times of such a kind as to suggest a real affinity. But this relationship is at most of a collateral kind. Some Cretan types present a surprising analogy with the Asianic; on the other hand, many of the most usual of the Hittite symbols are conspicuous by their absence. The parallelism, as it seems to me, can best be explained by supposing that both systems had grown up in a more or less conterminous area out of still more primitive pictographic elements. The Cypriote parallels may be accounted for on the same hypothesis.

In the early picture-writing of a region geographically continuous there may well have been originally many common elements, such as we find among the American Indians at the present day; and when, later, on the banks of the Orontes and the highlands of Cappadocia on the one side, or on the Aegean shores on the other, a more formalized ‘hieroglyphic’ script began independently to develop itself out of these simpler elements, what more natural than that certain features common to both should survive in each? Later intercommunication may have also contributed to preserve this common element. But the symbolic script with which we have here to deal is essentially in situ. As will be demonstrated in the succeeding section the Cretan system of picture-writing is inseparable from the area dominated by the Mycenaean form of culture. Geographically speaking it belongs to Greece.

§ V.—The Mycenaean Affinities of the Cretan Pictographs.

Some definite evidence as to the chronology of these Cretan seal-stones is afforded by the points of comparison that they offer with Mycenaean forms. Amongst the ‘Mycenaean’ gems of Crete are found three-sided stones like those represented in Fig. 206. 184 One of those, a cornelian from the site or neighbourhood of Goulas, exhibits on one of its sides heart-shaped leaves similar to those seen upon some Mycenaean vases. Vessels with this kind of leaf occurred in the fifth and sixth of the

186 See p. 301. and is inserted on p. 388 merely as an example
184 This is in fact an ordinary Mycenaean form. 

gem representing apparently a kind of fane.
Akropolis graves at Mycenae, and it is a common ornament of the stamped glass plaques of the later Mycenaean interments. Another example of this vegetable form may be seen on a low vase found by Professor Petrie in the ‘Maket’ tomb at Kahun, the approximate date of which is now fixed at about 1450 B.C. by the new evidence supplied by the foundation deposits of Thothmes III at Koptos. A very similar type of leaf is also seen on a Mycenaean fragment from Tell-el-Amarna, belonging to the age of Akhenaten (Khtenaten) and the early part of the fourteenth century before our era. In a still more literal form, moreover, it appears executed in a brilliant blue on the fresco decoration of the Palace itself. The leaf on the Goula gem presents the distinguishing feature of being decorated with hatched lines; and this peculiarity recurs in an example of the same motive upon one of the vases from the first shaft-grave at Mycenae, the ceramic contents of which, fitting on as they do to some of the types of Thera, must be regarded as earlier rather than later than the Tell-el-Amarna fragments. On these grounds I would approximately refer the Goula gem to the fifteenth century B.C.

A more globular variety of the three-sided stones is also represented among Mycenaean gems. On one obtained by me from Central Crete the same leaf-shaped ornament occurs as that described above. On another from Malia, also a cornelian, engraved on two of its faces, are designs of a wild goat struck by an arrow, and of a flying eagle with two zigzag lines proceeding from it—possibly a Mycenaean thunder-hild. An engraved amethyst, again, of this type was found in the Vaphio tomb; and here again we have an indication of date taking us to the middle of the second millennium B.C. and to the most flourishing period of Mycenaean art.

The peculiar form of stone (Fig. 21) with the spirally fluted back,
which, as pointed out above, seems to originate from a twin Nerita shell type of an earlier period, also occurs among the Mycenaean gems of Crete. One of these, obtained in Candia, is engraved with a typical design of a sepia; another, found at Goulae, has a combined spiral and vegetable motive of great interest (Fig. 42). The leaves in this composition evidently belong to the same water-plant as that seen on a painted ossuary in the form of a hut discovered by Professor Halbherr in a Mycenaean tholos tomb at Anoia Messaritika. The same palmette-like form however recurs in a still more literal guise, occupying the arched interior of the symbol No. 14 on the three-sided stone Fig. 23a. And here an interesting combination suggests itself.

The observation has already been made above that the symbol No. 14 (see below, Fig. 43) which occurs on stones (Fig. 23b, 35c) is the same as No. 15 (Fig. 44), minus the leaf and spirals. I had therefore at first looked upon this latter as a kind of decorative excrescence not essential to the symbol itself. But the symbol in its simplified form, with its arched space below and two curved incisions on the top, remained a puzzle. Judging by the analogy of other signs, it was probably some form of instrument or implement, and the suspicion did cross my mind that it might be connected with house-building and possibly the decoration of ceilings.

But the Goulae gem places this conjecture in quite a new light. The combination of triquetal curves and vegetable ornament that it presents, at once declares the design to be a part subtracted as it were from a more spacious ornamental surface. The divergent spirals, coupled with foliate or

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**Fig. 42.—Gem, Goulae (2 diam.).**

next behind it are flying over the surface of the water, and the fish alone, in the third line, are actually in the water. In fact it is not difficult to trace in this design a reminiscence of a commonplace of Egyptian painted pavements and frescoes, in which river-plants with ducks flying over them or poising on their branches are seen beside a tank or stream containing fish. Only here the forms of the leaves are different from those of the lotus or papyrus seen on the Egyptian models.
floral forms, are the animating principle of a whole series of large decorative compositions, of which the ceiling of Orchomenos is the most conspicuous example in Mycenaean art, but which are in fact the almost literal copies of Egyptian prototypes.

In view of these comparisons it occurred to me that the symbol connected above with the palmette—belonging ex hypothesi to a form of Mycenaean ceiling—might have been a simple kind of stencilling plate known as a 'template,' such as is still in use among decorators, and that it was employed for a similar purpose by the artists whose business it was to adorn the palaces of the Mycenaean lords. I accordingly cut out a symmetrical model of the sign (Fig. 43), and made a practical test of its utility in the mechanical procedure necessary for producing such a design. The use of the incurved notches at the top of the figure became at once apparent. The symbol, first applied with the top of the arch uppermost so as to stand on a line ready ruled, gave the upper outline of the leaf, for which the inner margin of the arch supplied the tracing. Now turning the figure upside down, and carefully adjusting its feet to the terminal points of the upper border of the tracing already made, it will be seen (Fig. 45) that the double curves fit into the lower opening of the arch, and give the two incurving lines required for the lower margin of the palmette (Fig. 44).

The form of template suggested by the symbols fulfils the following conditions:—(1) It will be contained in a square, its height being equal to its width. (2) The opening at the base of the arch is equal in width to the space between the exterior horns of the summit. (3) The top of the arch forms a semicircle, the radius of which is equal to that of the curves of the notches at the top.

I.—Now apply the template thus formed to a sloping line \(AB\) twice on each side of it, as shown in the diagram Fig. 46, so that in all four positions one of its feet rests on the portion \(CD\) of the said line \(AB\).

II.—Apply the template sideways to the sloping line \(AB\), as in diagram Fig. 47, and adjust the foot in each case to the lines \(EF\), mark the point of the extreme horns \(FF'\) and rule the two lines \(FG, HH'\), which are parallels.
Now complete the circular heads of the arches round the points $E'F'$, which form, in the case given, the centres of the circles thus drawn.

III.—Produce the parallels $F'G$, $H'F$ and join the points $F'F''$. Taking $F'F''$ as a side, mark off as often as required the same distance on the produced parallels $F'G$, $H'F$, drawing at each such distance a fresh parallel to the line $F'F''$, and thus producing a series of rhombi. At each of these points repeat the small circles, and to complete the groundwork of this band of the design it is only necessary to draw the curving lines tangentially to them.
The first section of Fig. 48 shows the simple rhombus, the second the same with tangential lines straight and curving. In the third section on the line $A \, B$, and upon the base $D \, E$ already obtained in Fig. 46, a palmette is formed by reversing the template as in Fig. 46c, and so on in the other rhombi. The curving stems and cross lines are then filled in as in the Gouliis gem (Fig. 44), the result being that shown in Pl. XII.

Observation.—In order to fit the design into a square or rectangular surface, as in Pl. XII, each new band of rhombi must be taken back to a starting point ($L$), which must be at the same distance from a right or left margin as was $F$ at the commencement.

The complete design as restored in Plate XII, by the aid of the template symbol may well have decorated the ceiling of a palace hall or princely sepulchral chamber in the great Mycenaean city where the gem was found which suggested this practical application of the pictograph. The typical combination of the volute and vegetable motive which it exhibits affords in turn a secure chronological standpoint. The design before us belongs to the same class as the ceiling of Orchomenos and the fragment of wall-painting from the palace at Tiryns and was, like them, undoubtedly executed under the immediate influence of the Egyptian style of ceiling decoration that came into vogue under the Eighteenth Dynasty, and the finest examples of which are to be seen in the Theban tombs. The colours on Plate XII have in fact been supplied from Egyptian analogy.

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Schliemann, Tiryns, Pl. V.

The tangential curves of this group of designs are in nearly all cases coloured yellow as if to imitate gold, and this rule also holds good in the case of the wall-painting in the Palace at Tiryns (Schliemann, Tiryns, Pl. V.). The alternation of red and blue fields is also common in Egyptian ceilings of this class. I am indebted to Mr. J. Tylecote for some unpublished examples of similar patterns from the
It is probable that at the time when these gems were executed this decorative pattern combining the palmettes and returning curves or spirals was widely prevalent in Crete. The template symbol itself recurs on two seal-stones, in one case with palmette and spirals attached, and on the triangular seal, Fig. 22a, there is a combination of two palmettes and curving lines going in opposite directions, which may be regarded as a simplified version of the fuller motive, as seen in the Goula's gem. The volute form of the latter stone is, as already shown, characteristic of a class of Cretan gems with purely Mycenaean types, and the connexion that has been established between the design that it presents and Cretan pictographic symbols on the one hand, and the Egypto-Mycenaean ceiling decoration on the other, gives us a fresh basis for a chronological equation. The later pictographic class is once more brought into close relation with Mycenaean art, while the Egyptian parallels take us once more to the middle of the second millennium before our era for the approximate date of the seal-stones on which these suggestive forms occur.

In examining the symbols on the Cretan seal-stones various other parallels with Mycenaean forms have already been pointed out. The single figures which occur, such as the young doe or kid in Fig. 24b, the dove pluming its wings on Fig. 31a, fit on both in style and execution to the Mycenaean class. The ship on Fig. 34a and 28a is found again in all its typical lines on lentoid beads of Mycenaean fabric found in Crete. The double axe No. 10, the bent leg No. 5, the bucranium No. 40, all make their appearance as accessories of Mycenaean seals and gems from Peloponnesean tombs. The forms of vases seen in Nos. 28 and 29 are elsewhere held in the hands of Mycenaean daemons, and are the distinguishing types of a whole series of lentoid and amygdaloid gems of Mycenaean character found in Eastern Crete, on the ethnographical importance of which more will be said later on.

It is always possible, as already observed, that some of the smaller objects seen in the field of the typical Mycenaean gems beside the principal design may belong to the same pictographic class as the signs on the angular seal-stones. Such correspondences as those noted above certainly tend to add to this probability. But, bearing in mind the known tendency of the primitive artist to fill up the vacant places of the field with supplementary figures, it does not seem safe to assume that, because small figures identical with the pictographic forms occasionally found their way on to these more decorative objects, they are necessarily to be regarded as having in that position a hieroglyphic value. When however symbols of this character occur in groups, occupying the whole surface of field, the case assumes a different complexion, and it is with this phenomenon that we have to deal in the class of early lentoid gems from Crete represented by Figs. 40 and 41. Of these ceilings of grottoes near Siphnos, of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties, one of curves, affords a close parallel to the Cretan these, a series of rhombooidal fields alternately of red and blue, enclosed by yellow tangents.
Fig. 40 exhibits a group of four distinct symbols and part of a fifth, which has unfortunately been broken off. Fig. 41 again contains three signs apparently of the same hieroglyphic character, one of which—the arm holding a curved instrument—resembles the symbol on Fig. 32b. These specimens belong apparently to the earlier class of lentoid beads and, like all those of this early class, which in Crete is especially well represented, are cut in soft stone, apparently steatite. One is from Knossos, the other from the Messara district of Central Crete, and with them may be grouped another similar lentoid bead from the latter region, with a figure which clearly represents an insular copy of the Egyptian Aaabh.

§ VI.—The Earlier Classes of Cretan Seal-stones.

The comparisons already accumulated sufficiently warrant us in referring the most characteristic of the hieroglyphic stones to the great days of Mycenaean art. The connexion established is indeed from many points of view so intimate that it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that there existed within the regions dominated by the Mycenaean culture—in Crete certainly, perhaps in the Peloponnesus—a form of picture-writing of much the same general character as that in use throughout this same period in the 'Hittite' countries of Asia Minor.

But with these Mycenaean comparisons the last word has by no means been said on the origin and evolution of the hieroglyphic forms. There are distinct indications that the beginnings of this picture-writing go back to a far more remote period of Cretan story. Everything tends to show that they are in fact deeply rooted in the soil. The most typical forms of the stones themselves come, as will be seen, of an old indigenous stock. As we go farther back the signs become more pictorial, but they seem still to stand in a personal relation to their owners not to be found on merely decorative gems, and they serve essentially the same purpose as elements of seals.

Of the types described the four-sided equilateral prisms represented by Class II., all of which seem to belong to the Mycenaean period, correspond with an Egyptian form of seal-stone that was in vogue in the time of the Eighteenth Dynasty, and a good specimen of which in green jasper dating from the reign of Thothmes III. (c. 1516—1503 B.C.) was found by Mr. Petrie in the Maket Tomb at Kahun. But the three-sided form seems to be a characteristically Cretan product and to go back in the island to a much more remote period.

In the course of my journey through Central and Eastern Crete I came across a series of stones which, though of distinctly earlier fabric, showed the same typical triangular form as Class I. of the later hieroglyphic series. Some of these have the same elongated form, others resemble in shape the more globular variety, but they are larger, and unlike the others, always cut in steatite and never out of harder materials such as cornelian or jasper.
One or two of these earlier types (Figs. 21, 36) have been inserted in the series of hieroglyphic seal-stones already given, as presenting symbols of essentially the same class though at times in a more primitive form and associated with more purely ideographic figures. It would not have been difficult, as will be seen from the contents of the present section, to have added others, and in truth no real lines of demarcation can be laid down between the earlier and the later group. These primitive types show a close correspondence in their designs with certain other classes of early engraved stones found in the island. Amongst these may be mentioned flat disks perforated along their axes and engraved on both faces, button-like stones, and others of truncated pyramidal and sub-conical forms, bored horizontally near the apex.

For the dating of this early group most valuable evidence is supplied by the deposit, already referred to, found at Hagios Onuphrius, near the site of Phaestos, and now preserved in the little Museum of the Syllogos or Literary Society of Candia (Heraklio). This deposit, which contains nothing that can safely be brought down to Mycenaean times proper, is of a homogeneous character, and seems to me to be of capital importance in the history of early Aegean art. Although exact details of the excavation are wanting, it is certain that it represents the remains of early sepulture, dating from the same period as the primitive cemeteries of Amorgos and presenting a series of objects in many respects strikingly similar to those from the Amorgian cists. Here are the same rude marble idols and vessels, high-spouted clay vases and rude pots with perforated covers, as well as the first beginnings of painted ware, with red, white, and violet stripes on the plain surface of the clay. Here is the square-ended triangular-bladed dagger of the Amorgian graves, the fluted jewelry, but of gold instead of silver; here are the same steatite pendants and spirally ornamented seals. In a word the Phaestos deposit covers precisely the same period as the earlier elements of the Amorgos cemeteries—a period which may be roughly defined as intermediate between the first prehistoric stratum of Troy and the early remains of Thera. As a matter of fact a two-handled jar with red and white streaks on the blackish-brown ground which must be regarded as one of the latest objects in the Phaestos group approaches in technique some of the earliest ceramic specimens from Thera.

These considerations would alone be sufficient to afford a rough chronol-
logical guide. The Thera vases may be justly regarded as the earliest examples of the Mycenaean class, which already by the middle of the second millennium B.C. had attained its apogee. On archaeological grounds therefore it would certainly be unsafe to bring down the earliest of the painted vases found beneath the volcanic strata at Santorin and Therasia later than the eighteenth century before our era. On the other hand, the first prehistoric city of Troy must be carried back to a far more remote period. The recent excavations of Dr. Dörpfeld have now made it abundantly clear that the Sixth City on the site of Hisarlik belongs to the great age of Mycenae, or roughly-speaking 1500 B.C. But between this and the oncemiscalled 'Homerice City' of the second stratum, an interval, estimated by Dr. Dörpfeld in round numbers at 500 years, must be allowed for the intervening settlements, and beyond this again lies the whole duration of the Second City, the beginnings of which go back at a moderate estimate to 2500 B.C. The earliest and most primitive stratum is thus in Dr. Dörpfeld's opinion carried back to the close of the fourth millennium before our era.

But the Phaestos deposit contains direct chronological indications of a kind hitherto unique amidst primitive Aegean finds. Amongst the relics found there occurred in fact a series of Egyptian scarabs belonging to the Twelfth Dynasty and the immediately succeeding period. And happily in this case we have to deal not with cartouches containing names which might possibly have been revived at later periods of Egyptian history, but with a peculiar class of ornament and material that form the distinguishing characteristics of the Egyptian scarabs of Twelfth Dynasty date, and which, though partly maintained during the succeeding Dynasty, give way in later work to other decorative fashions. The amethyst scarabs with a plain face—intended to be covered with a gold plate—characteristic of this period of Egyptian art, are represented among the Phaestos relics by an example, on which—probably by an indigenous hand—three circles have subsequently been engraved. A more important specimen however is a steatite scarab engraved below, with a spiral ornament peculiar to this period, to which also in all probability belongs a white steatite bead with a vegetable motive and a scarab with a hieroglyphic inscription. Nor must this occurrence of Twelfth Dynasty scarabs be considered at all exceptional in Crete. From the Messara district I acquired another of the same class, with a returning spiral ornament of a typical kind; while another scarab found in the same region, with an S-shaped scroll and a cow-like back, apparently represents an indigenous imitation of a form that came into vogue during the Hyksos period. 28

27 For the chronology arrived at by Dr. Dörpfeld, see especially Troja: 1893, pp. 61 and 86, 87.
28 This is Professor Petrie's opinion. In his History of Egypt (vol. I, p. 208, Fig. 116) are engraved two 'cowrods' of the same character-
The Twelfth Dynasty of Egypt is placed by the most recent chronological researches between the approximate dates 2778 and 2565 B.C. The succeeding Thirteenth Dynasty, which partly preserved the same style, comes down on the same reckoning to about 2098 B.C. With the guide afforded by the presence of these Egyptian relics on the one hand and the approximation to the earliest ceramic types of Thera on the other, we may roughly take the period 2500—1800 B.C. as the time-limits of the Phaestos deposit, which no doubt consisted of successive interments. The generally 'Amorgan' facies of the whole group of objects found quite squares with this result and at the same time prevents us from bringing down the central period of the deposit too near the date of the more developed ceramic style found in Santorin and Therasia. But among the engraved stones found here, together with specimens of other types described above, occurred a typical example of an elongated, three-cornered seal-stone of the earlier class (see below, Fig. 73), having upon it designs of a decorative rather than hieroglyphic character.

Upon a button-like ornament of steatite from the same deposit were engraved three characters of the linear class (Fig. 12); and the remarkable inscribed whorl (Fig. 11), referred to above (p. 284), was found in association with the other relics on the same spot.

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egyptian scarabs xiiith dynasty

early cretan seal-stones

Fig. 10.

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\textsuperscript{33a} Petrie, op. cit. p. 147.
\textsuperscript{34} Op. cit. p. 294.
The influence of the decorative motives of Twelfth Dynasty scarabs is perceptible upon other early Cretan seal-stones, both of the three-sided and button-like classes. This will be clearly seen by a comparison of the designs of the three scarabs given in Fig. 49a, b, c, with motives taken from the faces of primitive stone ‘buttons’ and triangular seal-stones of early fabric (Fig. 49d-h). It will be seen that the lower part of the ornament on d has been ‘crossed,’ as it were, by the ‘broad arrow’ symbol which occurs on another facet of the same stone. This and g are triangular stones of the same type as that represented in Fig. 10a, but of earlier technique than the conventionally pictographic class. The central design on d reproduces the principal motive of the scarab above it, and the two signs on f are simply incomplete and rude transcriptions of the very characteristic scrolls on c. The buttons e and g were obtained by me from the Messara district, and the other of a closely similar type (h), which is unfortunately broken, is from the Phaestos deposit. It is not too much to say that this

![Diagram](image-url)

(taken over) of the decorative designs of Twelfth Dynasty scarabs on to these early Cretan stones is of capital importance in the history of European art. In the examples already given will be found simple examples of the borrowing at this early period—c. 2500 B.C.—of the returning spiral motive which was afterwards to play such an important part, not in the Aegean countries only, but in the North and West. On the Twelfth Dynasty scarabs this motive, as is well known to Egyptologists, was developed to an extraordinary degree, the whole field being often entirely occupied by divergent spirals to the exclusion of all other elements. These purely spiral types, like the other Twelfth Dynasty motives already noticed, were also copied by the native Cretan engravers. A good instance of this will be seen on another button-like steatite of quatrefoil shape (Fig. 50) from the same Phaestos deposit, exhibiting a series of four divergent spirals.

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29 This parallel was kindly supplied me by Mr. Petrie.
From Crete, where we find these Aegean forms in actual juxtaposition with their Egyptian prototypes, we can trace them to the early cemeteries of Amorgos, presenting the same funeral inventory as that of Phaestos, and here and in other Aegean islands like Melos can see them taking before our eyes more elaborate developments. Reinforced a thousand years later by renewed intimacy of contact between the Aegean peoples and the Egypt of Amenophis III, the same system was to regain a fresh vitality as the principal motive of the Mycenaean goldsmith’s work. But though this later influence reacted on Mycenaean art, as can be seen by the Orchomenos ceiling, the root of its spiral decoration is to be found in the earlier ‘Aegean’ system engrafted long before, in the days of the Twelfth Dynasty. The earliest gold-work as seen in the Akropolis Tombs is the translation into metal of ‘Aegean’ stone decoration. The spiral design on the stele of Grave V is little more than a multiplication of that on the Phaestan seal.

In the wake of early commerce the same spiraliform motives were to spread still further afield to the Danubian basin, and thence in turn by the valley of the Elbe to the Amber Coast of the North Sea, there to supply the Scandinavian Bronze Age population with their leading decorative designs. Adopted by the Celtic tribes in the Central European area, they took at a somewhat later date a westerly turn, reached Britain with the invading Belgae, and finally survived in Irish art. The high importance of these Cretan finds is that they at last supply the missing link in this long chain, and demonstrate the historical connexion between the earliest European forms of this spiral motive and the decorative designs of the Twelfth Dynasty Egyptian scarabs. And it is worthy of remark that in Egypt itself, so far as it is possible to gather from the data at our disposal, this returning spiral system, which can be traced back to the Fourth Dynasty, is throughout the earlier stages of its evolution restricted to scarabs. The

26a Compare especially the steatite button-seal from Kaphonisia between Naxos and Amorgos, F. Dümmler (Ath. Mitt. 1886. Basstige I, l.): the green marble box from Amorgos (Op. Cit. Basstige I, Fig. A) and the stone ‘pyxis’ in the form of a hut from Melos (Porst et Chinox, La Grece Primitivc p. 916, Fig. 461).

26b In the Hellenic Journal, Vol. xii, p. 221, I had already ventured to point out that the early spiral work of the Mycenaean jewels fitted on to that of the earlier stone canisters of the Aegean islands and the spiral decoration of these in turn to the simple spiral system that attained its apotheosis in Egypt under the Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties. I also showed (pp. 197, 224) that certain late Mycenaean forms influenced those of the Hungarian Bronze Age. But the ‘missing link’ to complete the Egyptian connexion was not then in my hands. Dr. Xen

H.R.—Vol. XIV,
primitive Aegean imitations are also in the same way confined to stonework, and were only at a later date transferred to metal and other materials. The whole weight of the archaeological evidence is thus dead against the generally received theory that the spiral ornament, as it appears on Mycenaean art, originated in metal-work, though its later application to this and other materials naturally reacted on its subsequent development.

It seems by no means improbable that this early Aegean spiral system, born of this very ancient Egyptian contact was beginning to spread in a Northern direction at a date anterior to the great days of Mycenae. It is at least a noteworthy circumstance that in the Bronze Age deposits of Hungary there have come to light certain clay stamps with a quadruple spiral design which might be taken to be the direct copies of the Cretan steatite seal-stone represented above. Nor are there wanting indications that the Aegean spiral system was leaving its impress on Italian handiwork before the days of Mycenaean contact.

On the present occasion it has been impossible to do more than call attention to the far-reaching importance of this decorative result of the early contact between the Aegean islanders and the Nile Valley in the third millennium before our era. Of that early contact I was able in the course of my Cretan explorations to collect other interesting evidence in the shape of a series of primitive stone vessels of strikingly Egyptian types. In particular, I acquired a stone pot with a cover identical with those found by Professor Petrie in a Twelfth Dynasty deposit at Kahun. It was found beside a skeleton in an early cist-grave at Arvi, on the South-Eastern coast of Crete, in company with other stone vessels, some of a more indigenous character, and a clay suspension vase, very like one from the Phaestos deposit.

The Twelfth Dynasty parallels above instituted are of special value to our present inquiry from the corroboration that they afford to the chrono-

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394 I am informed by Professor Petrie that his researches on this class of scarabs lead to this conclusion. An illustrative series of these, including one of Ta-ta-ras of the Fourth Dynasty, has been published by Dr. Neugebauer (Die Bremszel in Oberbegrn, p. 145) from impressions supplied by Mr. Petrie. It would appear, however, that at least as early as the Thirteenth Dynasty this spiral decoration was beginning to spread in Egypt to other objects besides scarabs. There is in the Ashmolean Collection a black-ware vase from Egypt of a style characteristic of Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasty deposits (cf. Petrie, Kahun, Gurob and Hawara, p. 38 and Pl. XXVII, figs. 199-202) which has a punctuated returning spiral ornament running round the upper part of its body. Specimens of similar ware, though without the spiral decoration, were found at Khanteh by M. Naville in company with Thirteenth Dynasty scarabs, in graves deep down below Eighteenth Dynasty accumulations. In Cyprus similar vessels are found in graves anterior, though not long anterior, to the period of Mycenaean influence. Milchleider, who like others derived the Mycenaean spiral decoration from wire work designs (Die Anfänge der Kunst, p. 16 sqq.), saw a corroboration of this theory in the gold jewelry from the "Treasures" of Phaestos (Schliemann, Ithaka, p. 456 sqq.). But the objects from those 'Treasures' do not by any means belong to the remote period to which they were originally referred by Dr. Schliemann. Their whole context shows that they are of Mycenaean date and belong to the Sixth rather than the Second City.

395 See especially the Hungarian clay seals represented in the Congres Internationaux de l'Archeologie Prehistorique, Budapest 1879, Pl. LXX, Fig. 14 and cf. Fig. 13. The S-shaped design so frequent on the Cretan seal-stones is also represented on Fig. 13 of the same series.
logical evidence suggested by the Phaestos deposit. In the one case we have actual association with Egyptian relics belonging to the third millennium before our era; in the other case we have unquestionable imitation of the same. Both lines of evidence enable us to refer to this early period some of the more archaic of the three-sided seal stones and certain types of engraved stone ‘buttons.’

But the evidence of the influence of Twelfth Dynasty decorative motives on this group of early Cretan seal-stones, while itself supplying a landmark of extreme antiquity, enables us to carry back to a still earlier date a yet more primitive class of stones still untouched by this Egyptian influence.

Our chief standpoint for this chronological result is supplied by the three-sided stones which of all the forms exhibiting the symbolic figures may be described as the most characteristic.

Setting aside for the moment the most globular variety presenting purely Mycenaean designs, these triangular stones may be divided into the following classes:

Class I.—Elongated triangular stones presenting groups of symbols or ornaments enclosed in an oval groove somewhat resembling an Egyptian ‘cartouche.’ Seen at their extremities the central perforation of the stone is surrounded by a triangular groove (see Fig. 206, p. 288). The seals of this class are generally of harder materials, such as cornelian, jasper or chalcedony. They present the hieroglyphic in their most conventional form. The materials and some of the designs show that they belong to the Mycenaean Period proper. This class has already been dealt with in Section II.

Class II.—Elongated triangular stones of the same shape as the other with or without the oval groove or cartouche, but of more primitive execution, and of softer material, such as steatite. Both hieroglyphic and linear symbols already occur on some of these, but there is a greater frequency of single designs on the sides, and of purely decorative motives, in some cases derived from Twelfth Dynasty scarabs.

Class III.—Triangular stones of shorter and more compact form (Fig. 51), with or without ‘cartouche.’ Like Class II. they are of soft materials, such as steatite. S-shaped designs occasionally occur on these, which may possibly be due to Egyptian suggestion, but more elaborate attempts to copy Twelfth Dynasty motives are as yet rare. Human figures, birds and animals, or parts of such, vases and other objects occur, occasionally grouped, and representa-

Fig. 51.
tions of men in various attitudes and employments, but no linear symbols are found. The designs are more pictorial and less conventionalized than in the other groups. This Class seems to overlap Class II., but on the whole is distinctly earlier in style. The subjects represented show a remarkable parallelism with those on certain perforated disk-like stones found in the island. Some of them are very rude and apparently go back beyond the period of Twelfth Dynasty Egyptian influence.

The existence of this most primitive class of triangular seal-stones is of special importance to our subject as showing the indigenous character of the material out of which the later hieroglyphic script was evolved. Many of the subjects, such as the vases, the heads of animals, the birds, branches and horn-like figures, are essentially the same as those that we find conventionalized and grouped together on the later series. Amongst the ceramic forms we may even see traces of the earlier stages out of which the more advanced types, such as the beaked oenochoe of Mycenaean times, were evolved. These beaked vases take in fact, on some of the stones, the same simple 'askos'-like shapes—betraying their origin from skin vessels—that are characteristic of the earlier strata of Hissarlik and of the most primitive cist-tombs of Amorgos. Others, again, are 'suspension' vases with round bottoms of equally primitive character, and are actually seen hanging from poles. This independent evidence would alone suffice to carry back the early seal-stones of this class to the third millennium before our era. The ceramic forms that they portray, Fig. 52, a, b and c for example, correspond
with the round-bottomed types that precede the earliest class of Aegean painted pottery, such as that of Thera or from the Kamares cave in Crete itself.

It will thus be seen that the most typical forms of seals on which the hieroglyphic characters occur, as well as the prototypes of the hieroglyphics themselves, go back on Cretan soil to a very remote period. The earliest class seems, indeed, to have received its characteristic stamp already before the days of that intimate contact with Twelfth Dynasty Egypt which has left its impress on some of the later decorative designs. The evidence collected by Professor Petrie, at Kahun, tends to show that already by the time of Userkaf II, c. 2681–2660 B.C., Aegean foreigners were settled in Egypt. If, therefore, the beginnings of the Twelfth Dynasty Egyptian influences perceptible on the Cretan intaglios date approximately from that epoch, this still earlier class on which this influence is as yet non-apparent may well go back to the early part of the third millennium before our era.

It stands to reason indeed that the indigenous European culture represented by the primitive Cretan population must have reached a comparatively advanced stage before it could have placed itself in the direct contact with the higher Egyptian civilization. Nor was it with Egypt only that the sea-faring enterprise of the Cretan islanders was already at this early date opening up communication—whether predatory or commercial, it might be hard to say. A remarkable piece of evidence is supplied by a seal-stone of the earliest class (Fig. 62), which certainly seems to point to a connexion with the Syrian coast. On one side of this stone is the unmistakable figure of a camel in the act of kneeling, the knees of its fore-legs however being bent in the wrong direction, as if drawn by one who had but a distant knowledge of the animal.

An interesting pendant to this evidence of Oriental intrusion is supplied by a triangular stone, in every respect resembling the early Cretan type, brought back by the late Mr. Greville Chester from the North coast of Syria, and now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. The facets are, in this case, surrounded by the oval groove or cartouche which apparently belongs to the more advanced specimens of the primitive series, but both from its compact form and the rude style of the engraving the stone in question must be referred to the same general period as those grouped above under Class III., and can hardly be brought down later than the approximate date 2000 B.C.

Other independent evidence points to the same early intercourse with Northern Syria. Certain seals in the form of a truncated or obtuse-ended cone occur in Crete, some of which seem also to have been derived at the same early date from this Oriental source. In the Phaestos deposit, above referred to, three of these, and apparently a fragment of a fourth, were found, and it is to be noted as a significant feature that one of these and the fragment were made of ivory. This imported material might in itself warrant the suspicion that this class of seal, which in Crete seems to be of exceptional occurrence, was of foreign origin. As a matter of fact, in Northern Syria, where this must be regarded as a typical form, due no
doubt to Babylonian influence, these sub-conical seals are frequently formed of ivory. Seals of this type do not seem to be at home in the intervening Anatolian region, though they are occasionally found there, and their appearance *per saltum* on Cretan soil must be reasonably construed as evidence of an early maritime connexion between the Aegean island and the North Syrian coast. The Hagios Onuphrius finds indeed affords a still more irrefragable proof of this contact in a green steatite seal, the upper part of which represents a seated eagle. An exactly similar type from the Hauran is to be seen in the Ashmolean Collection.

Are we therefore to believe that Crete in the third millennium before our era was occupied by a sea-faring race—perhaps Semitic—from the Syrian coast? Such a supposition might explain some of the phenomena with which we have to deal, but in any case it must be allowed that there is a distinctly local character about many of these early Cretan stones. The primitive seal-stones of the triangular form described are, as we have seen, at home in Crete. That their range may have extended to other parts of the Aegean is possible, and an example of a somewhat later type procured at Smyrna by Mr. Greville Chester (Fig. 53) and now in the Ashmolean Collection rather points to some such diffusion, Smyrna being a well-known gathering point of Aegean finds. On the other hand these stones do not seem to be found on the mainland of Asia Minor. Certain three-sided stones of a peculiar 'gabled-shaped' class are indeed widely diffused in Cilicia and Cappadocia, but they are as a rule much larger and seem to have no immediate connexion with the Cretan form. The occurrence of a single example of a seal-stone identical both in shape and technique with the most typical Cretan forms on the North Syrian coast is as yet an isolated phenomenon in that region, whereas in Crete itself this form is clearly indigenous and of wide distribution. We have here therefore in all probability to deal with an object brought to the

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Note: In the case of these stones only one side, which is larger than the others, is engraved, the other two being set at an obtuse angle and forming a sloping back like a gable. 'Gabled-shaped' may therefore be a convenient term to apply to this well-marked East-Anatolian class, which bears no obvious resemblance to the equilateral stones with which we are concerned. It may yet have a common origin.
Syrian coast from Crete by the same maritime agencies that in the contrary direction brought Syrian forms to the Aegean island.

The materials that my recent researches have enabled me to put together point clearly to the conclusion that the early engraved stones of Crete are in the main of an indigenous and non-Asiatic character. At the outset indeed we are confronted by a negative phenomenon which brings this archaeological result into strong relief. The influence, namely, of Babylonian cylinders is altogether non-apparent. At Melos and Amorgos in deposits of the same age as the early Cretan seal-stones cylinders of native work are found in which the Chaldaean form is at times associated with a decoration which appears to be derived from the Egyptian spiral motives already referred to. On the mainland of Asia Minor again early indigenous imitations of Babylonian cylinders are also widely diffused. In Cyprus they are preeminent, and they are very characteristic of the finds along the coast of Syria. It is evident then that a people settling in Crete from that side would have imported this type of seal, and we should expect to be confronted with the same prevalence of the cylindrical type as in Cyprus. But, as has been already observed, this characteristically Asiatic type is at any rate so rare in Crete as to be hitherto unknown among the insular finds. This noteworthy fact seems to exclude the supposition that Crete was occupied by colonists from the Syrian coast at any time during the long period when Syria itself was dominated by Babylonian culture.

We must therefore suppose that if such an occupation took place it was at any rate at an extremely remote period. The parallelism between certain Syrian types and those of Crete is certain. There is moreover a great deal besides in the figures and style of engraving of many of the Cretan stones which strongly recalls other primitive stones found on the easternmost Mediterranean coasts. The early Cretan relics may indeed be said to belong to the same East Mediterranean province of early glyptic design as many similar objects from Syria and Palestine. But, after duly recognizing these undoubted affinities which can to a great extent be explained by the assimilating influences of early commerce, it must nevertheless be allowed that the most characteristic of the early types of Cretan seal-stones are true native products. They are in fact in situ geographically. If in the one direction they seem to find parallels per saltum on the coasts of Syria and Canaan, in another they fit on to the early engraved stones of Cilicia and the more western part of Anatolia, and they are equally linked on the other side with primitive types of the Aegean islands and the Greek mainland.

Some early forms of seal-stones found in Crete have a much wider diffusion, extending not only to the neighbouring tracts of Asia Minor and the Aegean islands, but still further afield to the West. The button-like stones for example have a very extensive range in Greece and the Levant, they are found in Crete and even appear as imported foreign forms in the Nile valley. These stone buttons may eventually prove to have quite an exceptional interest in the history of Aegean art, as the direct progenitors of the lentoid beads so much affected by the Mycenaean engravers. The most
primitive types of the Mycenaean lentoid gems exhibit somewhat conical backs, which may be regarded as a modification of the perforated hump of the typical buttons. The 'buttons' themselves in their original form go back to a much earlier period than the Mycenaean proper, for, as has been shown above, it is upon their decorations that the influence of the Twelfth Dynasty scarab motives is peculiarly apparent.\(^5\)

But these button-like ornaments themselves, with their protuberant perforated backs, what are they but the reproduction in soft stone of proto-types of pinched-up clay? A clay seal of an incurving cylindrical form, but, unlike the Asiatic cylinders, having incised devices at top and bottom and side perforations, was found in the early deposit of Hagios Onuphrios near Phaestos already referred to. And the almost exact reproductions of some of the stone buttons in clay actually occur in the Italian terramara and in the Ligurian cave deposits of the neolithic and seneolithic periods (see Fig. 54 a—d). The clay 'stamp' from the terramara of Montale in the Modenese,

![Fig. 54.—Clay Stamps from Early Italian Deposits (reduced to about 1/10 linear).](image)

\(a\). Pollera Cave, Finale, Liguria (in the Mercelli Collection at Genoa).

\(b\). Caverna del Sanguineto, Finale, Liguria. (Cf. A. Lissi, \textit{Note geologiche sulla collezione del Sg. G. E. Rossi}, Tav. 11. 5, 6).

\(c\). Terramara of Montale (in the Parma Museum).

represented in Fig. 54c, the top of which, now broken, was probably once perforated, is not only analogous in form, but bears a simple geometrical design almost identical with that on an early steatite 'button-seal' from Knosos. On the other hand the rudely curving design on \(b\), from the Sanguineto Cave in Liguria, strangely recalls the S-shaped designs so usual on the earliest class of triangular seals from Crete (see below Figs. 62, 65).

These terracotta objects, which have sometimes been described as \textit{pintu-}

\(^5\) See above, p. 327, Figs. 19 a, 20 a.
From Crete and the Peloponnesse.

certa, from the name given to the clay stamps wherewith the ancient Mexicans painted their bodies, are also found in the early deposits of Hungary and the Lower Danube and reappear in the earliest strata of Hissarlik.

It is not necessary to suppose that these clay stamps on button-seals of Italy and the lands to the North of Greece are of equally early date with some of the Cretan 'buttons.' But they may fairly be taken to show that the clay prototypes of the Aegean seals are European in their affinities. In the West the more primitive clay stamps might well live on to a much later time, while in the Eastern Mediterranean basin the example of Egypt and Chaldaea would naturally promote the substitution of stones—at first of soft and easily engraved materials such as steatite—for the same purpose.

The earlier and simpler series of seal-stones which in Crete precedes the more conventionalized class described in the preceding sections throws a welcome light on the fundamental significance of these later pictographs. The general continuity of ideas is undeniable. The earlier stones to a large extent are of the same triangular type as the later, perforated along their axis and often indeed exhibiting on their several faces somewhat earlier versions of the same designs that reappear among the 'hieroglyphs' of the later class, though in this case single figures; or at most groups of two or three, generally occupy a whole face of the stone.

In a large number of instances taken from stones of this earlier type, gathered by me from various parts of Crete, one side is occupied by a human figure which is evidently intended to represent the owner of the seal. An analogous figure appears on Fig. 56 of the already illustrated series and its frequent recurrence clearly shows that these pictographic stones bore a personal relation to their possessor. Several examples of the more primitive class seem in fact to indicate the quality and pursuits of their owner. On the three-sided stone, Fig. 55, for instance, obtained by me from the site of

![Fig. 55.—Grey Steatite (Praezos).](image)

Praezos, the owner was evidently a master of flocks and herds. On one side he appears between a goat and an early form of vessel with handle and spout.

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\(^a\) See above p. 330, n. 297. Here a direct influence seems traceable.
bearing on his shoulders a pole from which are suspended what appear to be four skin-buckets, no doubt intended to contain milk. On the second side he is seen seated on a stool holding in each hand a two-handled vase, and on the third appears a goat—a further allusion to his flocks. In Fig. 56 we see on one side a warrior holding a spear, but there appears to have been a more peaceful side to his avocations. On another face is seen a pole with pails of the same kind as those held on to the shoulders of the figure already referred to, and on the third side a goat again makes its appearance. In Fig. 57, again, are engraved two poles with vessels of the same kind associated on the other faces with a man and an animal of uncertain species looking backwards, and in Fig. 58 a man is seen in two positions, standing and squatting, accompanied by round-bottomed vessels of primitive Aegean type—notably a kind of astos such as is found in the early cemeteries of Amorgos. (See Fig. 52.)

In Fig. 59a the pole with suspended vessels is brought into immediate connexion with a figure having the limbs and body of a man but apparently either lion-headed or coiffed in a lion's scalp. In this case we seem to have the primitive predecessor of the lion-headed human figures of Mycenean
art; the parallelism indeed is of a double nature, for the lion-headed being on this primitive seal-stone is evidently intended to hold the pole with the vessels. Had space allowed he would doubtless have been represented bearing it on his shoulders as in Fig. 55.

![Fig. 55. - Brown Steatite (Crete—Uncertain Locality).](image)

But this carrier's function is precisely what is so often found in the case of the mysterious daemons on the later gems, and in the well-known fresco from Mycenae. The association with vessels also reminds us of a familiar attribute of the lion-headed and other kindred beings of Mycenaean times, and in the spouted vases that appear on this same group of early seal-stones we may certainly see the prototypes of those carried by these later daemons. It looks as if in the case of the present stone the place of honour were occupied by some semi-divine protector or mythical ancestor of the actual owner of the seal; and we may trace perhaps a reference to an originally totemic lion of a tribe or family.

On the succeeding face what appears to be the same lion-headed figure is seen standing immediately behind a man in front of whom are two polyp-

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like objects. On the remaining side (59c) there are three fishes. In Fig. 60 a parallel example will be seen of a figure, in this case apparently purely human, raising his hand in the gesture of protection over the head of a man who stands in front of him. The figure in front has his arms lowered in the usual attitude of the personage who seems to represent the owner of the seal. Here too we have the accompaniments of the pole slung with vessels, and the goat.

Fig. 60.—Dark Steatite (Central Crete).

Fig. 61 shows on one side a rude two-headed figure in which we must again recognize the prototype of a class of designs which played an important part in the Mycenaean gems of Crete. On the other sides of this stone are some uncertain figures; one seems intended to represent a tall-spouted ewer and a polyp-like object resembling those on Fig. 50 again makes its appearance.

Fig. 61.—Black Steatite (Crete—Uncertain Locality).

In Fig. 62, already referred to, the owner stands behind a curved design with cross lines, which from Egyptian analogy may perhaps be taken to stand for a walled enclosure. We have here, it may be, a chief in his stronghold, and on another side of the same stone appears a camel, which must certainly be taken to indicate relations of some sort.—not improbably commercial
relations,—with the Syrian coast. The third side here with the S-shaped design, is perhaps merely supplementary or ornamental, as again in Fig. 63,

![Fig. 62.—Greyish Yellow Steatite (Crete).](image)

where the owner is associated on another side with the head of a long-horned ram, a not infrequent feature on these early seals.

![Fig. 63.—Yellow Steatite (Crete).](image)

On Fig. 64 the ram’s head is seen again associated with a bird and scorpion, the latter a favourite symbol on early Asianic and Syrian sealstones.

![Fig. 64.—Yellow Steatite (Crete).](image)

It seems probable that the long-necked stout-legged bird engraved on this stone is intended for an ostrich, in which case we have another interesting indication of Southern commerce. The intimate contact already at this
early date existing with Egypt makes it not improbable that the trade-route by which ostriches' eggs—and no doubt their plumes as well—found their way to Mycenae had its origin in the Aegean enterprise of the third millennium B.C.

In Fig. 65, an S-shaped design, similar to that noticed above, is associated on the remaining sides of the stone with two pairs of pictorial symbols, in one case two ibexes' heads, in the other apparently a cock and an uncertain object. This is the earliest evidence of the cock,—the original home of which is traditionally sought in Persia,—on European soil.

A commercial purpose is occasionally indicated by a number of incised dots or pellets which occur beside the figures on these primitive stones, and which in all cases seem to belong to a duodecimal system. In Fig. 37 of the pictographic seals already represented, which might so far as style is concerned have been included in this earlier group, there are seen on one face

twelve pellets and on two of the narrower sides of the stone two groups of three. On a remarkable engraved disk, Fig. 66, obtained by me at Kamares on the Southern slope of Ida, also of early date, a standing figure clad in a long tunic appears with four dots on either side of him. On the other side in the spaces
between the various figures are three dots. On an ivory cone, again, from the Phaestos deposit four similar pellets appear, two on each side of a rude figure of an eagle.

This early duodecimal system is found again on an interesting series of engraved stones, one a seal of curiously Cilician or 'Hittite' type found at Palaeokastro near Baia, opposite the island of Elaphonissi on the Laconian coast, containing a graduated series of similar groups of pellets, first twelve arranged in three rows of four, two seals with six on each, and other small perforated cubes which seem to have stood for units.

The stone Fig. 66 is of great interest as affording one of the earliest examples of a group of pictorial symbols. Round the goat which forms the principal type on one side are three smaller figures—one apparently representing the upper part of an archer in the act of shooting, another a human eye, and below the goat an uncertain object.

In certain cases the figures on these early engraved stones seem to have a reference to some episode in personal or family history. On the green steatite disk Fig. 67, the other face of which is occupied by two goats, a branch, and other objects, we see what, owing to the naiveness of the art, may either be interpreted as a comic or a tragic scene. A figure in a long tunic, behind which is a high-spouted vase, is represented attacking and apparently overthrowing a naked figure seated on a stool.

![Fig. 67.—Green Steatite Disk-Bead (Crete).](image)

Various designs in the primitive series recur in a more conventionalized form in the later class of Cretan seal-stones. On Fig. 68, found near Siteia, are already seen two symbols like the 'broad arrow' of the later hieroglyphic series, and the goat and the skin buckets slung on the pole again make their appearance.

On Fig. 69, what seems to be a ruder version of the same symbol is seen in front of an animal or perhaps a centaur. Then follow on the remaining sides three spearmen and perhaps a dog.

The Twelfth Dynasty influence, as already remarked, is very perceptible
Fig. 63.—Steatite (Pound near Sitria, Crete).

Fig. 69.—(Crete, Berlin Museum).

Fig. 70.—Green Steatite (Central, Crete).

Fig. 71.—Yellow Steatite (Crete).
on some of these early seal-stones. The origin of the designs on Figs. 70a and 71a from Egyptian scarab motives has already been illustrated by the sketch on p. 327.

Fig. 72a is a design of decorative character, also probably derived from a Twelfth Dynasty original, the well-known type, namely, of a scarab with its face divided into two halves, each containing a divergent spiral pattern. This design is followed on the remaining sides of the stone by a rude animal and the head of a bull or ox between two 'swastika'-like figures and with a branch above.

Fig. 73a may also be traced to the same Egyptian source. Fig. 73b seems to represent a butterfly—another anticipation of Mycenaean art.

The analogies supplied by these earlier classes of Cretan seal-stones are of fundamental importance to the present inquiry. Some of these more primitive types are the immediate forerunners of the later 'hieroglyphic' group, and indeed in their forms and symbolism are hardly distinguishable from them. What is true of the one must to a large extent be true of the other, and, as already pointed out, the personal relation in which these earlier stones clearly stand to their possessor warrants us in believing that the same holds good of the later class.

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38 See pp. 301, 302.
§ VII. The Linear Signs and their Relation to the Pictographic Series.

It is time to turn from the pictographic series of symbols to the linear and quasi-alphabetic forms with which they stand in such a close relation. Evidence has already been brought forward which shows that to a certain extent both forms of writing overlapped. As already noticed, linear forms appear on three-sided seal-stones in every respect resembling those which exhibit the pictographic signs, although on the earliest of these pictographic seal-stones they do not as yet make their appearance. They occur however on button-shaped stones belonging to that period of Cretan history which is marked by the decorative influence of Twelfth Dynasty Egyptian models, and a stone of this character was found, as already mentioned, in the Phaestos deposit. That the quasi-alphabetic symbols were employed by the Mycenaean population in the island is further borne out by a variety of data. They occur, as we have seen, on the walls of the prehistoric building at Knossos, which seems to belong to the same age as the Palaces of Tiryns and Mycenae or the buildings of the Sixth City of Troy. They are found again on cups and vases belonging to the same early period, on a Mycenaean amethyst gem from Knossos and again on vase-handles found at Mycenae itself. It is evident therefore that some inscriptions in these linear characters are as early chronologically as many of the hieroglyphic series, although, typologically considered, the pictographic group is certainly the earlier.

The elements at our disposal for the reconstruction of this linear system may be recapitulated as follows:—

1.—Inscribed seal-stones.
2.—Inscribed steatite pendants and whorls from early Cretan deposits.
3.—The graffiti on vases from Goula and Prodromos Botzanos and on the perforated clay pendant from the cave of Idaean Zeus.
4.—Inscribed Mycenaean gem representing a flying eagle, from Knossos.
5.—The inscribed blocks of the prehistoric building at Knossos and another from Phaestos.
6.—The vase-handles from Mycenae and other graffiti on vases from Mycenaean tombs at Nauplia, Menidi, &c.
7.—The steatite ornament from Siphnos.

From these various sources it is possible to put together thirty-two different characters (see Table I) which may be confidently referred to Mycenaean or still earlier times. But an inspection of the linear signs thus collected at once reveals striking points of resemblance with those of the Cypriote and Asiatic syllabaries on the one hand, and on the other with the graffiti signs observed by Professor Petrie on 'Aegean' pottery from Egyptian deposits at Kahua and Gurob. To these latter I am able to add a
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group of linear characters (Fig. 74) on a foot-shaped seal of black steatite obtained by Mr. Greyville Chester in Lower Egypt, and now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. The signs on this stone seem to belong to the same system as the Cretan.

![Image](image-url)

**Fig. 74.—Black Steatite Seal (Lower Egypt).**

The following table of comparisons (I) shows the Cretan and other Aegean linear forms and the kindred signs of the Cypriote and Egyptian series.

The following are the sources from which the signs indicated in the first and fourth columns of the accompanying Table (I) are derived.

1.—Seal-stone, Knosos.
2.—Cretan vases, Goulas and Protopomos Botsano.
3.—(a) Seal-stone, Province of Siteia. (b) Perforated steatite, Siphnos.
5.—Seal-stone, Praeosos.
6.—(a) Steatite whorl, Phaestos; (b) Seal-stone, Praeosos.
7.—Seal-stones, Knosos and Province of Siteia.
8.—Seal-stone, Praeosos.
9.—Vase, Goulas.
10.—Seal-stone, Province of Siteia.
11.—Block of Mycenaean building, Knosos.
12.—Block of Mycenaean building, Knosos.
13.—Perforated steatite, Siphnos. Handle of stone-vase, from ruined house, Akropolis, Myrcena.
14.—Vase, Goulas.
15.—Steatite pendant, early cist-grave, Arbi.
16.—Steatite whorl, Phaestos.
17.—(a) Perforated disk, Knosos. (b) Early sepulchral deposit, Phaestos.
18.—Seal-stone, Knosos.
19.—Block of Mycenaean building, Knosos.
20.—Amethyst intaglio, Mycenaean style, representing eagle; Knosos.
21.—Whorl, Phaestos.
22.—(a) Block of Mycenaean building, Knōsos. (b) Ditto, and also vase, Goulas.
23.—Perforated steatite, Messara. Amphora-handle, Θαλαμός tomb, Mycenae.
24.—Mycenaean amethyst (cf. No. 29), Knōsos. Amphora-handle, Θαλαμός tomb, Mycenae.
25.—Mycenaean amethyst (cf. No. 29), Knōsos.
26.—(a) Amphora-handle, Θαλαμός tomb, Mycenae (cf. No. 23, 24).
(b) Block of Mycenaean building, Knōsos.
27.—Handle of stone-vase, from ruined house, Akropolis, Mycenae.
28.—Cretan seal-stone.
29.—Handle of stone-vase, Mycenae (cf. Nos. 13, 27): partly overlapping a P-like sign.
30.—Perforated steatite, Siphnos (cf. Nos. 3, 13).
31.—Block of Mycenaean building, Knōsos.
32.—Perforated steatite, Siphnos (cf. Nos. 3, 13, 30).

To these may be added the K-like sign on the button-seal (Fig. 13) discovered by Professor Halbherr.

The comparisons instituted in the above table abundantly show that between the Cretan and Mycenaean script, to which the general name ‘Aegean’ may be conveniently given, and the signs noted by Professor Petrie on the potsherds of Kahun and Gurob there are striking points of agreement. Out of thirty-two Aegean characters no less than twenty are practically identical with those found in Egypt. The parallelism with Cypriote forms is also remarkable, some fifteen of the present series agreeing with letters of the Cypriote syllabary.

That in the case of the Kahun and Gurob signs the proportion should be somewhat larger is only what might have been expected from the relative antiquity of the Egyptian group. As however the evidence on the strength of which Professor Petrie maintains the great age of the foreign signs found on these Egyptian sites has been lately disputed, a few words on the subject will not be out of place.

That here and there some later elements had found their way into the rubbish-heaps of Kahun may be freely admitted without prejudice to the general question of their great antiquity. There seem to me to be good reasons for believing that a few specimens of painted Aegean pottery found belong to a later period than the Twelfth Dynasty. Amongst these fragments are two which are unquestionably of Naukratie fabric. But even of this comparatively small painted class the greater part are of at least Mycenaean date. The most characteristic specimens show in fact points of affinity with a peculiar ceramic class found in Southern Crete and which seems for some time to have held its own there against the more generally diffused Mycenaean types of pottery. Specimens of the class referred to, which in their dark ground colour with applied white and red retain the traditions of some of the earliest Thera ware, have been found in a votive cave near Kamares
<table>
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<th>CYPRIOTE CHARACTERS</th>
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on the southern steeps of Mount Ida, immediately above a Mycenaean necropolis, two of the bee-hive tombs of which I had occasion to visit and in which Professor Halbherr has now excavated an intact Mycenaean tomb. The above cave was excavated by Dr. Hazidaki, the President of the Syllogos or Literary Society at Candia, and the objects found are now exhibited in the little Museum of that Society. 35a My own observations of these have led me to the conclusion that the ceramic class here represented, though of archaic aspect, really overlaps the more purely Mycenaean pottery in the island. A spray on one specimen resembles a design on a Mycenaean pot from the prehistoric Palace at Knosos; a fish on another recalls similar forms on the painted hut-urns from Cretan tholos-tombs, and a barbaric head and arm finds a close parallel in a painted fragment from tomb 25 of the lower town of Mycenae. Nos. 1, 6, 7, and 14 and No. 18 of Professor Petrie’s Plate of Aegaean pottery show, as far as their shape is concerned, a greater affinity with this Cretan class than with any hitherto known ceramic group, and the analogy certainly tends to establish the Mycenaean date of some of the Kahun sherds. That the Kamares pots go back to what I have elsewhere termed the ‘Period of Amorgos’ is rendered impossible by the fact that the vessels found in tombs of that period both in Amorgos and in Crete itself are of quite a different character. It may be confidently stated that during this Aegaean period, which roughly corresponds with that of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties, no such finish of ceramic fabric either in form, glaze or colour as either the vases of Kamares or the fragments from Kahun had yet been achieved. If then these vessels were imported into Egypt at that early date they could not have come from the Aegean islands and still less from the mainland of Greece or from Italy.

But while this, presumably the latest class of pottery found in the Kahun rubbish-heaps, belongs for the most part to Mycenaean date, there seems no good reason for doubting Mr. Petrie’s conclusion that the ruder pottery from the same deposit exhibiting the incised characters of non-Egyptian forms may go back in part at least to the days of the Twelfth Dynasty. Isolated appearances will not mislead the archaeologist as to the general character of the deposits with which he is dealing, and all their associations point to the time of the Twelfth Dynasty as the chief period of their formation. 36 At Gurob again certain of the signs occurred under circumstances which seem to involve the same early date, while others were found on sherds which from their character and the position in which they lay belonged as clearly

35a A paper on the Kamares pottery was read by Mr. J. L. Myres in the Anthropological Section of the British Association in 1898. It is to be hoped that this important study may shortly see the light in a fuller form. I believe that my own conclusions as to the date of this pottery agree with those of Mr. Myres.

36 The special circumstances under which the signs numbered 141, 21, 125, 126 in Mr. Petrie’s list were found, seem altogether to exclude a later date than that of the Twelfth Dynasty. Yet those signs belong to the same class as the others, and occur on pottery of the same rude fabric which occurs, together with some of the marks, in foundation deposits of Userkhe II., and which, in Mr. Petrie’s opinion (Kahun, Gurob, and Hawara, p. 48), ‘cannot be mistaken for that of any subsequent age.’
to the days of the Eighteenth Dynasty and to the most flourishing period of Mycenaean culture. So far as the early date of many of these signs is concerned, their extraordinary correspondence with those on the Cretan stones must be regarded as a striking corroboration of Mr. Petrie's views.

Another close parallel to these linear characters and at the same time another proof of their early date has been supplied by the discovery of similar marks on potsherds discovered by Mr. Bliss in the earliest strata

![Diagram of signs](image)

**Fig. 75.—Signs on Potsherds at Tell-el-Hesy Compared with Aegean Forms.**

(Cities I. and Sub. 1) at Tell-el-Hesy, which on a variety of evidence are referred by him to a date anterior to 1500 B.C.\(^2\) The examples given above (Fig. 75) will show that there is something more than a general resemblance

\(^2\) See Y. J. Bliss, *A Mound of Many Cities, or Tell-el-Hesy Excavated*, pp. 21, 23, 25, 28, 29, 30, 33, and 42. These marks on potsherds are described as found exclusively, with the exception of No. 21, in the earliest strata. No. 21 is the last on the list below.
between these marks and the Aegean signs. By including those of Kahun and Gurob the number of parallels may be appreciably increased. 28

The correspondence of forms in the case of several of the characters found at Kahun and Gurob with those of the Aegean series is in several cases of such a nature as to exclude the supposition of a merely fortuitous resemblance. Few, I imagine, will believe that such a sign as No. 22 was about the same time evolved independently at Gurob, Knosos and Mycenae.

The same holds good of several of the Cypriote letters. But the Cypriote comparisons are specially valuable since the possibility cannot be excluded that they supply a clue to the actual phonetic value of some of the Aegean characters.

On Table II. I have put together various examples of the Aegean characters which occur in groups of two or more. They are from the following sources:

1. Vase, Prodromos Botzanos (p. 279).
2. Cup, Goula (p. 278).
3. Amethyst, Knosos (p. 281).
4. Seal, Knosos (p. 283). Signs on two sides, but unfortunately much worn.
7. Do.
8. Seal, Phaestos (p. 298). Signs on two sides, two sprays as pictograph No. 59 on the third.

To these must be added the Phaestos whorl, Fig. 116.

The parallels supplied by the Cypriote syllabary suggest the following attempt to transliterate some of these groups:

1. /\ 1e, 1o.
2. /\^1e, 1o.
4. It remains however uncertain whether the characters should be read from

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28 Where so much still remains to be discovered, it is worth while contemplating at least the possibility that these early signs had also a Western and European extension. In the case of the purely pictographic class, the parallel supplied by the 

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Padre Amerano near Finalemarina in Liguria. In connexion with the linear forms I cannot help referring to certain signs on early pottery from the lake-dwellings of Paladru, near Vercion in the Jura, some of which are remarkably suggestive of Aegean parallels. For the pottery see Chantre, Fréquences du Lac de Paladru, Album, P. X, Figs 1-5 and 7.
left to right or from right to left, neither is it clear where the inscription on
the Siphnos stone which presents the largest number of parallels with the
Cypriote should begin. Beginning with the sign which as the drawing stands
is the topmost on the right, continuing with the lowest and then proceeding

**TABLE II.**
GROUPS OF LINEAR SYMBOLS

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boustróphédon, the inscription as transliterated by Cypriote letters might
read:

\[ Si \rightarrow \text{mo} \rightarrow \text{ra} \rightarrow \text{to} \]

The indications however are too slight to base upon them any too
definite conclusions. So far as they go it must be admitted that the phono-
tic equivalents suggested by the Cypriote parallels seem to belong to a
language other than Greek. That we have to deal with a syllabary seems to be clear from the small number of characters contained in the several groups. The close correspondence of this whole series of signs with the Cypriote has already been sufficiently demonstrated. But the very fact that the Cypriote syllabary seems to have been derived from this earlier Aegean and 'Mycenaean' script, or perhaps some parallel Cretan branch, reacts against the Hellenic character of the original. For the Cypriote characters were never originally framed for Greek use. The Greek of the Cypriote inscriptions always seems to be clothed in a foreign dress ill-fitting at the best.

There is indeed the strongest presumption for believing that in Crete at least the race amongst whom the earlier Aegean characters were originally rife was of non-Hellenic stock. It was clearly recognized by the Greeks themselves that the original inhabitants of Crete were 'barbarians' or 'un-Greek'. Herodotos, who brings the Lykians as well as the Kaunians of Karia from Crete, expressly says that the whole of Crete was once occupied by 'barbarians'. But the most authentic evidence of this non-Hellenic origin is the name of Eteokrētes or 'true Cretans' applied by the Dorian colonists of the island to the representatives of the indigenous stock, who long continued to live on in the fastnesses of Ida and Dikta. It would even appear that the language of these Cretan aborigines maintained itself in the extreme East of the island to the borders of the historic period. The evidence of this is supplied by an inscription recently found among the ruins of Praeas and now preserved in the Museum of the Syllogos at Candia. This inscription, though written in archaic Greek characters, is composed in a non-Greek language, in this respect recalling the two Lemnian inscriptions, from which however it differs in epigraphy and apparently in language. The following facsimile is from a photograph kindly made for me by Professor Halbherr.

The Praeasian stone contains letter-forms in some respects diverging from those of the archaic Greek inscriptions of the island, and in the types of ι and ι which are there presented as well as in the early use of Ε shows a greater approach to Phoenician models. In the concluding letters which form the word Anat there seems indeed to be a direct reference to the Semitic Anat or Amatis, 'the Persian Artemis,' whose image appears on one of the shields found in the cave of the Idaean Zeus. That at the period when the Praeasian inscription was written the indigenous element in the island may have been still largely under Phoenician influence is probable enough, but the inscription itself does not seem to be Semitic.

We may fairly conclude that the language here found represents that of the Eteocretans of whom, as we know, Praeas was a principal stronghold, and it is reasonable to suppose that this was the original language of the

early script with which we are now dealing. But the materials for comparison are as yet too imperfect on either side to admit of satisfactory results.

In Roman letters the inscription seems to read as follows:

\[ 7 I \text{NKALM} \text{ITK}_1 \]
\[ O_1 S \| B_1 A_1 R_1 X_1 E_1 | A_{II} | O \]
\[ A_1 R_1 K_1 J_1 A_1 P_1 S_1 E_1 T_1 | M_1 E_1 G_1 | O \]
\[ A_2 R_2 K_2 R_2 K_2 O_2 K_2 L_2 E_2 S_2 | G_2 E_2 P \]
\[ \_A_4 S_4 E_4 P_4 O_4 N_4 N_4 A_4 I_4 T \]

The original is written boustrophedon, the first, third, and fifth lines running from right to left. The AI in the last line are in ligature.

It is possible that in the earlier period during which the indigenous Cretan script, both pictographic and linear, seems to have taken its origin the sole or preponderating element is the island may have been the 'Eteocretan.' It is certain however that at the time when the Homeric poems were composed Crete contained representatives of several other races. The polyglot character of the island is indeed clearly brought out by the \textit{locus classicus} in the \textit{Odyssey}. The Greek element both Dorian and Achaean is already at home there and seems indeed to have been already of old standing in at least the central district of the island.

But if, at any rate towards the close of the Mycenaean period, there was already a Greek population in Crete, it becomes probable that the mysterious

\[^{\text{40}}\text{I have followed Comparetti's suggestions loc. cit.}\]
\[^{\text{41}}\text{six, 1. 172 sqq.}\]
characters with which we are dealing may also have been used by men of Greek speech. And from the fact that in Cyprus a similar script, in its origin apparently non-Hellenic, was in use amongst the Greek-speaking inhabitants it becomes in itself not unlikely that the same phenomenon may have occurred in Crete and the Peloponnesse where a similar script was in use in much earlier times. The Greeks of Cyprus spoke a dialect approaching to Arcadian—may they not have taken over with their language a form of writing once in use in the more Western area from which they may be supposed to have migrated?

In view of these possibilities it is worth while examining the grounds of the presumption that the Greek settlement in Crete goes back to Mycenean times. In the lines of the Odyssey referred to, which belong to one of the earliest passages preserved to us, Crete is spoken of as the home of several races speaking a variety of tongues, Achaeans and Dorians, Pelasgians, Eteokrètes and Kydonians:

Κρήτη τεις γαλ. ἕστι μέση ἄν ποισιν, πόλυς,
καλὴ καὶ πίσορα, περίπρομος ἐν ἐ' ἄνθρωποι
τολλοί, ἀνερίσσιο, καὶ ἐννικοῦτα πόλεις.
Δική ἐς ἄλλαν γελοῦσα μεμημένη ἐν μέν Ἀχαῖοι
ἐν ἐ' Ἐτεόκρητες μεγαλότοτες, ἐν δὲ Κύδονες
Δωριές τε τεκτοίκες διὸ τε Πελασγοῖ.

Here the indigenous Cretan elements are represented by the Eteokrètes and Kydonians; on the other hand it is evident that the Dorian settlement in Crete at the time when this passage of the Odyssey was composed was of at least sufficiently old standing for the Greek colonists to have assimilated the story of Minos—set in a Dorian frame. In the next verses the poet refers to Knòsos, 'the great city,'

ἐνθα τε Μίνως
ἐνέδωρος βασιλεὺς Δίὸς μεγάλαν ἀριστᾶς,

where, as has been shown by Haseck, there is a distinct reference to the specially Dorian 14 time division of nine years or ninety-nine months,—the double Olympiad,—at the end of which 'long year' Minos according to the tradition used to return to the cave of Zeus to receive fresh instruction and repeat what he had learned before. But Minos himself is not Dorian, and the mythical genealogist is content with making the son of the Dorian leader Teutamos, who came from Thessaly to Crete, adopt the children of the

14 Kreta, l. p. 246 sqq. From the later usage with reference to the election of the Spartan Ephors Haseck infers that the Dorian kings required a fresh religious sanction for their sovereignty every nine years, so that they could be said to reign 'nine years.' He concludes: 'Dieses ist unbedingt der tiefer Sinn welches dem homerischen Minos ἐνέδωρος beizulegen unterliegt. Mag man immerhin das Wort ἐνέδωρος später in allgemeiner Bedeutung angewandt seyn, mag selbst aehren Homer sich dieses Ausdrucks nicht mit jener bestimmten Rücksicht bedient haben: so lag doch der tiefe Grund der Bedeutung der Nennzahl in jener alten Jahresbestimmung.'

15 Ὀιδ., τρ. 316 sqq.
Cretan Zeus—Minós, Bhadamanthys and Sarpodón. According to this version we have a Dorian settlement in Crete from the Thessalian Doris, the latter Hostianota, under a leader with a Pelasgian name, going back to pre-Minóan times. It is to be observed that this Thessalian connexion fits in with the account of the Odyssey which couples 'divine' Pelasgians and Achaeans with the Dorians in Crete, and with the fact that a son of Minós bears the name Deukalion. According to the native Eteokretan tradition of the Præsians, preserved by Herodotos, the Greek settlement in Crete had begun before the Trojan war, as a consequence of the depopulation of Crete caused by the disastrous Western expedition that followed the death of Minós. The Chronicle of Eusebios goes so far as to fix the year 1415 B.C. as the date when the Dorian, Achaeans and Pelasgian settlers who had set forth from the country about the Thessalian Olympus landed in Crete.

It will be seen however that though both the native Eteokreetan tradition as preserved by the Præsians and the Greek records of the Thessalian expedition assign a great antiquity to the first Dorian settlements in Crete, they are in some respects at variance. The Præsian version speaks vaguely of a first settlement of Greeks and other foreigners in Crete at the time when a large part of it was left uninhabited owing to the wholesale Western exodus that followed the death of Minós. It then refers to a second depopulation of the island, consequent on the expedition against Troy, followed by a second colonization, which might fit in with the Dorian occupation of the Peloponnese. The Greek account on the other hand plants Doriens Achaeans and Pelasgians in Crete two generations before Minós, who becomes the adopted son of King Asterios the son of the Dorian leader.

48a Did. iv, 60. In other MSS. of Diodoros the name of the Dorian leader (son of Dors) appears as Teukan. Andrian, in Steph. Byz. s.c. Ἀποκυρία, gives the same version of the Dorian invasion from Hasalia in pre-Minóan times, where the name appears, probably erroneously, as Teukanios, Teukanos, etc. Notes on Greek notes (Kret. ii, 1, 24, note 6) refers in Pelasgian genealogies and Homer, Il, ii, 342.

48 Hor. vii, 171. I am aware that the name ἐπαμίσθηκα ee a crux ex in Kypria, ἐπαμίσθηκα ἐλλοιν ἐν ἐπάρδενω ἢ θαλάσσα ἐκ τοῦ κύματος τιτανίων. τρείς ἢ τέτα θεὸς ἀνακαταστά τε φανεράν τε φανεράν . . .

It is reasonable to bring ἐπαμίσθηκα into connection with the failure of the great Cretan expedition to avenge the death of Minós and the Cretem settlement of Lagygia described in the preceding chapter. The direct reference by Herodotos to Præsium, s.c. Eteokretan, traditions in c. 171 gives a special importance to his statement in c. 170 that the Præsians and inhabitants of Polichna, that is the old Kypriote, alone among the Cretans did not take part in the Sicilian expedition. It seems on the one hand to show a recognition of the fact that the Præsians and old Kypriote were of the same stock, on the other hand it does not necessarily mean that Minós Crete was then in other hands. It is, rather, a patriotic way of accounting for the disappearance of the Eteokretan population from the later Doric age by the fact that their Western expedition had left the land untenanted, for any one who chose to occupy it. The argument, in fact, runs as follows. The greater part of Crete is occupied by foreigners. These foreigners came in when the original native occupants had gone elsewhere on a Western expedition whence they never returned. But the Præsians, as well as the Palaiginites near Kypria, represent the old inhabitants of the land. Therefore neither were these Præsians, nor they took part in the Western expedition. The survival of the indigenous element in the Kyprian district in the extemee West of Crete supplies a presumption that the Doric colonization of the island did not come by way of Peloponnese. All traditions point to Central—Minos—Crete as the region where Hellenism took root.
But both traditions are at one in regarding the Dorian occupation of Crete as
the result of peaceful settlement rather than of a war of extermination. The
account of the ' adoption ' of Minôs by the son of the Dorian chief, after the
settlers had seen a second generation grow up on Cretan soil, certainly points
to a gradual and bloodless amalgamation of the Hellenic and indigenous
elements.

It has been necessary to recall these traditions of the great antiquity of
the first Dorian settlement in Crete, since the prevailing tendency is to regard
that settlement as a secondary result of the Dorian occupation of the Peloponneso.
That the conquest of the Peloponneso may have brought with it a new
flow of Dorian migration to Crete is likely enough. The earlier settlements
may well leave room for the later attributed to Pollis and Delphos of
Amyklai, or for that of Althaeomenës from Megara or Argos. The native
tradition as represented by the Praesiains distinctly points to a fresh Hellenic
settlement in the period that succeeded the Trojan war. But to regard the
traditions of the early Dorian settlement from Thessaly as given by Andrôn
and Strabo as simply fabricated from an erroneous interpretation of the
Homeric passage seems quite unwarrantable. The Homeric collocation of
Dorians Achaeans and Pelasgiens points itself to Thessaly; the name of
Deukallon, applied already in the Ilid to a son of Minôs, points in the same
direction, and a mere comparison of many of the local names of Crete with
Thessalian forms is sufficient to prove an early connexion with that region.44

Both tradition, then, and nomenclature favour the view that Greeks and
'Pelasgians' from Thessaly may have settled in Crete at a date far anterior
to that of the Dorian conquest of Peloponneso, and it follows that among
those who used the curious Cretan script of Mycenaean and earlier times
there may well have been men of Hellenic speech.

The archaeological evidence points the same way. Although on the
present occasion it is impossible to go into the evidence in detail I may say
that my own researches into the prehistoric antiquities of Crete have brought
home to me the impression of their great homogeneity. From Kissamos
and Kydonia in the extreme West to Praisos and Itanos in the extreme East
the same characteristic forms are perpetually recurring. The same type of
Mycenaean culture, with certain nuances of its own, is common to the whole
island. The same rude terracotta images occur throughout, and, as far as our
evidence reaches, the funeral rite of enclosing the bones of the dead in
painted hut-urns enclosed in tholoi, at times excavated out of the rock, was
as widely diffused. Diversity of race may have eventually led to some local
differentiation. It looks as if the later class of seal-stones with photographic

44 E.g., Lucian, the ancient name for Gortyn
according to Steph. Byz. (c.c.), Gortyna itself
comparing with Gortës in Persia (Rechtli.
cited by Rusti, Gr. Gesch. 27, 346, note);
Phaestos, Phalasarna (cf. too Phalasarna), and
Debol are also found both in Crete and Thessaly.
Tralles, an old name for Knosos, may possibly
be compared with Tryikia. There was also a
Cretan Magnesia, according to some accounts
founded by Magnesites from Thessaly (Pherthen.
Hist. v. 3). These parallels extend to Macedonía;
compare for instance Otos and Olynthus, Hérmipolía and Phipus, and the rivers
names Aësos and Axión.
symbols were the special product of the surviving representatives of the aboriginal race in the East of the island, while on the Southern slopes of Ida,—

to judge by the relics found in Kamares grotto,—pottery of archaic fabric continued to be produced in early Mycenaean times. Regarding them as a whole however, a great family likeness is perceptible in Cretan remains of this early period; and, together with the general homogeneity, a remarkable continuity is observable. From about 900 B.C. onwards, to judge from the bronzes of the cave of Zenas, there was a strong Assyrianizing influence, due no doubt to Phoenician contact; but the archaeological break which at Mycenae itself and in the Greek mainland generally is perceptible in the centuries immediately preceding the days of the so-called 'Archaic' Greek art, or, as we should now call it, the Greek art of the 'Early Renaissance,' is in Crete conspicuous by its absence. We have here what may be called late Mycenaean crossed by Oriental influences but still essentially continuous, a phenomenon which repeats itself in an almost identical aspect at Argos and in the Argive relics found at Kameiros. The break caused on the Greek mainland by the intrusion of a geometrical style of art fitting on to that of the Dorian civilization and the Hallstatt culture of Central Europe is reasonably connected with a tide of invasion from the North, of which the Dorian invasion of the Peloponnesian represents the southernmost wave. But the Dorian invaders who are supposed to have been hurried on to Crete by the same migrating impulse—where have they left their mark on Cretan antiquities? Certain geometrical elements came in no doubt, fibulae are found identical with those of the Dipylon or the Boeotian cemeteries, but the evolution of Cretan art is still in the main continuous. That there was at this period a fresh Dorian colonization of parts of Crete is probable; but the new comers were merged in the body of Dorian inhabitants already long settled in the island, and received from them the artistic traditions that they had themselves handed down from Mycenaean times. And in architecture at least, let it be remembered, it was the Dorian element that was to represent the true Mycenaean tradition.

Another piece of archaeological evidence completely disposes of any difficulty that might be felt as to a colonization of Crete from such a comparatively distant quarter as Thessaly in Mycenaean times. Mycenaean culture was early planted in the Thessalian coastlands, as appears from the tombs of that period discovered on the headland opposite Volo, the ancient Iolkos.46 But, among the vases found in these Thessalian tombs, is a peculiar class of one-handled pots displaying water-plants with arrowlike or cordiform leaves and waved lines below, apparently indicative of water. A vase of the same form but with a different ornamentation was found in Akropolis Grave No. III, at Mycenae, but in the Milet tomb at Kahun, now shown by Mr. Petrie to belong to Thothmes III's time, there was deposited a

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47 A leaf ornament of the same character occurs on a vase from Grave I, and another from Grave VI, as well as on a glass paste ornament from Grave III.

48 See above, p. 318.
pot not only of the same shape as the Thessalian examples but with an identical design. Iolcos and the Nile Valley were thus either in direct commercial connexion, or at any rate supplied from the same source, as early as the fifteenth century B.C., and it cannot be doubted that Crete, lying between the two, formed an important link in the chain. The vegetable motive described is indeed a characteristic feature on Cretan gems of the Mycenaean period and will doubtless be eventually found to have played an important part in Cretan ceramics. The archaeological evidence makes it well-nigh certain that there was a direct intercourse between Crete and the famous Thessalian port at the period when, according to tradition, the first Dorian colonists along with Achaeans and Pelasgians found their way to the island from that very quarter.

There are therefore good grounds for supposing that the Greek colonization in Crete goes back well into the period during which the primitive forms of script with which we are dealing were in general use in the island. As a matter of fact the later epigraphic monuments of more than one of the Dorian cities of Crete actually exhibit what appear to be survivals of some of the characters belonging to the prae-Phoenician script with which we are now dealing. Professor Halkberr has made to me the valuable suggestion that some of the characters brought to light by the present investigation had influenced the forms of certain letters that occur in the most archaic Greek inscriptions found in the island, while in other cases they seem actually to have survived as marks of division. Thus at Lyttos there is seen a form of ο consisting of two concentric circles, with or without a central dot, identical with the symbol No. 27 of the pictographic series or 28 of the linear. At Eleutheria and Oxos there is found a form of Vau which suggests a differentiation from the Phoenician Vau under the influence of the linear character No. 20 X. On the other hand the double axe symbol ✶ occurs both at Gortyna and Lyttos as a mark of division.

But in considering the possibility that this early script may have been made use of by men of Greek speech we cannot restrict our survey to Crete alone. The indications that we possess, at any rate in the case of the linear characters, point to a much wider diffusion, Mycenaean in its most comprehensive sense. The early script that we find in Crete extends, as we have seen, to the Peloponnesian, but quite apart from this phenomenon there is abundant evidence to show that the Mycenaean culture in the two areas, at least in its earlier stages, was singularly uniform in aspect. On this occasion it is impossible to enter into details, but it may be sufficient to say that the engraved Mycenaean gems found in Crete show a remarkable correspondence with those from Mycenae itself, the Vaphio tomb and other Peloponnesian...
sian sites. The art of the Vaphio gold vases finds itself an absolute counterpart on a fragment of a stone vessel presenting similar reliefs obtained by me on the site of Knosos. The cult-scenes on the gold rings find their nearest pendant on a Cretan example. A bronze figure of the same early type as that found at Tiryns, and another from Mycena, has lately been discovered in a cave near Sybrita. In short, whichever way we look, we see Mycenaean art in Crete as it now begins to emerge before us displaying the same typical form that it bears in Peloponnesos. And few will be found to doubt that, whatever may have been the nationality of the dominant race in whose hands both in Crete and Peloponnesos this art first took its characteristic shape, in Peloponnesos at any rate it was taken over by Greek-speaking tribes. The close relation with Crete into which the royal house of Mycenae is brought in the Iliad and in Greek tradition generally becomes in this connexion of special interest. Atreus himself or his son Pleisthenes marries Aetopé the granddaughter of Minós, who in turn becomes the mother of Agamemnon and Menelaos. Idomenéus, the uncle of these, is the guest of the Argive princes—notably of Menelaos—and connected with them in the affairs of peace as well as war. According to local sagas Agamemnon himself founded the Cretan Mykénae and other cities of the island. There are besides this a considerable number of local names common to Crete and the Peloponnesö, but some at least of these may be due to the later wave of Dorian migration from Laconia and the Argolid.

The early connexion between Crete and other parts of the Greek mainland, notably with Attica and Boeotia, is borne out by the same evidence of tradition and nomenclature. In the case of Boeotia indeed it is tempting to see in the peculiar form of the Χ a trace of the influence of the linear or pictographic symbol resembling a four-barred gate.

Incomplete then as our evidence still is, it tends to show that the use of early script with which we are dealing may have been shared both on the mainland and in Crete itself by men of Greek speech. The data at our disposal seem to warrant the conclusion that the diffusion of this early system of writing was in fact conterminous with that of the Mycenaean form of culture. The pictographic class of seal-stones seems to have been principally at home in Crete, though the example from Sparta in the Ashmolean Museum should not be left out of sight. But the linear script had evidently a very wide range. In Crete itself the linear characters occur on a greater variety of materials than the more pictorial forms. In the Peloponnesö they are found not only at Mycenae itself but at Nauplia, they reappear at Menidi and at Siphnos, and in Egypt they are found on the early potsherds of Kahun and Gurob. In Cyprus we find a closely allied system, which had also diffused itself along the coastlands of Asia Minor, surviving into classical times. It further appears that very similar signs had invaded the coast of

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36 See especially Haeck, Kreis, ii. p. 397.
38 Vell. Patres. i. 1.
40 E.g. Amphict, Thagymna, Pharaos, Beinos, Tegea, Arcadia, Lampsác (or Lappa). Cf. Rusolt, Tegea, Arcadia, Lampsác (or Lappa). Cf. Rusolt,
Canaan. There can be no doubt that many of the marks referred to above as found on the potsherds of Tell el Hesy, which has been identified with the ancient Lachish, belong to the same system as the linear characters of the Aegean and Egyptian deposits. May we suppose that both in this case and at Kahun and Gurob these marks were originally derived from a Cretan or Aegean source? The appearance in the later strata at Tell el Hesy of Aegean painted pottery, including a fragment representing a bird which resembles one from the sixth Akropolis tomb at Mycenae, certainly points to an influence from this side.

The evidence as a whole reveals a very direct relation between the linear forms and the Mycenaean form of culture in its most typical shape. On the Goulias cup, the Knossos amethyst, the prehistoric walls of the same site, the vase-handles of Mycenae itself, it appears on objects of the characteristically Mycenaean class. In short there seems every reason to believe that this quasi-alphabetic group of signs represents the typical form of Mycenaean script.

The pictographic series on the other hand may be regarded as more local in distribution and as the special property of the indigenous Cretan stock, who appear to have continued to use this less developed form of picture-writing at a time when their neighbours had generally adopted what may be a more simplified form of script. To this pictographic or hieroglyphic group I would provisionally give the name of 'Etocretan.' That it lived on in Crete into Mycenaean times is proved by a variety of evidence and that it belonged to a people largely under Mycenaean influence is also clear enough. But it does not seem to have been so widely current amongst the Aegean peoples of the Mycenaean age as the linear system.

In comparing the two groups the first question that naturally suggests itself is: How far does the pictographic or 'Etocretan' series represent the parent stock out of which the linear or 'Mycenaean' system proper may be supposed to have been evolved?

That there is a connexion between the two systems is certain. Not only do both groups of characters occur on seal-stones of the same typical form, but in some cases the linear forms are seen accompanied by signs belonging to the hieroglyphic class. On the four-sided stone Fig. 36, two facets of which are occupied by purely ornamental designs, we find the two remaining sides occupied respectively by a figure of a man, which may be taken to have an ideographic signification, and a group of three linear signs. On the triangular seal-stone Fig. 29 we see another group of three linear characters preceded by a sign which represents a simplification of the eye-symbol that recurs on several stones of the purely hieroglyphic series, and on the remaining side two other pictographic characters. On Fig. 30 two sides are filled with linear characters, while the third exhibits what is possibly a rude version of the hippocamp symbol. Moreover on the stone vase-mound from Mycenae we see the quasi-alphabetic forms accompanied by a more pictorial representation which closely resembles an early form of the 'broad arrow' symbol as seen on some of the Cretan stones. It is a noteworthy fact
that a similar mixed usage of pictographs and alphabetic forms occurs on early Sabaean inscriptions. Thus on two Sabaean gravestones a pair of eyes appear above the inscription. In another case a bull’s head, a pictographic rendering of the personal name Taur, appears at the beginning of the inscription. In Greek archaeology this combined usage of letters and symbol is curiously illustrated by the signatures of magistrates and officials, which are often reduplicated in the same way.

This mixed usage is a clear proof of the overlapping of the two classes of script with which we are now dealing. Abundant evidence indeed has been already accumulated that at any rate in the Eastern part of Crete the pictographic signs continued to be used by a people in other respects under the full influence of Mycenaean culture.

Again several of the signs that take their place in the pictographic series are themselves practically linear. Among these may be mentioned the concentric circles (No. 2d, c), the loop (No. 80), the S and X-shaped forms, the gate or shutter and some forms of the ‘broad arrow.’

This tendency to linearization perceptible in the hieroglyphic series might by itself suggest the possibility that we had here the prototypes of quasi-alphabetic forms. I had even, as already observed, set to work to simplify and reduce to linear shape the pictographic symbols that occurred on the first seal-stones that came under my notice before I was yet acquainted with the linear class. More limited as was then my material the results thus experimentally arrived at led me to the conclusion that the Cretan hieroglyphs might eventually prove to supply the origin of a system of script closely approaching the syllabaries used in Cyprus and parts of Anatolia at a later date.

It was therefore the more satisfactory to find this a priori supposition confirmed by the subsequent discovery in Crete itself of an independent linear system of writing containing in several cases forms corresponding to the simplified versions of the hieroglyphs that I had already worked out.

Of course it is not to be expected that all or even a large proportion of types represented in any given pictographic or hieroglyphic system should recur in a series of alphabetic or syllabic characters derived from it. The pictographic method of writing necessarily involves the use of a very large number of signs, while on the other hand an alphabet or syllabary can only be arrived at by a rigorous system of limitation and selection. Out of the seventy odd ‘hieroglyphic’ signs from the Cretan stones—a number which will no doubt be largely increased by future discoveries—it would not be reasonable to expect more than a limited set of correspondences with the linear forms, especially when it is borne in mind that of this linear system we have as yet probably little more than a fragment before us.

The correspondences that do occur between the two systems are nevertheless of so striking a kind as to warrant us in believing that there is a real
relationship. In instituting the comparisons below the pictographic signs referred to have been taken from the somewhat advanced types represented on the Mycenaean seal-stones of Eastern Crete. But inasmuch as the linear forms overlap this conventionalized pictorial class and go back themselves, as already shown, to a very early date, it would not be literally true to say that they are derived from pictographs in the stage represented by these ‘Eteocretan’ seals. The actual prototypes of the linear forms would probably have been pictographs of a ruder ‘graffito’ and almost linear type themselves, such as we find on some of the most archaic Cretan stones and on the whorls of the earliest settlements at Hissarlik. But, these allowances being made, the later pictorial series of which alone we have a fairly copious record seems in certain cases to supply a probable clue to the origin of the linear signs.

In instituting the comparisons between the pictographic and linear signs as sketched in the annexed diagram (Table III) it has been found useful to introduce a certain number of Cypriote forms as supplementing the Aegean types at present known to us. But, in addition to this, the parallels presented by the linearized pictographs to Semitic letter-forms are in several cases so striking that I have not hesitated to include these in the table of comparisons. There have been also added certain Greek letters either of uncertain origin, like the ψ, or presenting forms like the Boeotian four-barred Ε or the Cretan O with a concentric circle, which apparently go back to prototypes earlier than any existing Semitic models. In the case of Zayin I have even had recourse to the Sabean form as very probably in this case representing the completer shape of the letter. These Semitic comparisons recall certain parallels presented by some of the linear Aegean signs included in Table I. Nos. 10, 24, and 25 of the series there represented much resemble forms of Gimel and Lamed, while No. 14 suggests a reduplicated Yod.

The annexed table of comparisons both in its general bearing on the origin of Aegean and possibly Cypriote letters from pictographic originals and in the special parallels that it supplies to Semitic forms must certainly be taken to throw a suggestive light on the vexed question of the origin of the Phoenician alphabet. If it once can be shown that in Crete and the Aegean coastlands a primitive system of picture-writing gave birth to a linear syllabary akin to that of Cyprus, the possibility that the Phoenician forms may after all have had a non-Egyptian origin becomes distinctly greater. If in this Aegean region an ox’s head or a fence or tree assumed linear forms practically identical with those that bear the names of the same or similar objects in the Phoenician series, what good reason is there for supposing that the same phenomenon may not have repeated itself in other parts of the same East Mediterranean basin?

Some of the parallels with Semitic names and forms, as will be seen from the following examples, are altogether startling.

On the remarkable perforated disk (Fig. 11) from the Phaestos deposit a rude and elongated figure of a horned animal—apparently a bull or ox—
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PICTOGRAPHS</th>
<th>EGYPTIAN LINEAR</th>
<th>CYPRIOITE AND SEMITIC</th>
<th>CYPR.-AND SEMITIC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td><img src="image1" alt="Image" /></td>
<td>CYPR. A-H</td>
<td>FORM OF GR. ZAYIN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td><img src="image2" alt="Image" /></td>
<td>CYPR. LE</td>
<td>MOSABAHAN FORM OF ZAYIN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td><img src="image3" alt="Image" /></td>
<td>SEM. CHEH</td>
<td>WEAPONS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td><img src="image4" alt="Image" /></td>
<td>SEM. HE</td>
<td>WINDOW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td><img src="image5" alt="Image" /></td>
<td>CYPR. SE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td><img src="image6" alt="Image" /></td>
<td>SEM. SAMEKH</td>
<td>POST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td><img src="image7" alt="Image" /></td>
<td>SEM. ALEF</td>
<td>OK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td><img src="image8" alt="Image" /></td>
<td>SEM. AN</td>
<td>EYE</td>
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<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td><img src="image9" alt="Image" /></td>
<td>SEM. PE</td>
<td>CYPR.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td><img src="image10" alt="Image" /></td>
<td>CYPR. PO</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td><img src="image11" alt="Image" /></td>
<td>CYPR.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td><img src="image12" alt="Image" /></td>
<td>CYPR.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table III.**

PICTOGRAPHS AND LINEAR SYMBOLS COMPARED.

CYPR. = CYPRIOITE, ARCH. OK = ARCHAI
GREEK, SEM. = SEMITIC.
appears in conjunction with a linear symbol -\textup{\textbullet{}}. On the other side of the same stone the head of the same animal like an \textup{\textbullet{}} upside down is followed by the same symbol \textup{\textbullet{}}. The \textup{\textbullet{}} is thus brought into direct connexion with the bull or ox. On a seals-stone again (Fig. 26a) we find a pictorial representation of an ox’s head accompanied by other symbols, while on the pendant from Arbi (Fig. 16) occurs what seems to be a linear form of the same, standing by itself. It cannot be doubted that the \textup{\textbullet{}} symbol of the Cretan series is derived from an ox’s head. If we turn to Phoenicia we find the same symbol with a record of its pictographic original in its name \textit{Alef} = an ox. According to De Rouge’s theory however, which still holds the field, we are asked to believe that in Phoenicia the symbol, notwithstanding its name, was derived from the hieratic representation of an eagle.

In Crete we see the double axe linearized into a symbol \textup{\textbullet{}}, like a closed \textup{X} or two crossed \textup{Z}’s. From the occurrence of this symbol as equivalent to \textup{Z} on the Sabean inscriptions there seem to be good reasons for believing that the original Semitic form of \textit{Zayin} was of this shape, and \textit{Zayin} is generally translated ‘weapons,’ which would find its natural explanation in the pictograph of the double axe. But the received derivation is from the hieratic sketch of a flying duck. The Cretan pictograph for a tree is reduced to the same form as the Phoenician \textit{Samekh} = a post, the origin of which is by De Rouge’s theory traced to the hieratic degradation of an Egyptian chair-back. The two Cretan pictographs which may stand for a gate, fence, or shutter and the accompanying linear forms are practically identical with the Semitic \textit{Chat} = ‘a fence’ and \textit{He}, supposed to mean a window.\textsuperscript{42} Here again form and name correspond in both cases, but we are asked to believe that the Phoenician forms are descended respectively from a slave and a maceander. The eye is one of the commonest of the Cretan pictographs, and the Phoenician \textit{At}, signifying ‘an eye,’ for which even De Rouge’s ingenuity failed to discover an Egyptian prototype, is the natural linearization of a similar form.

The Cypriote system, as we have seen, seems to fit on to the Cretan and \textit{Aegean}. But if we examine the Cypriote syllabary we are struck in the same way with the close parallelism of many of the forms with those of the Phoenician alphabet. These resemblances have been accounted for by a supposed process of assimilation due to the preponderating influence of the Semitic forms. But now that it is becoming clear that the Cypriote syllabary represents a branch of a very much older system, which appears in Crete, the Peloponnese and elsewhere long before we have any record of Phoenician writing, the ground is cut away from any such theory.

The matter seems at first sight to be complicated by the fact that the Cypriote characters that bear the greatest resemblance to Phoenician forms have in all cases a different phonetic value. The sign which answers to \textit{He} in the Semitic series reappears in Cypriote as equivalent to \textit{\textbullet{}}. In the same way \textit{Tau} becomes \textit{Lo}, \textit{Gisel}, \textit{Ko}, and \textit{Yod}, \textit{\textbullet{}}.

\textsuperscript{42} The Boeotian \textit{E} with four bars, introduced in the Plate, rather points to an older form of \textit{He} resembling the pictograph No. 4.

\textsuperscript{43} See Isaac Taylor, \textit{The Alphabet}, p. 171.
But these phonetic divergences can be accounted for by a very simple supposition—which may indeed be now regarded as something more than a mere theoretic possibility. Supposing that throughout a considerable part of the East Mediterranean basin a pictographic system of communication had grown up analogous in its earliest stage to the picture-writing in use among the North American Indians, such pictorial signs would have had, as they still have amongst savage races at the present day, a currency beyond the limit of individual languages. The signs would in fact have been ideographic and independent of language. But as the system became more conventionalized and developed and finally gave birth to a kind of linear shorthand of the original picture-writing, the figures which had stood for individual objects and ideas would in due course acquire a shortened phonetic value representing syllables and letters. And, as a necessary consequence of this process, these signs, though they may have been derived from what was originally a widely current pictorial stock, would now take the phonetic values imposed by the language spoken by individual tribes. The old picture of an ox or an ox’s head would have been generally intelligible. But reduced to the linear stage the ox’s head might be an A in one country and a B in another.

It looks as if some process of this kind had actually occurred on the coasts and islands of the Aegean and the further Mediterranean shores. The Cretan pictographs give us a good warrant for believing—what even without such evidence common sense would lead us to expect—that a primitive system of picture-writing had existed in the Aegean lands at a very remote period. The antiquity of these figures is indeed in some cases curiously brought out by the fact already pointed out that they actually exhibit the actions of a primitive gesture-language. Furthermore we see certain ideographic forms no doubt once widely intelligible on the coasts and islands of the Eastern Mediterranean reduced to linear signs which find close parallels in Cyprus and Phoenicia. Finally, some of the names of the Phoenician letters lead us back to the same pictographic originals which in Crete we find actually existing.

To the Phoenicians belongs the credit of having finally perfected this system and reduced it to a purely alphabetic shape. Their acquaintance with the various forms of Egyptian writing no doubt assisted them in this final development. Thus it happened that it was from a Semitic source and under a Semitic guise that the Greeks received their alphabet in later days. But the evidence now accumulated from Cretan soil seems at least to warrant the suspicion that the earlier elements out of which the Phoenician system was finally evolved were largely shared by the primitive inhabitants of Hellas itself. So far indeed as the evidence at our disposal goes, the original centre of this system of writing should be sought nearer Crete than Southern Syria. The natural script of the Semites was the cuneiform, derived from their ancient contact with Chaldaea, and which, as we know from the Tell-el-Amarna tablets and other sources, was still the dominant script of Syria and Palestine at a time when ‘Minoan’ Crete and Mycenaean
Greece had, as we have seen already, evolved independent systems of writing both pictographic and linear.

In view of these facts it is at least worth while to weigh the possibility that the rudiments of the Phoenician writing may after all have come in part at least from the Aegean side. The more the relics of Mycenaean culture are revealed to us the more we see how far ahead of their neighbours on the Canaanite coasts the Aegean population then was in arts and civilization. The spread of their commerce led them to seek plantations in the Nile Valley and the Mediterranean outlets of the Arabian and Red Sea trade. The position was the reverse of that which meets our eye at a later date. It was not Sidon that was then planting mercantile settlements on the coasts and islands of Greece. Those were the days when Philistine Askalon weighed heavily on Sidon herself, when the Viking swarms from the Aegean isles and the neighbouring coastlands were a thorn in the side of the Egypt of Thothmes III, and his successors. But the relics of Aegean civilization now brought to light at Tell-el-Amarna and the Fayoum, like those found at Lachish, show that there was another besides the purely piratical side to the expeditions of these maritime races. Barbaric invasion and migration followed as usual the routes of peaceful commerce, and, as in the case of the Northmen, the Viking period of the Aegean peoples was succeeded, at least as early as the twelfth century B.C., by a period of fixed settlement of which the name of Palestine, the land of the Philistines, is the abiding historic landmark.

In considering the possible influence of the early Aegean script on the Semitic races, the colonization of the southern coast of Canaan by the Philistines and their kin is of primary importance. The commercial instinct of the invaders is well brought out by the occupation of Gaza, lying on the trunk-line of commerce between Syria and the Nile Valley and forming at the same time the Mediterranean goal of the South Arabian trade-route. The Southern district in which lay Gaza seems to have been the special possession of the Cherethites, who at times give their name to the whole Philistine confederation—a name which in the Septuagint version of Ezekiel and Zechariah is translated by Κριτης. Gaza itself bore the title of Minōs, and according to Stephanus was the legendary foundation of Minōs and his brothers. Its chief god Marnas was identified with Zeus Krētāgenēs.
The central district of Philistia seems to have been occupied by the tribe from whose name that of the Philistines was itself in all probability derived, the Pulusatı 
from the middle of the sea who played such a prominent part in the invasions of Egypt under Ramses III, and Merenptah, and whose name when brought into connexion with that of the Cretans curiously recalls the διον Πελαγος so early settled in the island by side with Εχεσκρήμες, Achaians—probably the Akayyas of the same Egyptian monuments—and Dorians. Another member of this group of Aegean and West Anatolian peoples whose maritime enterprise was now a terror to Egypt and its borderlands was the Takkara, ex hypotesse Teucri, the eponymus of whose race whether he appears at Salamis or Troy is doubly connected with Crete.

These people were brought into close connexion with the Pulusatı and Danonas (presumably Damai) in the expeditions against Egypt, and from an interesting notice in the Golenisheff Papyrus it appears that Dore or Dor on the coast of Canaan was already by about 1100 B.C. known as a city of the Takkaras. In Greek legend this city was founded by Δόρος the son of Poseidon and its inhabitants were known as Δαους. The names are certainly suggestive, and in days when Ionians and probably Achaians were already mentioned in Egyptian records a trace of a Dorian element on these shores hardly need surprise us. That among the various elements from the Aegean coastlands who took part in the Philistine Confederation men of Greek stock may have found a place as early as the twelfth or eleventh century B.C. can no longer at least be regarded as an improbable hypothesis. It is perhaps not without some actual warrant in fact, that in the Septuagint version of Isaiah the Philistines themselves are translated by Ελληνες.

Hebrew tradition is unanimous in bringing the Philistines from the 'Isle of Kaphtar,' 'Island' here may simply mean distant coasts such as those of the Aegean in general, but the alternative form of Cherethim applied to the same people certainly indicates that, in so far as it stands for an island, Kaphtar should be applied to Crete rather than Cyprus. This consideration lends an additional interest to the suggestion that Kaphtar may be connected with Keftiu, whence came the people who of all those represented on Egyptian monuments most clearly show Mycenaean characteristics. Their costume, their peaked shoes and leggings, the dressing of the hair, the characteristic vessels they are represented as bearing to Thothmes III, show the closest

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14 See W. Max Müller, Aris und Europa nach altägyptischen Denkmälern, 1886, p. 386.
15 De Rougé Claris, who transliterates 'Pulusatı' as 'Pelasas,' had already identified them with the Pelagians in his Antiquités historiques. So too Renan (Histoire générale des langues anciennes, I, p. 56); 'Une hypothèse très vraisemblable, adoptée par les meilleurs exégètes et ethnographes, fait venir les Philistins de Céte. Le nom seul de Pléïthe rappelle celui des Pelasges.' This view also commands itself to Ματηρ (Hist. Anc. des peuples d'Orient, p. 312). W. Max Müller (op. cit., p. 588), while admitting the possibility that the Pulusatı are Philistines, rejects the view that they are Pelasgians. But he accepts the identification of the Sardins, Turanias, Akevias, and Jovanas, with Sanditians, Tyrreni, Achaïans, and Ionians.
16 W. Max Müller, Aris und Europa nach altägyptischen Denkmälern, p. 386.
17 Steph. Byz. s. v. Δαους.
19 C. ix, 12.
PRIMITIVE PICTOGRAPHS AND SCRIPT

parallels with Mycenaean forms. This parallelism, as shown by the Peloponnesian remains such as the wall-paintings of Mycenae, the shape and ornament of the gold cups and vases and notably the figures on the Vaphio cups, has already been pointed out. The identification of the Kefti with the Phoenicians has been further shown to rest on a confusion of Ptolemaic times. The reddish hue of the Kefti chiefs in the Theban paintings—which seems to be the Egyptian way of rendering the rosy European cheeks—as well as their dress and facial type are clearly non-Semitic.

Isolated resemblances such as those presented by the bronze figure from Latna, the Syrian Laodicea, now in the Louvre, or by the details of some Hittite or early Cilician reliefs cannot weigh against the much greater conformity with Mycenaean types, and, to the Peloponnesian examples already cited, my own researches now enable me to add a striking array of Cretan parallels. Here it may be sufficient to say that throughout Eastern and Central Crete the commonest types of Mycenaean gems show as their principal designs a series of vessels evidently representing originals in the precious metals, some with beaked spouts, some with S-shaped double handles and slender bases which reproduce several of the most characteristic types of the vessels offered by the Kefti chiefs to Thothmes III, on the Theban tombs. The men of the Vaphio cups, who present such a striking resemblance to the Kefti tributaries as seen in the walls of the Rekhmara tomb, recur with the same flowing locks on a fragment of a stone vessel from Knosos. It is true that if on the one hand the Kefito folk are brought into connexion with the people of the islands of the sea, on the other hand they are found in the company of Hittites and of men of Kadesh and Tunep (Daphne) and the Upper Rutenu of Inner Palestine. But if, as there is good reason for believing, the carrying trade of the East Mediterranean was at this time largely in Mycenaean hands, these associations and perhaps the tribute of silver and copper—it may be from Cilicia and Cyprus—that the Kefti bore in addition to their artistic vases would be accounted for without difficulty.

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95 This comparison, first initiated by Puechstein, has been further brought out by Stein dorff, "Archäologischer Anzeiger, 1892, p. 12 sqq.
96 In the Canopus Decres "Kefti" is translated Samèia, which led Ebers and other Egyptianists to accept the identification of the Kefti with Phoeniciss. W. Max Müller however (Arabien und Europa nach althethopäischen Denkmälern, p. 337) has shown how valueless the Ptolemaic tradition was in such matters. From the place in which the name appears—after Nahunet and Hetet—in early Egyptian lists, he himself concludes that it represents Cilicia. Stein dorff, who also (op. cit. p. 15) rejects the identification with Phoenicia, is led to seek the Kefito in the Gulf of Issus or Cyprus. But, as noticed above, the archaeological evidence does not favor either Cilicia or Cyprus. Cyprus, as we know, was touched by Mycenaean culture in comparatively late times, but it was never, certainly, a centre of its propagation. The early Mycenaean spiral work, such as is seen on the Kefti vases, is foreign to Cypriote remains. On the Cilician mainland Mycenaean traces altogether fail us. The numerous engraved stones found there, amongst which I may mention some recently brought back by Mr. D. G. Hogarth from Ain-Teb, are of Hittite and non-Mycenaean character.
98 Langier, Musée Napoleon, 21; Perrot et Chipiez, "Phénicie, déc. 429, 439.
99 In the Rekhmara inscription.
The matter will appear even simpler if we may accept the view that the name of Keftô is to be identified with that of the Caphtor 88 whose inhabitants included both the Aegean islands and the coast of Canaan in their field of activity. The later confusion of their land with Phoenicia in the Canopus decree is in this connexion not without its significance.

In considering the question of possible Philistine influence on the origin of the Semitic script it must always be borne in mind that the actual colonization of Palestine is only a comparatively late episode in a connexion which goes back to far earlier times. The parallels supplied by the more primitive class of Cretan seal-stones abundantly show that there was a lively intercourse between the Aegean island and the Easternmost Mediterranean coast as early as the third millennium before our era. Aegean enterprise, according to Mr. Petrie’s researches, penetrated at an equally early date into Egypt, and of this again we have now the counter-proof in the Twelfth Dynasty Egyptian relics found in Cretan interments. Whether or not a ‘proto-Semitic’ element may have existed in Crete itself and other parts of the Aegean world from very early times is a question beyond our present scope. Should this prove to have been the case it might simplify some problems that are at present enigmatic. There certainly seems to be a deeplying community of early tradition between Crete and the Semitic world older than can be accounted for by Phoenician agencies of post-Mycenaean times. A river-name like Iardanos, Minôs the Cretan Moses, Diktyyna in some respects so closely akin to Đerkê and Atargatis, the evidence supplied by Mycenaean relics of the early cult of Astarte, are only a few of a series of suggestive indications. There are Thraco-Phrygian elements no doubt which must be set off against these, but the possibility that the later colonization of Canaan by the Philistines and their allies was in part at least a return wave of Europeanized Semites cannot be altogether ignored.

Conjecture apart, however, the evidence accumulated by the present inquiry may be fairly taken to establish certain fixed points in the early archaeology of Crete and the Aegean lands. Proofs have been given of the existence of a pictographic system of writing which in Eastern Crete at any rate survived into Mycenaean times, but the earlier stages of which, on the evidence of Cretan seal-stones, may be traced far back into the third millennium before our era. The pictographic system of Crete, which on the evidence of one stone at least extended to the Peloponnesse, is itself of independent growth and, though perhaps modified by Egyptian influences, is not a mere copy of Egyptian forms. In the Aegean world it occupies the same position as is occupied by the ‘Hittite’ hieroglyphs in Asia Minor or Northern Syria, and it must in all probability be regarded as a sister system with distinct points of affinity and perhaps shading off into the

88 Eber’s suggestion that Caphtor = ‘Köft-ere’ or (best Keftô which he assumed on the strength of the Canopus decree to be Phoenicia) is rejected by W. Max Müller (op. cit. p. 399), who however expresses the opinion that the name Keftô has nevertheless a real connexion with Caphtor: ‘Ist der Name Keftô (the orthography approved by him, p. 397) auszusprechen so ist allerdings der Anklang mehr als zufällig.’
other by intermediate phases. The pictorial forms are intimately connected with a system of linear signs which also goes back to a high antiquity, but which in certain cases at least may be referred with some confidence to a pictographic origin. These linear signs are of wide Aegean range, they fit on to the syllabaries of Anatolia and Cyprus and show besides many striking points of affinity with Semitic letters. They are found in Egypt at an early date in the wake of Aegean influences and seem to have been the common property of the Mycenaean civilization.

The evidence of the Cretan seal-stones to which these remarkable results are mainly due does not end here. In many other ways they throw a new and welcome light on the early culture of the Hellenic world. The implements and instruments of Crete in Mycenaean times are here before us. The elements are present for the reconstruction in one case at least of a great decorative design. The pursuits of the possessors of the seals are clearly indicated, the ships that they sailed in, the primitive lyres to which they sang, the domestic animals that they tended, the game that they hunted, the duodecimal numeration that they employed. On the earlier seals we are able to trace the beginnings of this Aegean culture to an age much more remote than the great days of Mycenae. We see before us the prototypes of more than one of the characteristic forms of Mycenaean times. Here are its familiar vases in an earlier stage of development, its decorative beads approaching more and more the primitive clay button, its butterflies and polyps and even its mysterious lion-headed beings. Above all we find abundant proofs of a close contact with the Egypt of the Twelfth Dynasty, and of the taking over of the spiral system that characterizes the scarab decoration of that period. We can thus, as already pointed out, trace to its transported germ the origin of that spiral system which were afterwards to play such an important part not in Mycenaean art alone but in that of a vast European zone. On the other side we find at this same early period, which may be roughly characterized as the middle of the third millennium before our era, accumulated proof of a close connexion with the Easternmost Mediterranean shores. The camel, perhaps the ostrich, was already familiar to the Cretan merchants and the ivory seals of Canaan were hung from their wrists. Already at that remote period Crete was performing her allotted part as the stepping-stone of Continents.

Arthur J. Evans.
THREE KARIAN SITES: TELMISSEOS, KARYANDA, TARAMPTOS.

The inscription published below was discovered in June, 1893, built into a house in the small village of Pelen, which lies in the interior of the peninsula of Myndos, in the upper valley of a stream flowing southwards past Episkopi into the Gulf of Kos (Adm. Charts 1546, 1604); but which is not marked in any map hitherto. The stone is a block of the local grey limestone, and was much encrusted with whitewash; after a little cleaning, however, the reading became sufficiently clear. The inscription came from the ruins of a large church which stands about two miles east of Pelen, on the ridge between the valley of Pelen and that of Ghiol to the east of it, at the point where the mountain road traverses the hills from Fareli in towards Budrum. The church is built upon the ruins of a Karian or Hellenic building, of large roughly squared stones, with the broad draft down the angles which is characteristic of the pre-Mausolean masonry of this neighbourhood. The site is much overgrown with thick shrubs, but enough can be made out to confirm the evidence of the inscription that this is the site of the temple of Apollo Telmisseus. We did not, however, find any other traces of inscriptions.

There are no remains of a city in the immediate neighbourhood, but on the summit of the cliff of Kara-Dagh, under the west end of which the temple is situated, and at a height above the sea of about 1800 feet, are the remains of a small Karian town (A in the picture), defended on the north by the cliff, which is inaccessible for two or three miles, and on the other sides by a semicircle of wall. The space within the fortifications is occupied by a few large buildings of solid masonry, the largest being that on the summit. This is the 'fortress or ruin' marked in the Admiralty Chart No. 1546, and on Kiepert's map. On another summit (B) about three-quarters of a mile further south a forest-fire has recently revealed another Karian fastness of somewhat greater extent, containing within its nearly circular wall a large number of smaller houses. These are in good preservation, and several of them retain their door lintels in position. They are of lighter masonry than those of (A), but in both cases the material is the rough slabby limestone of the immediate neighbourhood. The outer wall of (A) has every appearance of having been intentionally razed; that of (B) has been thrown outwards in some places, but in others is almost perfect.

On a third and rather higher ridge about half a mile to the east of (B),
commanding a fine view east and west, but itself invisible from the Ghidol valley by reason of the great cliff, is a very large and fine example of a tomb (c) peculiar, so far as we know, to this district. It appears to be an adaptation of the circular tumulus to sepulchral necessities of which we are at present ignorant, as all the examples hitherto examined have been completely rifled. Its peculiarity is that the central chamber is circular and very large, and that the inner and outer surfaces of the ring wall are so far from being concentric that, whereas at one point the masonry is only three or four feet thick, it increases in thickness towards the opposite side so much as to contain within itself several small rooms—in this case three—which open out of the central chamber. The outer door of the latter is not, as might be expected, in the thinnest part of the wall, but at one side, and in the same line with it; in this instance, a long trench, excavated in the floor of the chamber, and covered with massive transverse slabs.

The inner wall slopes inwards and upwards, as if designed to be carried up into a false dome, like that of the 'beehive' tombs of Mykenæ; but the existing remains are not sufficient to show that this was certainly the case, especially considering the great diameter of these monuments (average about 50 feet), and the fact that, unlike the Mykenæan tombs, they are built wholly above ground. Perhaps the slope of the inner wall is a survival from the plan of the simple tumulus, long after the roofed form had become obsolete. This very remarkable type of tomb is not common. The four examples known to us hitherto will be described together hereafter in greater

![Diagram of a site with labels highlighting different features such as "c", "a", and "b". Annotations indicate a temple site on the north-west side. The text explains the peculiarity and structure of the central chamber, including its circular form, the variation in thickness of the masonry, and the method of opening the outer door. The diagram details the layout and features of the site.]
TELMISSOS, KARYANDA, TAMAMPTOS.

They are generally associated with circular tumuli of simple construction and smaller dimensions, and containing only one chamber, which is rectangular.

At Telmissos, however, no simple tumuli or other sepulchral monuments have yet been seen. The chambered tomb (c) evidently belongs to one or other of the hill-cities (a) and (b). (a) must originally have been a place of considerable strength, as the precipice on the north and east is impregnable, and the wall was of great thickness. The natural and artificial defences of (b) were much weaker, the rocks on the south and north being easily scalable, but surmounted by no masonry. We may conjecture that (a) was the ancient Karian or Lelegian town of Telmissos, the original residence of the priestly γένος, and perhaps the site of the original temple. The nearer and more crowded houses in (b) and its inferior strength make it probable that here dependents of the γένος resided. The great tomb on (c) may well be the ancestral burial-place of the γένος.

The site of the temple on a thickly wooded ridge almost underneath the precipice of (a) is quite in accord with our information that the responses here given were derived from augury. And the steep cliffs of the Kara-Dagh are the haunt of innumerable vultures and other birds. Where there has been an oracle the first thing we look for is a spring. Here there is no spring; that which feeds the stream running past the village of Ghiol rises a considerable distance below, but we get some very good water to drink from a Turkish encampment at the foot of (b), close to the road and a little south of the cistern (cf. the παρθένος ἔρεινομένη in the passage from Arrian cited below, p. 379).

The site of the Karian Telmissos was conjecturally placed by Leake at Ghiol, and he turns out to be very nearly right, for the modern village of Ghiol is close below. This village is at some distance from the sea and the marsh from which it derives its name. Sir Charles Newton fixed Karyanda at Ghiol, by which he means of course not this modern village, but the shore in the neighbourhood of the marsh. In this we believe him to be unquestionably right. Karyanda was placed in the Admiralty Chart No. 1546, and in Kiepert's last map, at Giu Sergin (Guverneği: Kiuvergni), the deep bay with ruins and traces of a road, south-east of Tarandos Island; but for no adequate reason. There are now at least the two strongest reasons for not placing it there. This identification involved the assumption that the ancient name of the island now called Tarandos was Karyanda. There is no other island off Giu Sergin, and Skylax says Καρύανδα ὑσός καὶ τούλι καὶ λιμή. Now the ancient name of Tarandos was certainly Taramptos, for which there is no alternative site. It is mentioned in Insocr. B.M. No. 896 l. 18, where, curiously enough, the editor is silent on the subject. The sole alternative site for Karyanda is, as Newton shows, at Ghiol.

We have this positive confirmation to add. A small bronze coin, now in Mr. Paton's possession, was lately found at Ghiol near the seashore, at a spot which was accurately pointed out to us. It proves to be a fourth century coin of autonomous Karyanda—
Æ, 11 mm. diam.
Female head of fine style with stephano, to r.
Rev. Half Bull. KAPT.

The remains near the shore (marked in Admiralty Chart and in Kiepert) are all of Roman or Byzantine date, and would not in themselves speak for the existence of a Hellenic town here; such remains being found in plenty in almost every bay along the coast, though nowhere so well preserved as here. But at the inland point marked 'Tombs' in the Admiralty Chart, and indicated also by Kiepert, on a ridge with a precipitous face southwards and eastwards towards Ghiol village, and with a fairly steep slope northwards towards Rumbukioi (Newton's Roumelikioi), is a well-preserved Karian fortified town of considerable extent, with a partly demolished wall, and many terraces and house foundations inside. The wall has a fine projecting tower of polygonal work to cover the one easy approach from the west along the ridge, and on the highest point within is a citadel of finer, perhaps Hellenic, roughly isodomesous masonry with the characteristic drafts down the angles. There are some rock tombs, completely rifled and used as goat-pens, in the cliff below the south wall, accessible by a narrow slope from the west; others,
similarly misused, in the western slope near Farélos village; others, again, now used as a farmhouse, about half a mile below the fortress to the north, and nearer the seashore; and near the last-named an isolated sarcophagus cut out of a knoll of rock.

Karyanda was probably one of the towns incorporated by Maussolos with Halikarnassos, together with Telmissos and the nameless fortresses of Ghiuk Chalar and Alizelin, which we hope to describe in detail later. The known coins are all of earlier date than his, and no evidences have appeared of its independent existence afterwards.

W. R. Paton.
J. L. Myres.

INSRIPTIONION ON A LIMESTONE BLOCK.

Ε.Ο.ΝΤΟ.ΚΟΙΝ.ΤΕΛΜΙΣΣΕΩΝΕΠΕΙΔΗΠΟΣΙΔΕΟΣΠΟΣΙΔΕΟΥ
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ΜΙΣΣΕΗΦΙΟΣΤΟΡΓΩΣΔΕΤΡΟΣΠΑΝΤΑΣΤΕΛΜΙΣΣΕΙΣΚΑΙ
5 ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΣΤΕΦΑΛΗΦΟΡΟΣΕΥΣΕΒΩΣΚΑΙΩΣΙΩΣΕΙΤΕ clos
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ΠΟΙΟΥΜΕΝΟΣΤΗΣΔΕΠΡΟΣΤΟΦΕΙΟΝΕΥΣΕΒΕΙΑΙΛΙΚΑΙΤΗΣΠΡΟΣΤΟ
10 ΚΟΙΝΟΦΙΟΣΤΟΡΓΙΑΣΤΗΜΕΓΙΣΤΗΝΠΡΟΝΟΙΑΝΠΟΙΟΥΜΕΝΟ
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15 ΠΟΥΔΙΣΑΓΩΚΑΤΕΣΤΗΣΕΤΙΩΜΕΟΙΣΙΘΩΝΟΡΑΝΕΙΣΗΣΩΣΤΕ
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ΟΝΩΝΤΕΙΣΕΥΣΙΝΑΤΕΛΕΙΑΝΥΝΤΕΜΕΙΝΕΝΕΚΟΥΣΙΩΣ
20 ΔΙΚΟΣΚΑΙΙΔΙΑΛΙΣΤΕΥΟΥΠΡΟΣΕΔΡΕΙΑΣΑΚΑΤΕΣΤΗΣΕΕΝΕΙΣ
ΕΞΑΡΧΗΣΣΥΓΓΡΗΣΑΝΤΕΛΜΕΣΕΥΣΙΝΚΑ...ΑΠΡΟΤΙΜΗΝΑΤΕΛΕΙΑΝ
ΤΕΡΦΑΝΙΑΝΟΥΤΕΑΠΕΚΘΕΙΑΝΟΥΤΕΕΙΣΙΔΙΚΑΣΤΗΡΙΑΣΕΝΤΑΥΘΑ
ΟΥΤΕΙΣΕΠΙΤΕΑΚΑΜΕΚΙΑΣΑΛΑΤΕΝΤΑΣΙΟΝ
ΤΟΥΣΕΙΟΝΕΥΣΕΒΕΙΑΝΚΑΙΤΗΝΠΡΟΣΠΑΝ
ΟΓΚΕΙΑΝΕΝΕΙ ΕΥ

H.S.—VOL. XIV.
Letters, απεσεομεγας. Slight spices. Date about 200 B.C.; not earlier. Line 1: iota subscriptum possibly omitted in ΚΟΙΝΩ. Line 21: for ἐπισκώπῳ see J.L.M., 925 (Branchidae). In line 12 there is a space after ἙΝΟΙΑΣ indicating a stop, but Mr. Paton cannot find any trace of ΔΕ after ἐπιδαλµένων.

The inscription, so far as it remains, may be restored as follows:—

[...] καὶ τῶν [...] και Πολύκαιος Πολύκαιος ἦταν τῶν και ἄγαθος καὶ εὔσεβος μὲν διακείμενος τὰ πρὸς τῶν Ἀρχιερέων τοῦ γένους Ἀπολλοῦνα Τελµισσῶν καὶ ἐπιστρέφοντος δὲ τὰ πρὸς πάντας Τελµισσῶς καὶ γενομένοις στεφανοφόροις εὔσεβοις καὶ οἷον ἔπετελεν εὐρέως τῶν δυσίας καὶ ἐκκλησιασμέναι ὑπέρ τοῦ κοινοῦ Τελµισσῶν καὶ τῆς πόλεως, μετα ταῦτα ἀνεβεβαίω ἐκεῖσαν τὴν αὐτὴν τῶν λειτουργίαν διαπνεύσας μὲν οὗτοι [ἐν] λόγῳ τοιούτους τῆς δὲ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον εὔσεβείας καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν φιλοστοργίας τὴν μεγάλην προνοίαν ποιούμενον καθότι προδεσθοῦσαν οὐθένα τα καρπὸν παραλείπουσιν τῆς πρὸς τὸ Τελµισσίων πλήθος εὐνοίας ἐπιβαλοµένους δὲ τῶν διαµαφητιῶν, τῶν ἐρωτητῶν παραληθεῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ ἀνεβεβαίω τῆς ἐκδοτίας καὶ διὰ τῆς ἐκτούτης Ἠπειδῆς ἀποκατέστησεν τῷ θεῷ τὴν ὑπαγόνην ἐξῆς, ὡστε ἑνών τιμᾶς καὶ τιμῶν τοῦ Ἀπολλοῦνα συµβεβηκέναι ἐπιτελεῖσθαι,—πάλιν δὲ ἐπιβαλοµένους τῶν καταλήσας τὰ διδόµενα τίµα ἄνω ΚΟΙΝΩΝ ΤΕΛΜΙΣΣΙΩΝ ἀτέλειαν ὑπέρειπέντες ἐκούσας

20 ἐκβάλοις καὶ διὰ τῆς ἐκτούτης προσεδρείας ἀποκατέστησεν εἰς τὴν [...] ἐξ ἄρχῃ ἐπιρρασάν τοὺς Τελµισσίων καὶ [...] προτείνειν ἀτέλειαν ὡθήνυ τοῖς ἐπιρρασάν ὡστε εἰς δικαστὴρα τῇ ἐπιστᾶσι ἀμυνόλαχον ὡστε τὰς ἐπὶ τὰ ἐκκλησία ἐκδόσεις ἀλλὰ ἐν πᾶσιν ὑπαγόνην γενοµένοις διὰ τῆς πρὸς τὸ θεῖον εὔσεβείας καὶ τὴν πρὸς πάντας τῶν πολίτων φιλοστοργίαν καὶ ἀναγεννών ἐν δὲ ...}

Telmessos is described by Polemo (suidae Suidam ac.) as a town in Caria at a distance of sixty stadia from Halicarnassos [which answers very nearly to the distance between Bodrum and the site above Ghiöl (J. L. M.)]. It has been frequently confused with its namesake, an important city in the west of Lydia. But we may take it for granted now that it was the little Carian town that was so famous in ancient times for itsugged. Cicero is quite explicit on the point (De Divis., i. 41) - Telmessus in Caria est, quam in urbe excellet harrapicum disciplina; and again in ch. 42: Tum Carìa tota, priscipuque Telmessos, quos ante dixi, quod agros uberrimos maximeque fortiles incohunt, in quibus multa propter fecunditatem singi dignique possunt, in ostentis animadversiones diligentes fuerunt. To the Carian

1 Later writers attribute also to the Telmessos...
TELMISSOS, KARYANDA, TAMAMPTOS.

Town therefore did Croesus apply (Herod. l. 78) : ἵδε τῷ Κροίῳ, ὡσπερ καὶ ἦν, ἵνα τέρας εἰναι. παύτερα δὲ ἐπεμενε τιθέμενοι ἐκ τούς ἐξωγγείοις Τελμισσοῖς. ἀπεκοιμήσας δὲ τοὺς θεοπροσώπους καὶ μαθὼν πρὸς Τελμισσαῖον τῷ θελεῖ σημαίνειν τῷ τέρας κ.τ.λ. Compare id. 84 where the response of the Telmissians to king Meles of Sardis implies an almost fabulous antiquity for the shrine. And similarly we must understand the reference in Arrian (Anab. i. 25): καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁύ φαίλειν πυρσάμενος τὸ τῆς χελιδόνος ἀνεκόλουθον Ἀριστάνδρῳ τῷ Τελμισσαῖ, μάζης κ.τ.λ. But the fullest reference is found in the story of Gordius in Arrian (Anab. ii. 3): Γάρδιοι εἰσὶ τῶν πόλεων Φοινίκων ὁμοίως πεπηνακαὶ καὶ ὀλίγημι εἰσὶν αὐτῷ τῇ ἔργῳ ἐργάσεως καὶ ζωῆς βοῶς δύο καὶ τῷ μὲν ὑπερμαχῆ, τῷ δὲ ἡμισενίων τῶν Γάρδιων. καὶ ποτε ἔρωτος αὐτῶν ἐπιστρέφει ὑπὲρ τὸ γεγονός ἄλοιπον καὶ ἐπέμηναι ἐπὶ τοῖς βουληταῖς καθήμενοι τὸν δὲ ἐκπλαγέντα τῷ θεῷ λέναι κοινώσαντα ὕπερ τοῦ θείου παρὰ τῶν Τελμισσαίων τῶν μάζης εἰσὶν γὰρ τοὺς Τελμισσαίοις σοφοῖς τὰ θεῖα ἐξέρχεσθαι καὶ σφιέσιν ἄτο γένοςς διδοῦς αὐτοῖς καὶ γνωσθῆς καὶ παις τῇ μακελεῖαν προσάγων εἰς κομή τινι τῶν Τελμισσαίων ἐνυγνισαί παρῆθεν ἰδρυμομένη καὶ πρός τάυταν εἰπών ὅπως οἱ τοῦ ἄτοτι άσχη, τῇ δὲ, εἰσὶν γὰρ καὶ πάντως τοῦ μακελείου γένος, θεῳ προκλᾶται τῷ Δίῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ κ.τ.λ. Several expressions in this extract will be referred to later.

There is no reason to suppose that the Carian Telmissos was anything but an unimportant town, interesting only for its claim to augury: Telmessum religiosissimam urbem (Pliny, N.H. xxx. 1). It formed a κοινων (lines 1, 6, 10, 14, 18), made up doubtless of a group of κόμων, some of which have now apparently been identified. In the extract from Arrian we read of κόμη τις τῶν Τελμισσῶν. But there was no civic life, no πόλις, and the group of κόμων found their centre in the temple of Apollo Telmissus. It is probable that only those who belonged to the ancient γένος founded by the prophetic god had the franchise of the κοινων, but all members of that γένος, men, women and children (if we are to trust Arrian), claimed the gift of prophecy. 'The city' mentioned so emphatically in line 7 is of course Halicarnassos, to which Telmissos was assigned by Alexander the Great (Pliny, N.H. v. 29). It was doubtless on account of the sacred character of the place that it was granted immunity from taxation (ἄτελεως) by the sovereign city. But how sternly a sovereign city in those quarters could tax its tributaries is well known from the example of Rhodes and Stratonicea. And we may gather from our inscription that certain officials of Halicarnassos, whether commissioned by the city or not (observe the guarded language in lines 13, 17, τινῶν), had ventured in the first place to demand tax or title from certain lands at Telmissos, which the Telmissians averred to belong to Apollo (lines 12 foll.). This plea they urged with success. Next the Halicarnassian officials lovied charges on lands belonging not to the god, but to natives of Telmissos, who at once plead ἄτελεως, and again with success. It is probable that this exemption did not extend to persons outside of the sacred gens; so that a mistake or dispute (διαμφισ-βητέων line 13) would be the more easy. The way in which the delegate or
champion of the city (ἐκδίκως, lines 14, 20, 23) urged his claim was probably by entering an action against the aggressors in the courts of Halicarnassus (line 22). Apparently this sufficed, and the aggressors dropped their claim before the action was tried. But as it was a question of the rights of one community as against another, it might have been necessary, had the Halicarnassian court decided against the ἐκδίκως of Telmissos, for the Telmissians to demand a ᾠδικὸν ἐκκατάτημιν from an ἐκκατητής πόλις (line 23). Such an appeal would no doubt involve considerable trouble and expense; but the ἐκδίκως was undeterred by any such fears, being doubtless a man of substance.

One word as to the name of the town. The text of Arrian and one inscription have Τελμισσός. Cicero and Pliny write Telmessus. In Ι.Β.Μ. No. 896 we find Τελεμησσός, which is surely the same place.2

E. L. HICKS.

2 The third century coins with the legend ΤΕΛΜΗΣ more probably belong to the Lydian Telmessus, but may be taken as evidence as to the orthography of the name of either of them (v. Borel, Num. Chron. x. 87).—J.L.M.
SELECTED VASE FRAGMENTS FROM THE ACROPOLIS OF ATHENS.—III.

[Plate X.]

I AM privileged to publish here a few very interesting fragments of Acropolis vases, the paintings of which are executed wholly or partially on a white ground. Naturally the number of these fragments is comparatively small, but they are of greater interest than those of black-figured or red-figured technique, as enlarging the somewhat meagre list of extant specimens of this class. When I last had the opportunity of examining the collection, before it had been removed from the Acropolis and undergone the systematic sorting so ably performed by Drs. Wolters and Graef, and subsequently by Dr. P. Hartwig, there were portions of fourteen vases, the majority of which were kylikes, a few having the white ground on both sides of the vase but most of them showing a combination of a plain varnished or a red-figured exterior with interior scenes painted on a white ground, or even a white slip outside and of work within.¹ Inasmuch as the whole collection has now been worked over, it is not worth while to enumerate the total, as it appeared some years ago. In the case of the most interesting vase, which now appears for the first time (Plate X.), I have reason to believe that all extant fragments are included in the Plate, several additional drawings having been executed by M. Gilliéron, whose work, it is needless to say, is characterized by its usual admirable fidelity.

Much the most important of this class of the Acropolis vases is the Orpheus-kylix, published by Miss Harrison (J.H.S. vol. ix. Plate VI.). I succeeded in finding one small fragment of that work, which had been overlooked. It simply showed the other portion of the 'bipennis,' but did not in any way assist in the difficult question as to the arrangement of the lower fragments of the vase. Unfortunately this seems to be all that is preserved of this beautiful work. With respect to its attribution, archaeologists are fairly agreed with Miss Harrison in coupling it with the Berlin polychrome kylix as a work by the same master. It has however been made sufficiently clear that this was not Euphronios, even though he were the potter in this

¹ The Gotha kylix (Mon. x. 37) is no longer an isolated experiment, if it is, as Klein puts it, a 'Miegrië,' unworthy of Biers. There is certainly no reasonable ground for connecting it with that master.
as in the other case. With Hartwig's suggestion, that—ΩΜΕΑ—of the Berlin vase is to be restored Djomedon, one is less inclined to agree. The position is not: a likely one for the second signature on a kylix, and the old view of Jahn, that the name is Diomedes and that on the restored portion of the vase the name of Achilles was originally to be read, seems still to hold the field. We must await further discoveries, in the hope that they may yield the name of this truly great Attic artist. Miss Harrison's view, that—ΟΝ is to be completed as Glaukon, is fully confirmed by the occurrence of this love-name on lekythoi with white ground of almost equally fine execution.

Fig. 1.

Fig. 1 is, it appears, an isolated fragment, but I have no recent information on the point. It is a fragment of a kylix with a creamy-white ground on both sides. The black line on the rim of the outside is repeated on the inside, but thinner. On the interior there are only the two letters PO. Of the exterior scene there remains one exquisite fragment, tantalizing in its incompleteness, but in itself a gem. We see the back of the head and left shoulder, in all probability, of Dionysos. An ivy wreath encircles the head, the hair falling over the shoulder in long wavy tresses. One of the fastenings of the chiton-sleeve is to be seen, and over his shoulder the god carries a vine-branch, a similar one passing over his head. The branches, leaves, and tendrils are rendered in light yellowish-brown colour, and from the upper branch hangs a cluster of grapes in relief with the purple paint still largely preserved. I have never seen any representation of vegetable growth in Greek Art that surpasses the delicacy and fidelity of this little bit of work, which is quite enough to show that the kylix, of which it was part, was the work of no prentice-hand. It was natural, on first seeing the letters of the interior, to restore the name as Euphorion, but I should have considerable hesitation now in suggesting that restoration, seeing that such a love-name as Erotemis—to choose that alone of those that are known to us—is just as probable, nor do I think that there is the slightest justification for any theory of the kind. We have not enough of the vase to put forward any conjecture as to its subject, though it seems very probably to have been Dionysiac.

Fig. 2. The reason for inserting this kylix here is that it was covered with
a white slip inside. Nothing however remains of the design except a spear-head, and the exterior is in the severe red-figured style. It will be recognized as the vase published in Benndorf's *Griechische und Sizilische Vasenabilder* (Plate 29, i. a, b, p. 49). It seemed however worth while to reproduce it for the sake of the additional fragment, which shows the hand and part of the torso of the seated man. Curiously enough however it appears that the fragment containing part of the right arm and cup, the word Σωτήρ and some other letters vertically written, has been lost.

The scene is the end of a banquet. A bearded male figure is seated, with himation over his legs, wreath (purple) on his head; he holds a spear in his left hand, which rests on his shoulder, and stretches out in his right the cup (lost) for the libation, invoking Zeus the saviour. Perhaps *vis-à-vis* to him, we see another hand (Fig. 3) outstretched, holding a kantharos (perhaps it should be called a skyphos), without the tall foot of the kantharos conventionally assigned to Dionysos, but of the shape that seems to have been one of common use: in the field we read στίγμον τῷ ἐκλεμένῳ τῷ ἀγάθῳ. The
inscriptions are in red colour on the black ground. Just in such a position we might imagine Demosthenes and Nikias (Arist. Knights, 106); indeed the spear—surely an unusual accompaniment of a feast—suggests a soldiers’ carouse. It is clear from this vase that these two libations closely followed one another. The libation to the Agathos Daimon—the protecting genius of both individual and country, and especially of the increase of field and vineyard—which terminated the δεῖπνον proper, and after which the tables were removed, was one of unmixed wine, while that to Zeus Soter was of wine mixed with water in the usual way (Diod. Sic. iv. 3). It is clear from Schol. Arist. Pesp. 525, as well as from Nikostratos quoted by Athenaeus xv. 6, p. 693, that the first was at the end of and not during the banquet, as might appear from the expressions παρὰ δείπνου, ἐπὶ δείπνου. All authorities agree that the second, the οὐσικαί so often mentioned, along with the psalmus otherwise in the symposium proper. This vase seems to show the two to be consecutive, as they can be introduced into one scene. Klytamestra’s grim jest refers to the οὐσικαί which, in the Symposium proper, started the drinking of each freshly-mixed παρτήρια, the first to the Olympian gods, the second to the heroes, the third again to the Saviour Zeus.

The new fragment of the vase is interesting, as the hairs on the chest and abdomen are very carefully rendered. The hand holding the skyphos is also carefully executed. As to the lost letters, I doubt whether they were parts of artists’ names. The first three seem irregular, and perhaps are not accurately copied. As the last part of the invocation of the Agathos Daimon is written vertically, might there be here the first letter of Hygieia, and if the K is incorrect, Κηγαθοδήρεοι, τυχόν; With the view that this is a work of Brygos I am heartily in accord. If Brygos is the painter of the Vienna skyphos with the Bason of Hektor, as I believe, one is bound to acknowledge a family likeness between this head and those of the chiefs on the reverse of that vase. If Furtwängler is right in supposing that Brygos painted the polychrome Maenad kylix in Munich (Bau- meister, Plate 928), we see him here again adopting a similar technique. If finally the Berlin bronze-foundry vase is from Brygos’ hand, we see a rendering of body-hair in at least one of the workmen. I have little doubt that if the whole of the himation of this seated figure were preserved, we should see the rows of dots and black edge so characteristic of this master.

III. The third vase (see Plate X) here published is a large kylix, with interior scene on white ground, the outside being covered with dark varnish, added when the vase was on the wheel. It has been discoloured by fire and has thus lost a large portion of the accessories of colouring, so that there can be little doubt that it belongs to the pre-Persian period. The lower part of the plate contains four fragments joined together, to which the left foot of the female figure has been fitted. Of the other fragments, those two which show only foliage are not placed accurately, nor is it easy to place them, but the

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* One can hardly see here a public sacrifice, as Böckh and magistrates.
* Of course successive moments of an action are often represented on a vase as if simultaneous, but not moments separated by a considerable interval of time.
other two have approximately the position they must have had in the complete vase.

Round the rim runs a brown-black line, and at the distance shown in the plate is another concentric circle of the same pigment, more lightly drawn so as to appear brown. The scene is bounded beneath by a kymation-border between double lines, which appears also in the Acropolis-kylix on white ground, with the contest of Herakles and Hippolyta (Benndorf, G. u. S. V. B. XI. 3). From this rises a great tree-trunk, on which lines of shading are rendered in this colour, and from it extend branches with leaves indicated in dark colour, and fruits in relief, whose upper colouring has disappeared: one would imagine that they were gilded. In front of the tree is seen the coiling body of a huge snake. Its head is not preserved, but must have been reared to strike, facing right, and the tip of the tail must have been to left. The drawing of the scaly body is very accurate. Behind the snake stands a female figure with left foot seen full and right foot sideways. To left is the butt-end of a spear. The outline of the long chiton, and the lines representing the folds are rendered in brown-black, and the surface of the drapery is covered with thick white, through which these lines show (the tradition of the white 'engobe' of b.f. paintings on yellow ground seems here to survive). One upper fragment shows the spearhead, and the other satisfactorily identifies the figure as Athena, for on it we see the hair of the helmet-crest rendered in hatching of olive-brown colour, and the aegis on the shoulder with one snake-head, beyond which is a fruit in relief. A small portion of the sleeve is also visible, again covered with a white slip, over which the fine brown lines are here imposed. We have thus an Athena very similar to the goddess as she appears on the Theseus-kylix of Euphranoros (W. Vort. Bl. V. 1), with head turned to right, probably grasping the spear with upraised left hand near its head, and holding the owl as in that vase. Between two coils of the snakes hang down two objects, which are of unusual shape, but can hardly be anything except the ends of Athena's upper garment, or possibly her aegis. Finally, we have to the extreme right, a slender youth standing to left, dressed in a short chiton with right arm bent at the elbow and outstretched. Again, the parallel with the Theseus-kylix is strong. Both are slim youths of tender age, not even as yet ephebi.

It is unlikely that our vase contained any other figures, on ground of space, and yet it cannot be said that any explanation is certain. The presence of Athena on an Athenian kylix of this period is not particularly likely to prove a clue. The theory that the serpent is Kekrops or Krechthos and the boy Erichthonios may be shortly dismissed. This snake cannot have ended in a human head (unless indeed one regards the Triton of b.f. vases with the struggle of Herakles as a parallel, and that one cannot admit), or have resembled the

* The chiton is white, as is that of Athena, and on it are traces of red colour, but probably these are not original but due to the damaged state of the vase.
ordinary vase-treatment of Kekrops; and whatever the tree may be, it certainly is not an olive. It may next be asked—Is the snake the κρύσωος of Ladon, who guarded the golden apples of the Hesperides, and is this a youthful Herakles, who, under the protection of Athena as usual, holds out a sleeping-draught in a cup, or perhaps a poppy-head, to the dragon? The presence of Athena suits this explanation well enough; and the tree certainly seems to bear what the Greeks would have called μόλυ of one kind or another. Nor is there any difficulty in the absence of Atlas. That version of the story, in which Herakles himself seeks out and slays the dragon, is mentioned by Apollodoros, and appears long before the vases of Meidias and Asstenos on coins of Kyrene of approximately this period; so that we need not require that the vase should fit the other version, wherein Atlas performs the theft for Herakles, as we get it in the lekythos from Eresus recently published by Miss Sellers (J.H.S. vol. xiii. Plate III.), and in the Olympic metope. The parallel of the Kyrenean coins is very tempting, when one thinks of such work as the well-known Naukratis kylix on white ground, explained by Studniczka in his work Kyrene, and of the great influence exercised by the Greek fabrics of North Africa on Attic Art of the early fifth century, to which Mr. E. Gardner was the first to draw attention, and which is rightly emphasized by Miss Sellers in her article. The great difficulty which prevents me from accepting this view is that Herakles is too juvenile. The 'second Herakles' might not inappropriately be thus represented by Euphrontes; but in the cycle of Herakles' adventures I know of no more youthful representation of the hero than e.g. the ephedus of the Munich r.f. vase, representing the fight with the Nemean Lion (Mon. vi. 274), and it is hard to believe that Herakles, in one of the adventures of his maturity, could have been represented as a boy on such a vase as this. Minor difficulties, such as the absence of a Hesperid, or the fact that in most of the monuments the snake winds round the tree, are inconclusive; but the first-mentioned difficulty seems to me to be insuperable. At the same time, it might any day be removed by a new discovery.

There remains for our consideration the story of Iason's theft of the fleece. The association of Iason with Athena in his adventures is nothing new, witness the Caere kylix of the Museo Gregoriano (Mon. ii. 35), which represents Iason as being disgorge by the dragon through Athena's intervention. Iason is here, it is true, bearded, but he is not always so on other works of art. The tree in Apollonios (Arg. iv. 124) is a φοινικος or a δρυς in the grove of Ares. In Pindar (Pyth. iv. 244) the fleece is simply concealed in a λοχαγος; and if it comes to a question of botany, what are we to say

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* There was a temple of an Athena Aris at Lassos in Lassie (Paus. 3, 4, 23), and its association with Kolchis through the Dioscuri-legend proves an early connexion of Athens with the Argonautic cycle, long before Apollonios, and the vase above-mentioned shows this to be correct for the 5th century.

* The publication of this vase in the Monu-
of the purely conventional production of the Museo Gregoriano kylix, the leaves of which look like ivy? The elaboration of this tree may be entirely set down to the artist’s fancy. Nor do I feel that the absence of Medea causes any difficulty. No doubt she was prominent in the story as then current, and as Pindar told it; but if an Athenian kylix-painter, from considerations of space, had to choose between his patron goddess and Medea, a heroine associated with Corinth, and only dragged into Attic story by violence and with confusion, can we doubt as to his choice?

The treatment of Jason as a mere boy is again a difficulty which cannot be ignored, though it is preferable to making a similar assumption about Herakles. I do not, however, put forward this explanation with confidence, but as that which seems best to fit the conditions of the case. If it be correct, then no doubt on the upper branches of the tree, as Pindar puts it, the θυσία δράκοντος εἴχε το λαβροτατόν γενόντων. In this case it is satisfactory to find another case dealing with this subject; for surely one cannot measure by the number of extant monuments the interest felt by the early Athenian artist in the Argonautic legend.

G. C. Richards.
LEYTHUS FROM ERETRIA; DEATH OF PRIAM.
RECONSTRUCTION OF MYCENÆAN CEILING DECORATION,
FROM CRETAN GEM AND TEMPLATE SYMBOL.