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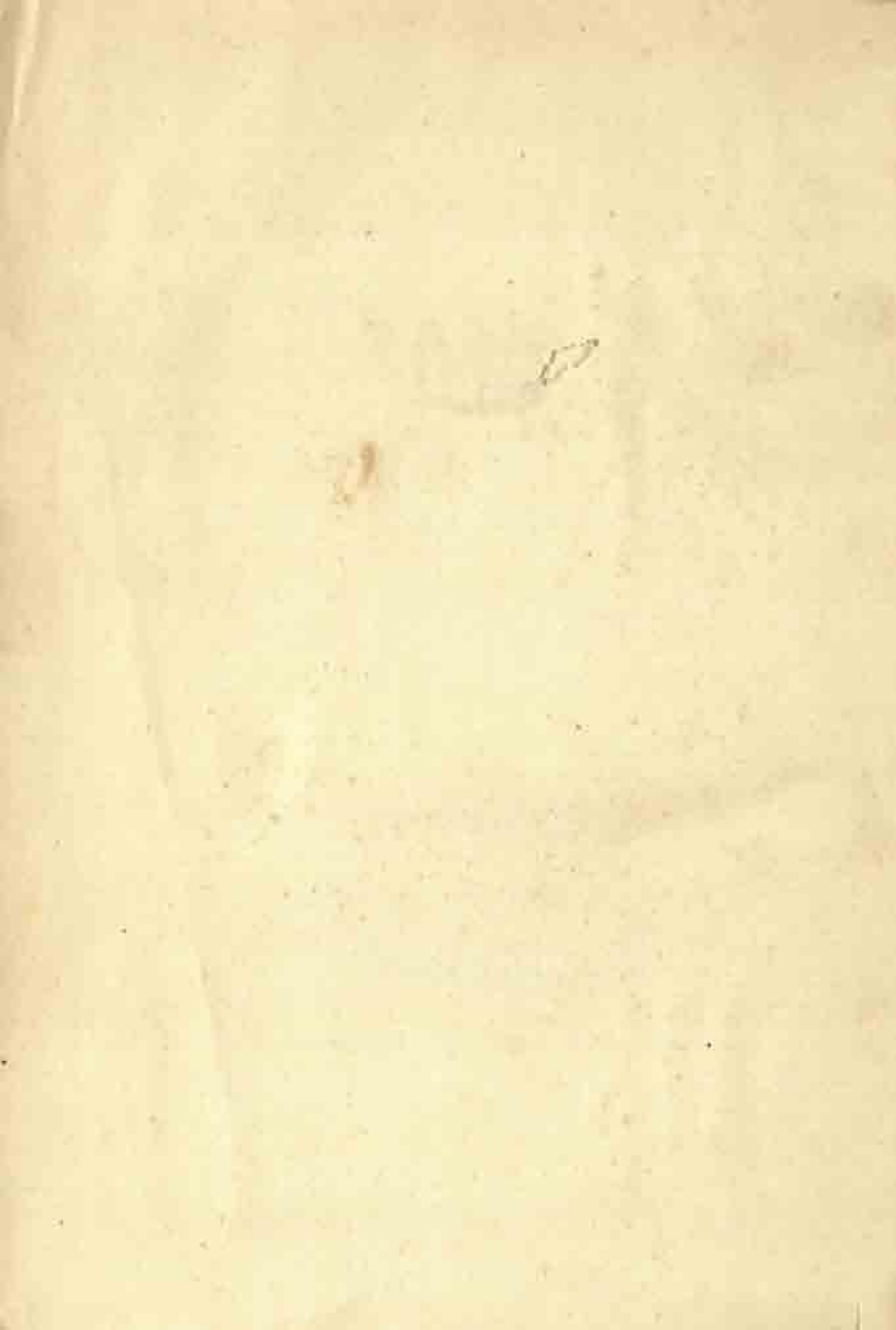
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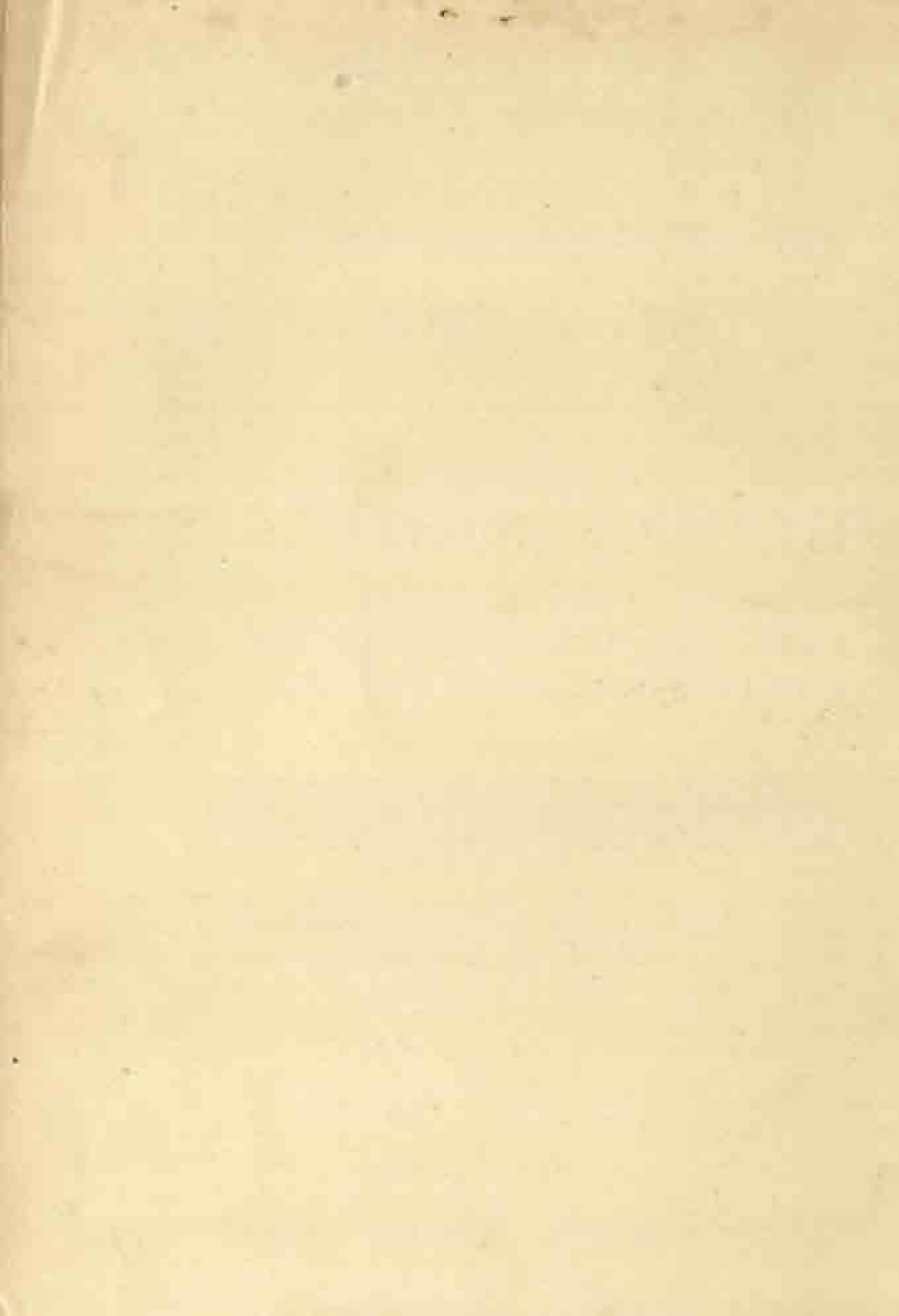


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THE JOURNAL
OF
HELLENIC STUDIES





THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES

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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.

11. The Council shall prepare an Annual Report, to be submitted to the Annual Meeting of the Society.

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 shall be elected by the Members of the Society at the Annual Meeting for a period of five years, and shall not be immediately eligible for re-election.

17. The Vice-Presidents shall be elected by the Members of the Society at the Annual Meeting for a period of one year, after which they shall be eligible for re-election.

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

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

20. 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.

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

22. 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.

23. 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.

24. 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.

25. 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.

26. 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 single 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, 1905, shall pay on election an entrance fee of two guineas.

27. 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.

28. 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.

29. 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.

30. 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.

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

32. The Council may, at their discretion, elect for a period not exceeding five years Student-Associates, who shall be admitted to certain privileges of the Society.

33. The names of Candidates wishing to become Student-Associates shall be submitted to the Council in the manner prescribed for the Election of Members. Every Candidate shall also satisfy the Council by means of a certificate from his teacher, who must be a person occupying a recognised position in an educational body and be a Member of the Society, that he is a *bona fide* Student in subjects germane to the purposes of the Society.

34. The Annual Subscription of a Student-Associate shall be one guinea, payable and due on the 1st of January in each year. In case of non-payment the procedure prescribed for the case of a defaulting Ordinary Member shall be followed.

35. Student-Associates shall receive the Society's ordinary publications, and shall be entitled to attend the General and Ordinary Meetings, and to read in the Library. They shall not be entitled to borrow books from the Library, or to make use of the Loan Collection of Lantern Slides, or to vote at the Society's Meetings.

36. A Student-Associate may at any time pay the Member's entrance fee of two guineas, and shall forthwith become an Ordinary Member.

37. Ladies shall be eligible as Ordinary Members or Student-Associates of the Society, and when elected shall be entitled to the same privileges as other Ordinary Members or Student-Associates.

38. 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 Hon. Librarian and 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 Hon. Librarian, 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, except on Christmas Day, Good Friday, and on Bank Holidays, 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. Until further notice, however, the Library shall be closed for the vacation from July 20 to August 31 (inclusive).

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 may reclaim it.

- (5) All expenses of carriage to and fro shall be borne by the borrower.
- (6) All books are due for return to the Library before the summer vacation.

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 one month of their coming into the Library.

X. That new books may be borrowed for one week only, if they have been more than one month and less than three months in the Library.

XI. 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 week after application has been made by the Librarian for its return, and if a book is lost the borrower be bound to replace it.

XII. That the following be the Rules defining the position and privileges of Subscribing Libraries :—

- a. Subscribing Libraries are entitled to receive the publications of the Society on the same conditions as Members.
- b. Subscribing Libraries, or the Librarians, are permitted to *purchase* photographs, lantern slides, etc., on the same conditions as Members.
- c. Subscribing Libraries and the Librarians are not permitted to *hire* lantern slides.
- d. A Librarian, if he so desires, may receive notices of meetings and may attend meetings, but is not entitled to vote on questions of private business.
- e. A Librarian is permitted to read in the Society's Library.
- f. A Librarian is not permitted to borrow books, either for his own use, or for the use of a reader in the Library to which he is attached.

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- Budapest, Antikencabinet des Ungar. National-Museums, *Budapest, Hungary.*
 Czernowitz, K. K. Universitäts-Bibliothek, *Czernowitz, Bukovina, Austria-Hungary.*
 Prague, Archäolog.-epigraphisches Seminar, *Universität, Prag, Bohemia (Dr. Wilhelm Klein).*
 " Universitäts-Bibliothek, *Prag, Bohemia.*
 Vienna, K. K. Hofbibliothek, *Wien, Austria-Hungary.*

BELGIUM.

- Brussels, La Bibliothèque Publique, Palais du Cinquante-naire, *Bruxelles, Belgium.*

DENMARK.

- Copenhagen, Det Store Kongelige Bibliothek, *Copenhagen, Denmark.*

FRANCE.

- Lille, La Bibliothèque de l'Université de Lille, 3, *Rue Jean Bart, Lille.*
 Lyon, La Bibliothèque de l'Université, *Lyon.*
 Nancy, L'Institut d'Archéologie, l'Université, *Nancy.*
 Paris, La Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France, *Paris.*
 " La Bibliothèque de l'Université de Paris, *Paris.*
 " La Bibliothèque des Musées Nationaux, *Musées du Louvre, Paris.*
 " La Bibliothèque Nationale, *Rue de Richelieu, Paris.*
 " La Bibliothèque de l'École Normale Supérieure, 45, *Rue d'Ulm, Paris.*

GERMANY.

- Berlin, Königliche Bibliothek, *Berlin*.
 " Bibliothek der Königlichen Museen, *Berlin*.
 Breslau, Königliche und Universitäts-Bibliothek, *Breslau*.
 Dresden, Königliche Skulpturensammlung, *Dresden*.
 Erlangen, Universitäts-Bibliothek, *Erlangen*.
 Freiburg, Universitäts-Bibliothek, *Freiburg i. Br., Baden* (Prof. Steup).
 Giessen, Philologisches Seminar, *Giessen*.
 Göttingen, Universitäts-Bibliothek, *Göttingen*.
 Greifswald, Universitäts-Bibliothek, *Greifswald*.
 Halle, Universitäts-Bibliothek, *Halle*.
 Heidelberg, Universitäts-Bibliothek, *Heidelberg*.
 Jena, Universitäts-Bibliothek, *Jena*.
 Kiel, Münz- und Kunstsammlung der Universität, *Kiel*.
 Königsberg, Königl. und Universitäts-Bibliothek, *Königsberg*.
 Marburg, Universitäts-Bibliothek, *Marburg*.
 Münster, Königliche Panlinische Bibliothek, *Münster i. W.*
 Munich, Archäologisches Seminar der Königl. Universität, *Galeriestrasse 4, München*.
 " Königl. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek, *München*.
 Rostock, Universitäts-Bibliothek, *Rostock, Mecklenburg*.
 Strassburg, Kunstarchäolog. Institut der Universität, *Strassburg* (Prof. Michaelis).
 " Universitäts- und Landes-Bibliothek, *Strassburg*.
 Tübingen, Universitäts-Bibliothek, *Tübingen, Württemberg*.
 " K. Archäolog. Institut der Universität, *Wilhelmstrasse, 9, Tübingen, Württemberg*.
 Würzburg, Kunstgeschichtliches Museum der Universität, *Würzburg, Bavaria*.

GREECE.

- Athens, The American School of Classical Studies, *Athens*.

HOLLAND.

- Leiden, University Library, *Leiden, Holland*.
 Utrecht, University Library, *Utrecht, Holland*.

ITALY.

- Rome, The American School of Classical Studies, 5, *Via Vicenza, Rome*.
 Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale, *Torino, Italy*.

NORWAY.

- Christiania, Universitäts-Bibliothek, *Christiania, Norway*.

SWEDEN.

- Stockholm, Kongl. Biblioteket, *Stockholm, Sweden*.
 Uppsala, Kungl. Universitetets Bibliotek, *Uppsala, Sweden*.

SWITZERLAND.

- Freiburg, Universitäts-Bibliothek, *Freiburg, Switzerland*.
 Geneva, La Bibliothèque Publique, *Genève, Switzerland*.
 Lausanne, L'Association de Lectures Philologiques, *Rue Valentin 44, Lausanne*
 (Dr. H. Meylan-Fauré).
 Zürich, Kantons-Bibliothek, *Zürich, Switzerland*.

SYRIA.

- Jerusalem, École Biblique et Archéologique de St. Étienne, *Jérusalem*.

LIST OF JOURNALS, &c., RECEIVED IN EXCHANGE FOR THE
JOURNAL OF HELLENIC STUDIES.

- American Journal of Archaeology (Miss Mary H. Buckingham, *Wellesley Hills, Mass., U.S.A.*).
 American Journal of Philology (Library of the Johns Hopkins University, *Baltimore, Maryland, U.S.A.*).
 Analecta Bollandiana, Société des Bollandistes, 22, *Boulevard Saint-Michel, Bruxelles*.
 Annales de la Faculté des Lettres de Bordeaux (Revue des Études Anciennes—Bulletin Hispanique—Bulletin Italien). Rédaction des Annales de la Faculté des Lettres, *L'Université, Bordeaux, France*.
 Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology (The Institute of Archaeology, 40, *Bedford Street, Liverpool*).
 Annual of the British School at Athens.
 Archiv für Religionswissenschaft (B. G. Teubner, *Leipzig*).
 Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift (O. R. Reisland, *Carlstrasse 20, Leipzig, Germany*).
 Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique (published by the French School at Athens).
 Bulletin de l'Institut Archéol. Russe, à Constantinople (M. le Secrétaire, *L'Institut Archéol. Russe, Constantinople*).
 Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma (Prof. Gatti, Museo Capitolino, *Rome*).
 Byzantinische Zeitschrift (Prof. Dr. K. Krumbacher, *Amalienstrasse 77, München, Germany*).
 Catalogue général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, with the Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, *Cairo*.
 Classical Philology (Editors of Classical Philology, *University of Chicago, U.S.A.*).
 Ephemeris Archaeologica, *Athens*.
 Glotta (Prof. Dr. Kretschmer, *Florianigasse, 23, Vienna*).
 Hermes (Herr Professor Friedrich Leo, *Friedländer Weg, Göttingen, Germany*).
 Jahrbuch des kais. deutsch. archäol. Instituts, Corneliusstrasse No. 2, II., *Berlin*.
 Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes, *Türkenstrasse 4, Vienna*.
 Journal of the Anthropological Institute, 50, *Great Russell Street, W.C.*
 Journal of Philology and Transactions of the Cambridge Philological Society.
 Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects, 9, *Conduit Street, W.*
 Journal International d'Archéologie Numismatique (M. J. N. Svoronos, Musée National, *Athens*).
 Klio (Beiträge zur alten Geschichte), (Prof. C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, *Berlin, W. 30 Marburger Strasse 6, Germany*).
 Mélanges d'Histoire et d'Archéologie, *École française, Palazzo Farnese, Rome*.
 Memnon (Prof. Dr. R. Freiherr von Lichtenberg, *Lindenstrasse 5, Berlin Südende, Germany*).
 Memorie dell' Istituto di Bologna, Sezione di Scienze Storico-Filologiche (R. Accademia di Bologna, *Italy*).
 Mittheilungen des kais. deutsch. Archäol. Instituts, *Athens*.
 Mittheilungen des kais. deutsch. Archäol. Instituts, *Rome*.
 Mnemosyne (c/o Mr. E. J. Brill, *Leiden, Holland*).
 Neue Jahrbücher (c/o Dr. J. Ilberg, *Waldstrasse 56, Leipzig*).

- Notizie degli Scavi, R. Accademia dei Lincei, *Rome*.
 Numismatic Chronicle, 22, *Albemarle Street*.
 Philologus. Zeitschrift für das klassische Altertum (c/o Dietrich'sche Verlags-
 Buchhandlung, *Göttingen*).
 Praktika of the Athenian Archaeological Society, *Athens*.
 Proceedings of the Hellenic Philological Syllogos, *Constantinople*.
 Publications of the Imperial Archaeological Commission, *St. Petersburg*.
 Revue Archéologique, 1, *Rue Cassini, 14^{me}, Paris*.
 Revue des Études Grecques, Publication Trimestrielle de l'Association pour l'En-
 couragement des Études Grecques en France, *Paris*.
 Rheinisches Museum für Philologie (Prof. Dr. A. Brinkmann, *Schumannstrasse 38,*
Fonn-am-Rhein, Germany).
 Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie (Berlin).

PROCEEDINGS.

SESSION 1908-9.

GENERAL MEETINGS of the Society were held on November 10th, February 16th, and May 11th. Of these a full account appears in the Report submitted at the Annual Meeting.

The Annual Meeting of the Society was held at Burlington House on June 22nd, the President, Professor Percy Gardner, taking the chair.

Mr. George A. Macmillan, Hon. Secretary, presented the following

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

General Meetings.—Three General Meetings have been held, and the small but useful innovation has been made of issuing a summary of these in advance. Normally these are placed in the room before the meeting, but copies may also be had during the preceding week by application to the Secretary.

The First General Meeting was held on November 10th, when Professor W. Ridgeway (V.P.) presented a new view of the part played by the early northern element of the Greek race in the evolution of two striking features of Greek classical art and architecture—the gabled pediment and the continuous frieze. He began by arguing that the Homeric house was in some cases flat-roofed, in others gabled, supporting his contention with a wealth of illustration taken from the poems, and parenthetically rebutting the theory that the reduplicated ground plan of the Palace at Tiryns could have had any resemblance to the simpler design of the home of Odysseus. The earliest representations of Greek temples were flat-roofed, as might be seen in the gold plaques from Mycenae and the building depicted on the François vase. The addition of the gable was, he contended, a contribution of the Achæan race. The continuous frieze had for a long time been derived from the continuous compositions with which they were familiar in Assyrian reliefs. But this deduction had been made at a time when the fame of Layard's discoveries filled the air, and broke down when their real chronology came to be understood. Undeniably the continuous frieze appeared in Greece before the time when the great sculptures of Nineveh were executed, while in the earlier Babylonian cylinders the continuous frieze was altogether lacking. Professor Ridgeway con-

cluded by maintaining that its true origin was to be found in the Achaean art of the later finds at Mycenae and in the Boeotian art which immediately preceded the art of classical Greece, and was itself of northern origin.

Sir H. Howarth subsequently discussed the paper, which was published fully in the *Athenaeum* of Nov. 21st, 1908.

The Second General Meeting was held on February 10th, when two communications were offered.

Mr. P. Ure gave a further account of the Recent Excavations in the Ancient Greek Cemetery at Rhitsona in Boeotia. After discussing the identification with Mycalessus, the modes of burial, and the dating of the graves, Mr. Ure showed slides of the sixth-century pottery and figurines. These included vases and figurines in the Boeotian-Geometric style, and vases and figurines of other styles found in the same graves as the Boeotian Geometric. Among these were enumerated various proto-Corinthian, Corinthian, and Sub-Geometric types, 'Naucratis' ware, 'Rhodian' Glass, black figure on red and yellow grounds (including an oenochoe with a new type of naval scene, inscribed), a white lekythos and an 'archaic' statuette and protome. He also included 'kothions' and allied types with rim to prevent spilling.

Mr. W. C. F. Anderson gave some account of a recent journey to Amphipolis and discussed its possibilities as a site for excavation. The happy change in Turkish government fostered the hope that before long it might be possible to survey and excavate many important sites. Amphipolis claimed a leading place on any list of possible excavations. It was unoccupied and fairly accessible. Hitherto brigands and marauding bands and a well deserved reputation for malaria had kept travellers at a distance. Mr. Anderson visited the site in 1899 (cf. *J.H.S.*, 1896, p. 314) and in August last year (1908), and photographed the chief features of the site and the few monuments that are left. Reliefs, inscriptions, and terracottas were found in considerable quantities, and were exported by the inhabitants by way of Cavalla. The interest of the site was that it commanded the mouth of the Strymon and the approach to the sea from the fertile Philippi valley. It was on the *Via Egnatia* and on the Turkish post road, and until early last century was a place of some importance. Here, if anywhere, remains of the pre-Grecian civilisation of the Balkans might be found, for it lay on the direct road from the sea to Bulgaria, and as the 'Nine Ways' must have been a place of barter and traffic. The solution of the problem of the origins of the culture of early Greece lay hidden in such sites, and of the three store towns of Xerxes it was the most promising with a view to excavation.

Mr. Anderson's view, published privately in 1897 in the Papers of University College, Sheffield, was that Xerxes effectively occupied the valleys of the Hebrus, Strymon, and Axios, and that various difficulties as to his line of march and retreat were explained by the trouble of having his lines of supply at right angles to his line of advance and lines of communication by sea. The site had not been touched, except by peasants, since the French expedition of 1861, but a relief now removed showed connexion with Samothrace, and there could be little doubt that there was much still to be found, as the remains of the city covered about a

square mile. The malaria was the chief obstacle, but there was healthy ground and safe water within easy reach of the walls, and good camping-ground could be found within three miles. Labour could be obtained, but wages were high owing to the large amount of work required by the tobacco planters in the plain of Philippi.

At the Third General Meeting held on May 11th, Mr. L. R. Farnell, D.Litt., read a paper on 'The Megala Dionysia and the Origin of Tragedy.'

The origin of tragedy partly turned on the question about the date of the introduction of the cult of Dionysos *Eleuthereus* from Eleutheraï. Vollgraff's view was that this was only introduced shortly before the peace of Nikias; if so the legend and cult of Eleutheraï would not necessarily throw light on the origin of tragedy. But there were strong reasons against Vollgraff's view, and for supposing that the cult and cult-legends of Eleutheraï reached Athens as early as the middle of the sixth century B.C.; and that a new 'cathartic' festival in spring was instituted to provide for the god of this new cult. Scholars had long felt the difficulty in the Aristotelian dogma that 'Tragedy' arose somehow from the Dithyramb and was primarily 'Satyric': a new theory had been put forward that tragedy arose not from Dionysiac ritual, but from a mimetic service performed at the graves of heroes. But whatever advantages attached to this theory, it did not account any more than the older theory accounted for the name *Τραγῳδία*. No explanation of this word of any probability had ever been put forth other than the obvious one, that it meant 'goat-song'; that is, according to the most likely analogies, the song of men dressed in goat-skins. The mistake hitherto made was to suppose that men so dressed were satyrs. The original performers in the *Τραγῳδία* were worshippers of Dionysos *Μελάναιγος*, a god of the black goat-skin; and their mimetic dance was solemn, sad, always tragic, probably originally a winter rite. The true meaning of the primitive service was indicated partly by the legend concerning Dionysos *Μελάναιγος* and the duel between *Μελανθός* and *Χανθός*, in which Black-man killed Fair-man, partly by the story of the Minyan *φολῶτες* of Orchomenos, who had to do with a ritual in which the young god was killed, partly by the discovery by Mr. R. M. Dawkins of a Dionysiac Mummings' play in modern Thrace, in which goat-men appeared and a goat-man was slain and lamented. They must look for the origin of Attic tragedy in an ancient European Mummery, which was a winter-drama of the seasons, in which the Black personage Dionysos *Μελάναιγος* or *Μελανθός*, or *οἱ φολῶτες*, killed *Χανθός* the Fair One. The actors wore the black goat-skin of their god. Such a peasant mummery-play spreading through the North-Greek villages would often attract the local dramatic legend of some priest like *Ικάρος*, who was slain in the service of the god: this would bring in the 'heroic' element, the death of the Dionysiac 'hero'; the heroic element triumphed, all heroes were admitted, and the black goat-skin was discarded. Finally the religious intention of the festival explained the Aristotelian theory of 'Katharsis.'

The paper was illustrated with Mr. Dawkins' photographs of the Thracian mummery-play, an account of which appeared in the twenty-sixth volume of the Society's Journal. Professor W. Ridgeway discussed the paper.

Relations with other Bodies.—In October, 1908, the Society was represented by the President at the Historical Congress at Berlin, while at

the second International Archaeological Congress at Cairo in April, 1909, Mr. A. H. Smith presented an address on behalf of the Council. In July Dr. J. E. Sandys was present at the celebrations in honour of the 300th anniversary of the foundation of the University of Leipsic and presented an address. Congratulatory addresses were presented to Professor von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff on his 60th, and to Dr. Helbig on his 70th, birthday. These communications will be printed in the Journal.

The Council have renewed their grant of £100 to the British School at Athens for a further period of three years. They have recently learned with interest that important discoveries have been made on the western bank of the Eurotas by the excavators at Sparta. The complete excavation of the so-called Menelaion, which seems likely to be another shrine of Artemis, will probably occupy another year. The Council have also voted a small grant to Mr. C. H. Hawes, a former student of the School at Athens, whose devotion to ethnographical research in Crete they were glad to recognise in this way.

The annual grant of £25 to the British School at Rome has been raised to £50, and renewed for a further period of three years. The Council learn with pleasure that the text of the Catalogue of the Capitoline Museum is now practically complete, and await with interest the report of a new feature in the Roman School's work, the excavations carried on under the auspices of the Government of Malta, under the superintendence of Dr. Ashby and Mr. T. E. Peet.

They wish to congratulate the Byzantine Research Fund on the beautiful materials for the furtherance of Byzantine art and archaeology shewn at their recent meeting, and cordially commend the support of this last undertaking in the study of later Hellenism to all members of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies.

The Promotion of Roman or Latin Studies.—The Council desire to bring to the notice of the Society the following preliminary report on a subject which they feel to be of peculiar interest and importance.

In past years the question has been raised from time to time whether the Hellenic Society could not expand the field of its work so as to include more specifically Roman or Latin studies. In October last this point was definitely brought before them in a memorandum by Dr. Ashby, the Director of the British School at Rome, and the following were appointed a Committee to consider and report upon the whole question:—Professor Percy Gardner, Mr. G. F. Hill, Dr. Arthur Evans, Professor J. L. Myres, Mrs. S. Arthur Strong, Mr. D. G. Hogarth, Mr. George Macmillan, Mr. Arthur Smith, Sir William Ramsay, and Mr. Penoyre. In the course of their deliberation the Committee took the opinion of the following

Members of the Council and others who were not of their body :—Mr. R. M. Dawkins, Dr. Ashby, Mr. Cecil Smith, Mr. F. H. Marshall, Mr. H. B. Walters, Professor Bosanquet, Mr. J. H. Hopkinson, Professor Burrows, Professor Ernest Gardner, Professor Reid, Mr. W. C. F. Anderson, and Mr. George Macdonald.

The Committee considered in detail three plans drawn up by Mr. Hogarth, Professor Percy Gardner, and Mr. Hill. Mr. Hogarth's plan was for the development of the Hellenic Society into an Institute of Classical Studies, the present Managing Committees of the two Schools becoming Committees of the Institute under the general direction of its central Council. Professor Gardner, while thinking the most natural solution would be the creation of a Society for Latin or Italian Studies, considered that an alternative would be for the Hellenic Society to move further in the direction in which it has already moved towards including Roman Studies. The Journal might be enlarged and confined to papers on classical antiquities down to the fall of Rome; papers on mediaeval and modern Greece might be given to the *Annual* of the British School at Athens, while those on mediaeval and Renaissance Italy should appear in the papers of the Roman School, which it was most desirable to make an annual rather than an occasional publication. Mr. Hill advocated a Roman branch under the same Council, with a separate subscription and a separate journal, to include reports on Roman studies in different parts of the world, and of excavations in Roman Britain.

On the whole Professor Gardner's plan met with most approval, but even for this Mr. Macmillan estimated that an addition of £300 per annum to the Society's income, and £200 per annum to that of the British School at Rome was necessary.

After prolonged discussion the Committee reported :—(1) The financial aspect of such an extension of the field of the Hellenic Society as would include Roman and Italian studies was so serious that the Committee did not feel justified in recommending that the Hellenic Society should itself undertake the more extended or specific study of Roman subjects. (2) It appeared to the Committee that the first point to be ascertained was whether any scheme for the promotion of Latin studies would meet with adequate financial support. They, therefore, recommended that as a preliminary a letter intended to elicit information on this point be drawn up and addressed to Members of the Hellenic Society, the Classical Associations of England and Scotland, the Universities, the Society of Antiquaries, and local Archaeological Societies, Colleges, Schools, and other bodies likely to be interested, and the Press.

These resolutions were accepted by the Council, and it is their intention to circulate this enquiry widely in the course of the coming session.

Library and Photographic Collections.—The progress in the various sections of the Society's work in this department may be seen at a glance from the appended table.

A. LIBRARY.

B. SLIDES AND PHOTOGRAPHS.

Session	Accessions.		Visitors to the Library.	Books taken out.	Slides added to Collection.	Slides hired.	Slides sold to Members.	Photos. sold to Members.
	Books.	Vols.						
1903-4	141	157	338	311	(Original Catalogue of 1,500 slides published.)	1,224	512	465
1904-5	97	122	375	401	154	3,953	787	366
1905-6	124	162	372	415	187	2,941	1,247	670
1906-7	165	193	377	395	148	1,357	871	294
1907-8	148	180	300	760	125	1,442	548	129
1908-9	192	244	617	675	400	2,619	968	359

The Council acknowledge with thanks gifts of books from the following bodies:—H.M. Government of India, the Board of Education, the Trustees of the British Museum, the University Press of the following Universities: Cambridge, California, Chicago, London, Lyons, and Oxford; the Archaeological Society of Athens, the Musées Impériaux Ottomans of Constantinople, the Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, the Trustees of the Hunterian Museum of the University of Glasgow, and the Curators of the Museum of Malta.

The following publishers have presented copies of recently published works:—Messrs. Alcan, Baedeker, Batsford, Beck, Bell, Champion, Dürr, Heinemann, Hodder and Stoughton, Kohlhammer, Leroux, Loescher, Macmillan and Co., Methuen, Murray, Kegan Paul, Sonnenschein, Spink, Teubner, Wagner, and Weidmann.

The following authors have presented copies of their works:—Messrs. W. Aly, A. S. Arbanitopoulos, Dr. T. Ashby, Rev. H. Browne, Messrs. A. Calderini, A. Ch. Chatzes, Canon Church, Messrs. R. M. Dawkins, W. Deonna, A. Devine, G. Dickins, S. Eitrem, R. T. Elliott, W. W. Fowler,

A. E. H. Goekoop, Miss E. H. Hall, Mr. A. E. Henderson, Dr. Imhoof-Blumer, Messrs. W. H. S. Jones, A. D. Keramopoulos, J. Keser, E. Krause, A. Kyriakes, V. Macchioro, G. Maspero, J. P. Milliet, D. Murray, P. Orsi, C. Peabody, Dr. E. Petersen, Messrs. R. Pettazzoni, G. Radet, Otmar Schissel von Fleschenberg, Mrs. S. Arthur Strong, Messrs. F. E. Thompson, H. Weber, and J. W. White.

Miscellaneous donations of books have also been received from Mr. W. C. F. Anderson, Professor R. C. Bosanquet, Mrs. Wyndham Cook, Messrs. A. M. Daniel, R. M. Dawkins, F. W. Hasluck, G. F. Hill, Mrs. Strong, and the Librarian.

Among the more important acquisitions are the following:—Berndorf and Niemann, *Das Heroon von Gjölbaschi-Trysa*; a fine copy of Dodwell's *Views in Greece*; Dumont and Chaplain, *Les éramiques de la Grèce propre*; Furtwängler and Loeschke, *Mykenische Thongefässe*; Hamdy Bey and Reinach, *Une nécropole royale à Sidon*; the complete set of Stallbaum's *Plato*; Pottier and Reinach, *La nécropole de Myrina*; the *Catalogue of the Wyndham Cook Collection*; and the Berlin collection of *Dialekt-Inschriften*.

Mention was made in the last Report of the Council of the suggested formation of a collection of larger photographs for reference. This work has proceeded satisfactorily, and about 1,000 such photographs have been procured, mounted on light cards, and stored in an accessible fashion. Members who are interested in this department of the Society's work may like to give generous help to this scheme by donations of photographs, preferably about 10 inches by 8 inches in size, which they may have accumulated in books or other form on their travels, and may be disposed to place at the disposal of other members for reference.

The Council desire to convey their thanks to the following for generous assistance in the photographic department during the past year:—Messrs. H. Awdry, G. Dickins, F. W. Hasluck, G. F. Hill, Rev. G. H. Johnson, Miss Raleigh, Messrs. A. J. B. Wace, A. H. S. Yeames, and the Librarian.

The Council have now to inform the Society that the long foreseen moment has arrived when it is necessary to seek fresh quarters. They feel that they cannot recommend the purchase of books and materials for which there is no further houseroom, and they are aware that the overcrowding of valuable books in small rooms, lit by gas, is a false economy, which, besides hampering at every point the proper administration of the Library, is producing a serious depreciation in the value of the Society's property.

They propose to take forthwith two steps to effect a move as soon as possible:—(1) To depute to the officers of the Society the duty of finding more adequate quarters; (2) to reduce the annual grant for the library till the change is effected, and to devote the sum so saved to the heavy

expense of re-equipment. So soon as they can bring forward a definite scheme they propose to open a special fund for the same purpose, to which all members of the Society will be asked to contribute.

Finance.—The Statement of Accounts for the year calls for little in the way of special comment. It is satisfactory to be able again to report a small increase in the income for the year, the receipts for Arrears of Subscriptions and for Entrance Fees being larger than for the preceding year, while the receipts under other heads are about the same. On the other hand, the general expenses have been £50 greater, about half the excess having been incurred in the purchase of a typewriter and in payment of salary to a typist. The smaller amount paid this year in Grants, however—£185 as against £340—together with a reduction of about £40 on the cost of the *Journal*, has enabled the Treasurer, after writing off £50 for depreciation on the stock of back volumes of the *Journal*, to show a surplus on the year of £118, with the result that the Assets at the present moment show a total excess over the Liabilities of £369.

A glance at the Lantern Slides and Photographs Account points to the growing value of this department—the receipts for sales and hire being nearly double that of last year—and but for the expenses incurred in the formation of the new reference collection of photographs this department would have nearly paid its way.

The amount due by the Society for Debts Payable stands at £283, as against £437 last year, and the available cash balance stands at £754, a difference of £5 less than shown in the last accounts. The amount outstanding for arrears of subscription due on May 31st is £111.

It is noted with regret that the donations to the Endowment Fund have dropped from £23 last year to £2. In view of the pressing immediate needs of the Library and the proposed special appeal already referred to, it can hardly be expected that this Fund will not suffer to some extent in the coming year. The amount invested from this Fund has yielded interest in three years to the sum of £55, and the Council hope that this endeavour to build up a fund by which the revenue of the Society will be permanently augmented will not be altogether lost sight of, and that further contributions will continue to be received, either in the form of donations or bequests.

The membership roll has again suffered heavily by deaths and resignations, and although 38 new members have been elected since the last annual general meeting the total is five less than was recorded in the last report. Among those lost by death special mention is due to two who had for many years taken an active part in the management of the Society—viz: Prof. Lewis Campbell, who was on the Council from 1885, and became a Vice-President in 1894; and Mr. Louis Dyer, who served continuously on the Council from 1892. The Society at present contains: Hon. Members, 37; Ordinary Members, 934; Student Associates, 8. The list of Subscribing Libraries steadily grows, the total now being 190, an increase of 8.

The Council are glad to be able to show a balance on the right side of the year's accounts, and though they regret having to report a slight loss in the membership figures they feel sure that this is only accidental. Very valuable assistance has been rendered by many members in response to the appeal for help in introducing others to the Society, and the Council, while grateful for past assistance, would again urge the valuable service that may be given in this direction, especially in view of the developments referred to in the earlier part of the report.

In moving the adoption of the Report the Chairman delivered the following address:—

Ladies and Gentlemen,

You have before you the Report of the Council, a Report testifying to the constantly growing activities, and constantly increasing usefulness of our Society. And you have heard from Mr. Maumillan, who has from the first watched over its progress, the not unwelcome news that we must be prepared to lengthen our cords and strengthen our stakes if we would keep pace with the demands upon our help. It is the custom of our Society for the President to propose the adoption of the Report, and this I do with great satisfaction.

During the past year a few of our prominent members have passed away, and we may well spend a few minutes in dwelling on their memory. First I must mention our Vice-President, Professor Lewis Campbell, who has sometimes taken the chair at our meetings, and to whom the progress of Hellenic Studies was very dear. Professor Campbell's name is especially associated with the study of Plato and Sophocles. He stood for the influence of Greek Literature on the best thought of our day. In his work on religion in Greek Literature he showed how much even modern religion owes to the poets and philosophers of Greece; and it may be said that the same lesson may be learned from another point of view in the life of Jowett, and in the part which Campbell took in enriching the Christianity of our day with the fruit of Greek Culture. In the University of St. Andrews, Campbell was a great power: to the end of his life he retained a close connexion with Oxford; and very shortly before his death he published the latest and the ripest fruits of his life-long reading of Sophocles.

Many members of our Society will have felt a grievous personal loss in the death of Mr. Louis Dyer. His services to this Society were not confined to his frequent attendance at Council meetings and his genial presence at our larger gatherings. I cannot think without emotion of the many occasions on which his kindly aid was called in by our Secretary and myself. As a bond of union between the Hellenists of England and those of America he occupied a unique place which no one else can fill. Many of us owed to him introductions which have added permanently to the satisfaction of our lives. Mr. Dyer's devotion to Hellenic Studies was not a mere preference; it was a devotion, almost a fanaticism; and no one has struggled more earnestly against the stream which at present tends to loosen young men from the pursuits which belong to man's higher faculties and to draw them towards studies which are narrowly utilitarian. Mr. Dyer contributed several papers to our Journal. His "Gods of Greece" is a stirring and eloquent book, and at his death he was engaged on producing a book on Olympia, unfortunately only begun.

It is remarkable that on the very day on which Dyer succumbed to an insidious disease, there died of the same disease his most intimate friend, Demetrius Bikelas, of Athens and Paris, who was also a member of our Society. Bikelas was an author of great repute, a passionate lover of all that was Hellenic whether in ancient or modern times. Few have done more for that modern campaign of the Greek Schoolmaster which has spread Greek ideas and letters over many districts of Turkey, much as, in the days of Alexander the Great, the Greek Schoolmaster carried Homer and Euripides to the Oxus and the Tigris. As Dr. Bikelas represented, perhaps better than any one, the cosmopolitan side of Greek culture, I will briefly sketch his career. He was born in Crete in 1835. His first years were devoted to business in London, but by the time he was 37 he had secured a competency, and thenceforward his life was devoted to education and learning. In 1874 he published a work on the Greeks of Byzantium, leading the way in that revived interest in the Byzantine Empire which is now constantly growing. He next published a story of the Greek war of independence, called *Loukis Laras*, which was translated into several European languages, the English version being due to our honorary member Dr. Gennadius. In return he introduced to modern Greece the plays of Shakespeare, many of which he translated. He was equally at home in London, Paris, and Athens. A friend of the late Marquis of Bute, President of the French Association 'pour l'encouragement des études grecques,' as well as of the Athenian Society for the spread of useful knowledge, he promoted by his business abilities, his wealth, and his personal charm, the love of Greece which is so warm in Western Europe. Few men whom I have met have had a more charming personality; Mr. Dyer used to speak of him as the best man he had ever known. He will leave a great blank in the affection of his friends and the ranks of the friends of culture.

Other friends who have left us are the Master of St. John's College, Cambridge, Dr. Taylor, whose interest, however, was rather in Semitic than in Greek literature, and Professor Wright, of Harvard. The latter was for long Editor of the *American Journal of Archaeology*, a pillar of Hellenic studies in America, and a most kind and friendly personality.

The number of the foreign schools at the great international University of Athens has been increased by the founding of an Italian college. During the past year all these schools have been hard at work in excavation and discovery. Naturally we think first of all of our own excavations at Sparta, which have continued to yield useful if not startling results. All account of these I will leave to the annual meeting of the British School at Athens. Of other explorations a considerable proportion have been undertaken to throw light upon prehistoric Greece. Dr. Dörpfeld has been carrying the excavation of Olympia to a lower level, and has shown that the site was not, as has been supposed, first used after the Mycenaean age. Between the Heraeum and the temple of Zeus he has found traces of early walls as well as objects in terracotta and bronze which belong to a prehistoric age. Whether, however, he has proved more than that the site was early inhabited, whether he has really shown that it was at first a sacred place, is more doubtful. Other work of the same kind, and with similar results, has been carried on at Pisa, at Kakouvato, where Dr. Dörpfeld supposes himself to have discovered the vaulted tombs of the dynasty of Nestor, and especially in Lenkadin, which we are asked to regard as the Ithaca of Homer.

Dr. Dörpfeld is about to leave his post at Athens and to return to Germany, to be succeeded by Dr. Kara. He has indeed left a hard task to any successor. Since as a young man he accompanied Schliemann to Hissarlik and Mycenæ, his whole career at Athens has consisted of a brilliant chain of discoveries, alike as regards the prehistoric remains of Greece and the buildings of the Acropolis. Certainly '*nihil tetigit quod non ornavit*'; and whether or not his theories pass, as so few theories do, into the structure of permanent knowledge, it is quite certain that he has made an epoch and set a brilliant example. But he is not yet an old man, and we have much still to hope from his comparative leisure.

For many years past the great discoveries as to the pre-Greek age of Greece have come from Crete. The tale has been carried on in the past year. Mr. Evans' great undertaking at Chossus constantly offers fresh developments; his palace seems to have as many wings as the Nike of Delos. The Italians have been active at Phaestus and Prinia; the American explorer, Seager, at Sitia. I cannot sketch the results of these activities. Perhaps it may seem fanciful to mention in connexion with them the centenary of the birth of Darwin now being celebrated at Cambridge. But I think that future historians of the progress of knowledge will see that the great intellectual movement connected with the name of Darwin has had an effect even on Greek exploration, and made us eager to search backwards and backwards for the origin of that civilization which is so brilliantly developed in the great age of Greece. Within my recollection, taste first went back from the florid time of Greece to the greater severity and simplicity of archaic art; then we were intoxicated with the rich remains of the Mycenaean age, the great value of which I should be the last to question; now we prefer the Minoan civilization of still earlier date, and I notice symptoms that the explorers are now keenly anxious to discover the remains of the Neolithic Age in Greece. When we have passed on to the search for palaeolithic settlements, there may perhaps come a reaction, and we may discover that after all what really interests us most is what best reflects not so much the origins as the highest achievements of the Greek race. In origin the Greeks were probably much like other peoples, but there was in them a power of development which made them in time reach the high-water mark of human achievement in certain directions. I must confess for myself that I prefer the fruit of a tree to its roots, though doubtless but for the roots the fruit would not ripen.

In the domain, then, of art which is really Hellenic, the discoveries of the past year have brought welcome light. The French excavators at Delos have laid bare fresh regions of the precinct of Apollo; two fresh temples, the treasures, the quays by the sea have been uncovered. The bases of a series of portraits of the kings of Macedon have come to light, and an archaic altar in the form of a cube which may be that assigned in antiquity as the work of Apollo himself. The earlier Greek and the later Roman market have been identified. As the Greek Government has decided to purchase the island, which is practically uninhabited, it may be hoped that in future it will recover more and more its place as the sacred home of Apollo, and the enduring monument of his fame.

Perhaps the most important discoveries of the year from the point of view of art have been those at Pagasæ, in Thessaly. About the year 50 B.C. the walls of the city were reconstructed, and by a piece of vandalism which has turned out to our advantage the builders used as a quarry a cemetery dating from the fourth and

third centuries. Into the new walls they built a great number of tombstones; and it seems to have been the local custom to adorn these stelae with painted rather than with sculptured groups. Being covered up from the air, many of these paintings have been preserved in passable condition to our day; and Mr. Arbanitopoulos has rescued scores of them. Owing to the character of painting, which is so easily injured, we can never hope to recover remains of it to compare for a moment in beauty and authenticity with the remains of Greek sculpture. The works of the great painters of Greece are gone for ever. Polygnotus is represented for us by a few handfuls of coloured dust from the frescoes of the Cnidian treasury at Delphi. *Zeuxis*, *Parrhasius*, *Apelles*, are only names. But the painted stelae, of which these from Pagasae are the most noteworthy, at least preserve for us some record of the principles of composition and perspective followed by Greek artists in the great age. They are the work of third-rate men, though we have a record that the great painter *Nikias* did not disdain such commissions. But at least they serve as an introduction to the paintings of Rome and Herculaneum; they mark points in the development of which the consummation is reached in the Roman age. They help out, with life and colour, the invaluable, but somewhat hard and cold, testimony of vase paintings.

As regards Byzantine art, the Russian exploration at Salonica has brought much new material throwing light on the seventh and eighth centuries. When the Turks occupied Salonica, the mosaics of the church of Saint Demetrius were covered up, like those of Saint Sophia at Constantinople, with whitewash. Recently the whitewash has been temporarily removed, and Mr. Ufensky has profited by the opportunity to examine these religious representations. I have not seen any photographs, but we are told that they are far more life-like and unconventional than the reputation of Byzantine art would lead us to expect. It is but a hint of the riches which underlie Turkish whitewash: is it too much to hope that the new era which seems to have dawned on Turkish politics may see respect and care for these wonderful monuments of Christian art take the place of contempt in the minds of the ruling Mohammedans?

I hope I may be allowed, in passing, to congratulate the Chairman of our Cambridge Branch, Dr. Sandys, on the completion of his great work on the history of Classical Scholarship. It is a work of vast research and comprehension, such a book as is seldom made except in Germany, and one which does great credit to Cambridge scholarship. I think that if we, like some similar societies, had the custom of yearly awarding a gold medal to the author who had in the year produced the book of most value in the field which we cultivate, we should be hesitating whether to award the medal this year to Dr. Sandys, or to Dr. Amelung for his wonderful catalogue of the sculpture of the Vatican, which is not yet complete, but which seems to me to surpass in accuracy, fulness and learning all catalogues of sculpture which exist. Other books than these two I shall not venture to name, for I find that if on these occasions I praise any work which I happen to have read, I risk giving umbrage to the authors of books which may be quite as valuable, but which I may not have read.

Since our last annual meeting no less than three Congresses of interest to our Society have taken place. In August last year the Historical Congress met at

Berlin; a section was devoted to Greek and Roman history; ancient art was included in another section. About a thousand members from all nations took part in the Congress. I was present as representative of this Society, and had the privilege of listening to admirable papers and stimulating discussions. In the next month, September, a Congress of the History of Religions met at Oxford. The section of Greek and Roman religion was fully attended, the President being M. Salomon Reinach, and many papers were read, most of them showing that Darwinian tendency of which I have spoken, and burrowing deep into the origins of Greek rite and cultus. The transactions of this Congress, published in two bulky volumes, registers the present high-water mark of investigation into the history of religion. In April of this year was held an Archaeological Congress at Cairo. As to this I am unable to inform you, as little has as yet been published in regard to its proceedings. The next Archaeological Congress is, I believe, to be held in Rome, the next Historical Congress in London. All these facts show how science and culture are year by year becoming more cosmopolitan; and how progress in these studies is being, as it were, taken over by a joint stock company consisting of the Professors in all Universities, from Japan in the East to California in the West.

In conclusion I wish to congratulate the Editors of our JOURNAL on the interest and the variety of the articles which they continue to issue in full stream. Among the contributors of this year it is with much satisfaction that I find the names of five of my Oxford pupils. I hope that the coming year may find the Society no less prolific, and no less helpful to the cause of Hellenic Studies.

I move the adoption of the Report.

Lord Cromer, in seconding the adoption, drew attention to the need for increased support of the Society, which in a materialistic age did good service for the humanities.

Mr. Arthur Hamilton Smith (V.P.) gave an illustrated account of the recent acquisitions in his department in the British Museum.

Among the more important objects shown were the following:—A slab of the Parthenon frieze, showing the additions from casts of fragments found in Athens.—A fine portrait head of the Emperor Titus from North Africa: this head has never been restored, and is one of the most noteworthy portraits of the Emperor extant.—A replica of the head of the Westmacott Statue: this excellent head is earlier than that of the figure, but is of exactly the same proportions, and has been mounted on a cast of the upper portion.—Two fine 4th century funerary reliefs, one of a boy holding a bird, inscribed with the name Stratios, the other of a lady with a mirror in her hand: the mirror is completely undercut, a technical peculiarity not found in other reliefs of the kind.—A bronze fulcrum or "sofa arm" ornamented with two rather conventional heads and a fine relief of the young Dionysos reclining.—A magnificent mirror from Thrace of early Christian date: the frieze of peacocks and vine growth is cut with great precision, and has much affinity with Byzantine art.—An Etruscan mirror showing an incident in the story of Medea in incised

design.—An exquisite little bronze of a boy with upraised hand, a generous donation from Mr. W. C. Alexander: the motive of the hand is difficult to understand; the whole figure probably belongs to the Alexandrian tradition in art.—A series of bronze saucers containing heads of barbarians and Satyrs in relief with the eyes pierced: the purpose of these is not clear nor their position in art, but though barbarous, they are by no means contemptible; the rendering of the hair, in particular, is good.—A pair of lekythoi of precisely similar scale, style and fabric: one bearing the picture of an Eros flying through the air with a casket, and the other, that of a lady seated eagerly opening the same casket. It has often been asserted that ancient vases are invariably isolated specimens, but these form an indubitable pair.

As the result of the ballot the officers and members of Council as named in the list issued to Members were declared elected or re-elected. Prof. Gilbert Murray was elected a Vice-President, and Messrs H. R. Hall, J. H. Hopkinson, Prof. Flamstead Walters and Mr. A. H. S. Yeames Members of the Council.

The proceedings terminated with a vote of thanks to Sir F. Pollock and Mr. A. J. Butler for their generously given services in auditing the Society's accounts.

ADDRESS PRESENTED BY THE HELLENIC SOCIETY
TO
PROF. ULRICH VON WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORFF
ON THE
OCCASION OF HIS SIXTIETH BIRTHDAY,
FEBRUARY, 1909.

Η ΤΗΡ ΤΩΝ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΩΝ ΜΕΛΕΤΩΝ ΕΤΑΙΡΕΙΑ
Η ΕΝ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΣ
ΟΤΔΑΔΡΙΚΩΙ ΕΚ ΒΙΛΑΜΩΒΙΤΖ-ΜΟΕΛΛΕΝΔΟΡΦ
ΧΑΙΡΕΙΝ

Δῆλος μὲν εἰ φιλόσοφος ὢν καὶ ἡσυχαιὸς, καὶ ὅλος ἀχθεσθαι μᾶλλον
λίαν αἰνούμενος, καὶ ταῦθ' ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν ξένων καὶ τὸ πλεῖστον ἀγνώτων, ὅμως
δὲ προειδόμεθα ἐξήκοντούτῃ σοὶ γενομένῳ πρεσβυστάμενῳ συγχαίρειν, ὅπως
μὴ σὺ μόνος ἀγνοῇς ἐν ὅσῳ σε ἔχομεν ἀξιώματι. Οἱ γὰρ Ἕλληνες οἱ
παλαιοὶ σαφῶς ἴσμεν ὡς εἰ ζῶντες ἐτόγγαρον στεφάνους ἂν καὶ ἐπαίνους σε
μετήισαν, ὅς γε τοὺς λόγους αὐτῶν οὐκ ἑᾶς τοῖς σώμασι συναποθνήσκουσιν,
ἀλλὰ πλεῖστον εἰς ἀνὴρ τῶν νῦν τῆς τε συνέσει καὶ τῷ φιλοκάλῳ καὶ
φιλομαθεῖ τῆς διανοίας ἀνεβιῶσω τε καὶ διέσωσας, εἰ τί που καὶ δοκοῖη τοῖς
χρόνοις ἐξίτηλον γίγνεσθαι. Κάκεινοι μὲν οὐκέτ' εἰσὶν, αὐτ' ἐκείνων δ' ἡμεῖς
οἱ φιλέλληνες, ὑστέροι χρόνῳ καὶ χεῖρους ὄντες, ὅμως τιμῶμεν, καὶ τῆς
εὐνοίας σημειᾷ σοὶ τὰδε τὰ γράμματα ἐπέμψαμεν. Εἰ γὰρ συγγενὸς ἐστὶ
τὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς φιλεῖν καὶ μισεῖν, πῶς οὐχ ἡμεῖς, εἰ καὶ ἀλλόγλωσσοι
πεφύκαμεν, συγγενεῖς σοὶ καὶ πύλαι τυγχάνομεν ὄντες, οἵτινες συμφιλοῦμέν
γε τὰ Ἑλληνικά καὶ τὴν σοφίαν ἅπασαν, τὰ δ' ἐναντία τούτων συμμίσουμέν;
Ἄλλως δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἡμᾶς φίλους πάλαι προσπετόησαι, πάντας μὲν τοῖς
βιβλίοις εὐφράνας, ἐνίοις δὲ συμβουλευσας καὶ συμμελετήσας, καὶ οὐ
φθορερῶς ὢν εἶχες μεταδούς ἀλλ' ὥσπερ μεγάλου τινὸς θησαυροῦ πλούσιος
καὶ ἐλευθερίου ἀνὴρ τῆς σαυτοῦ σοφίας τῷ δεομένῳ χαρισάμενος. Ὡς
ἐνεκα ἐπαινοῦντές σε, ὡς σοφώτατε διδασκάλων, πάντα σοὶ χρηστὰ καὶ τῇ
γενεθλίῳ πρόποντα ἐπευχόμεθα γενέσθαι, ὥστε γέροντα μὲν τῇ σοφίᾳ καὶ
πολυμαθείᾳ, τῷ δ' ὀξεῖ καὶ λαμπρῷ τῆς γνώμης ῥέον, ὥσπερ ἤ μέχρι νῦν
ἔχεις, οὕτω καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν αἰεὶ διατελεῖν. Ἐρρωσο.

REPLY.

ULRICH VON WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORFF.

ὁ καὶ Φιλομωμιχίδης

τῇ ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν μελετῶν ἐταιρεία

τῇ ἐν Λονδίῳ

Χαίρειν.

Διεξυῆχθαι μὲν πως ἀλλήλων ἡμᾶς, ὧ ἐταῖροι, φανερὸν γέγονεν, τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ὑμῶν ἢ διὰ τὸ βραδύ τῶν ταχυδρομῶν καλουμένων ἢ διὰ τὸ γλίσχρον τῶν τελωνῶν ὑστερησάσης· ἀλλογλώττους δ' εἶναι, καθὼς περ εἰρήκατε, πῶς ἂν συμφαίην; τῇ γὰρ αὐτῇ φαινόμεθα χρώμενοι. ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ τῇ πατρίδι χρῆσθαι προελόμεθ' ἑκάτεροι, τῆς οἰκειότητος οὐδὲ τοῦτ' ἂν ἄφαιροίτ', οὐδὲ τοῦλάχιστον. τὰς γὰρ τῶν φίλων διαλέκτους μεμαθήκαμεν ἐξ ἀνάγκης, τὰ δὲ τοῦ ποιητοῦ τοῦ πᾶν ἀναγκαῖον χρήμα φαίτο· ἀνιερὸς φῦναι ψευδὲς ὃν ἐφαίρη τελείως· ἡδονὴ γὰρ ἐκ τῆς ἀνάγκης περιγέγονε καὶ κέρδος ἐλευθερώτατον· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ὁκνοίης τοῦτ' ἐν τοῖς μέγιστον εἶπεν τοῦ καλ' ἡμᾶς βίου προτέρημα, τὸ πολυγλώττους ἡμᾶς γεγενῆσθαι, τῶν Ἑλλήνων οὐδὲ μετ' Ἀλέξανδρον περὶ τὰς τῶν γειτόνων ἢ καὶ μετοίκων γλώττας πολυπραγμονησάντων. οὕτω γὰρ τῶν ὀθνεῶν καλῶν μεταλαμβάνοντες, τὰ δ' οἰκεία μὴ καταπροδόντες τῆς τῶν πολλῶν ἀπειροκαλίας ἔξω καθέσταμεν τ' ἀλλότρι' ἢ ἀποδοκιμαζόντων λίαν Ἑλληνικῶς ἢ δουλικῶς μιμουμένων. ἀλλὰ γὰρ εἰς λόγους αἰέποτ' ἐμοὶ θρυλουμένους ἐξηνέχθη· ἐπεὶ γὰρ δὲ χάριν εἶδεν τῆς πρὸς ἔμ' εὐνοίας τε καὶ φιλοτιμίας ἧς ἔχοντες διατελεῖτε, πάσαι τε τῶν ὑμετέρῳ θιάσῳ τοῦμὲν προσγράψαντες ὄνομα εὖν τε φιλοφροεστάτης ὀξιώσαντες προσφωγῆσεως, μίμνημαι δὲ κτιζομένης ἤδη πρὸ πολλῶν ἐτῶν τῆς συνόδου τῆς εὖν κατὰ πᾶσαν γῆν ἐπαινουμένης ὑπερβαυμίας ὑμᾶς τῆς ἐπιβολῆς, προσδοκῶν τε πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ δι' αὐτῆς συντελεσθήσεσθαι, καὶ ἐνθυμούμενος παρ' ἡμῖν τοιαῦτον ἔρανον ἐξ ἰδιωτῶν οὐκ ἂν συγκροτηθῆναι· πάντα γὰρ τὰ τοιαῦτα σχεδὸν ὑπολαμβάνομεν ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου δεῖν χορηγεῖσθαι· ὅθι καὶ χορηγεῖται δαφνιδῶς· οὐδὲν δ' αἶμαι διαφέρει πῇ καὶ πῶς τὰ δέοντα περαινέται· περαινέσθω μόνον. ἐλπὶς δὲ τοῦτο γενήσεσθαι, ἔως ἂν νεότης ἐπιβλαστάνῃ φύσει τε καὶ ἀσκήσει πρὸς τὴν περὶ τὰ Ἑλληνικά σπουδὴν ἱκανήν. τοιαύτην δὲ παρ' ὑμῖν, ὧ ἐταῖροι, πολλὴν εἶναι γηράσκοντί μοι καὶ περὶ τῶν οἰκοθεν ἡττον εὐθαρσεῖ γιγνομένῳ κριτῇ παρὰ μὴδ' ἑαυτοῦ· προὔτρεψε δὲ μ' οὗτος ὁ καιρὸς καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ταῦθ' ὁμολογήσασθαι γὰρ ἂν εἰς κρείττων ἐπαινος.

εὐμενεῖς μὲν οὖν οἱ κοινοὶ θεοὶ τοῖς ἔργοις ὑμῶν παρασταῖεν· ἐὰν δὲ πως καὶ αὐτοὶ χρεῖαν τιν' ὑμῖν παρέχασθαι δυνηθῶ, μάλ' ἡδομένῳ μοι τοῦθ' ἐκίστοτ' ἔσται.

διεντυχεῖτε.

ADDRESS PRESENTED
TO
DR. WOLFGANG HELBIG
ON THE
OCCASION OF HIS SEVENTIETH BIRTHDAY.

HONOURED COLLEAGUE,

As your pupils and admirers took occasion, on your sixtieth birthday, to present to you a volume of archaeological papers written in your honour, so it seems appropriate, when your seventieth birthday has arrived, that your readers and colleagues in England should take the opportunity to express to you their gratitude for the help you have rendered them in the past, and their wishes for your continued life and prosperity. When we regard your books on the prehistoric age of Italy and Greece (the most notable of which we understand that you are about to reissue), your *Guide to the Roman Museums*, your valuable works on the art of the cities of Campania, and your other publications, we see in all alike not merely deep knowledge and high scientific attainment, but also a breadth of culture and a historic grasp, such as have always been rare among scholars, and are to-day perhaps rarer than ever.

During your long tenure of the office of Secretary of the Roman Archaeological Institute you were kind and helpful to many English students. Few archaeologists have done more for the progress of the studies which it is the purpose of our society to further. We are glad to remember that you are one of our Honorary Members, and send you our best wishes, with a hope that you may enjoy years of health and happiness, and make fresh contributions to the furtherance of Classical Studies.

On behalf of The Council of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies

We are, yours faithfully,

PERCY GARDNER, *President*.

GEORGE A. MACMILLAN, *Hon. Secretary*.

ADDRESS PRESENTED ON BEHALF OF THE
COUNCIL BY MR. A. H. SMITH (V.P.),
TO THE
SECOND INTERNATIONAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL
CONGRESS OF CAIRO,

APRIL, 1909.

The Council of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies, of London, beg leave to submit an address of greeting and goodwill to the Second International Archaeological Congress of Cairo.

The whole range of Hellenic history, literature, and antiquities falls within the scope of the Society. It has, however, of late years taken an active part in support of the Cretan exploration of its eminent Vice-President, Arthur J. Evans, and of the work of the British School at Athens, in Crete.

It is, therefore, with special interest that the Society awaits international discussion, on Egyptian soil, of the difficult problems associated with the great names of Egypt, Crete, and Mycenae; and the Council desire to express their sympathy with the objects of the Congress, and their hearty good wishes for its success.

ADDRESS PRESENTED ON BEHALF OF THE
COUNCIL BY MR. J. E. SANDYS, LITT.D.
AT THE
CELEBRATION OF THE QUINGENTENARY
OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF LEIPSIC,
JULY, 1909.

UNIVERSITATI LIPSIENSI

GRAECA STUDIA COLENTIUM SOCIETAS LONDINIENSIS

S. P. D.

NON sine gaudio certiores facti sumus, Universitatem vestram, litterarum et scientiarum in disciplinis colendis iamdudum praestantissimam, annum quingentesimum ab origine sua prospere peractum propediem esse celebraturam. Etenim Societati nostrae, Graecis potissimum studiis excolendis atque propagandis abhinc annos triginta conditae atque e sociis iam prope mille constitutae, olim nota est doctrinae sedes illa venerabilis, cuius e Societate Graeca, GODOFREDI HERMANNI in saeculo, tamquam ex equo Troiano, tot principes exierunt. Neque nobis ignota est Societas illa Philologorum Lipsiensis, quae, virorum decem viribus feliciter coniunctis, Theophrasti de characteribus libellum aureolum tanta doctrinae varietate haud ita pridem exornavit. Societatis autem nostrae Praeses proximus, qui etiam ipse Theophrasti editionem eximiam olim ediderat, vitae suae prope finem Societatis vestrae editionem egregiam diligenter pertractavit. Vestrae vero editionis non sine auxilio, editionis Anglicae recensio nova ab eo ipso nuper in lucem missa est, quem Societatis nostrae legatum ad Universitatem vestram honoris causa mittimus, quae inter artium et litterarum Graecarum tot cultores insignes non modo philologiae novae sed etiam archaeologiae antiquae Professores illustres numerare gloriatur. Valete, et studia illa praeciosa per saecula plurima etiam in posterum in honore debito conservate.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT.

A comparison with the receipts and expenditure of the last ten years is furnished by the following tables:—

ANALYSIS OF RECEIPTS FOR THE YEARS ENDING:—

	31 May, 1901.	31 May, 1902.	31 May, 1903.	31 May, 1904.	31 May, 1905.	31 May, 1906.	31 May, 1907.	31 May, 1908.	31 May, 1909.
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
Subscriptions, Current	634	636	628	640	672	709	789	753	773
Annals	9	10	13	13	205	76	90	74	82
Life Compositions	63	78	78	94	126	94	94	47	47
Literaries	163	179	185	202	147	154	168	173	188
Entrance Fees	33	45	52	50	100	133	103	65	78
Divuloids	43	42	42	42	42	49	44	61	62
Rent .....	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	10
Endowment Fund .....	...	...	...	...	...	30	475	17	21
"Excavations at Phylakopi," sales .....	...	...	...	...	...	52*	28*	31*	18*
"Facsimile Codex Venetus," sales .....	...	...	...	...	...	95*	8*	17*	3*
Lantern Slides Account .....	...	...	...	...	...	...	15*	3*	5*
	945	990	998	1,047	1,224	1,390	1,814	1,259	1,263

* Receipts less expenses.

ANALYSIS OF EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEARS ENDING:—

	31 May, 1901.	31 May, 1902.	31 May, 1903.	31 May, 1904.	31 May, 1905.	31 May, 1906.	31 May, 1907.	31 May, 1908.	31 May, 1909.
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
Rent	80	80	80	80	80	88	98	100	100
Insurance	15	15	15	15	16	18	13	14	15
Salaries	60	60	60	69	89	105	176	178	214
Library	73	74	82	89	50	100	65	85	85
Cost of Catalogue .....	...	...	...	...	55	...	...	...	...
Sundry Printing, Postage, Stationery, etc.	38	61	41	72	137	147	158	101	119
Printing and Postage, History of Society .....	...	...	...	...	...	24	...	...	...
Printing and Postage, Pro- ceedings at Anniversary .....	...	...	...	...	...	10	...	...	...
Lantern Slides Account	13	29	17	33	2	5*	...	...	17*
Photographs Account	1	15	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Cost of Journal (less sales)	390	382	367	454	511	511	356	336	362
Cost of Journal, Reprint of Vol. XXIII. ....	...	...	...	...	...	122	...	...	...
Grants	200	200	200	250	225	250	125	225	340
"Facsimile of the Codex Venetus of Aristophanes" .....	...	...	...	210	30	...	...	...	...
"Excavations at Phylakopi" .....	...	...	...	156	140	...	...	...	...
Commission and Postage per Bank .....	...	...	3	2	...	...	...	...	...
Depreciation of Stocks of Publications .....	...	...	...	...	...	123	104	40	53
	890	916	865	1,437	1,335	1,573	1,095	1,069	1,249

* Expenses less sales.

"JOURNAL OF HELLENIC STUDIES" ACCOUNT: FROM JUNE 1, 1908, TO MAY 31, 1909.

Ck.

Dr.

	£	s	d	£	s	d
To Printing and Paper, Vol. XXVIII, Part II., and XXIX., Part I.	315	8	11			
" Plates	27	6	2			
" Drawing and Engraving	48	18	0			
" Editing and Sundry Contributions	72	5	6			
" Packing, Addressing, and Carriage to Members	40	10	8			
				513	16	3
				<u>£513 16 3</u>		
By Sales, including back Vols., from June 1, 1908, to May 31, 1909						
Per Macmillan & Co., Ltd.				120	3	1
" Hellenic Society				<u>9</u>	9	6
				135	12	7
" Receipts for Advertisements				16	6	2
Balance to Income and Expenditure Account				<u>361 17 1</u>		
				<u>£513 16 3</u>		

"EXCAVATIONS AT PHYLA KOPH" ACCOUNT: FROM JUNE 1, 1908, TO MAY 31, 1909.

	Column showing Financial Results from Date of Publication to May 31, 1909.	Account for Current Year.	Column showing Financial Results from Date of Publication to May 31, 1909.	Account for Current Year.
Deficit Balance brought forward (excluding value of Stock)	£ 0 5	£ s d	£ s d	£ s d
Balance on Current Year to Income and Expenditure Account	—	—	11 15 9	11 15 9
	<u>£ 0 5</u>		<u>£ 11 15 9</u>	
By Sale of 12 Copies during year				
Deficit Balance from Publication at May 31, 1909 (excluding value of Stock)			165 10 8	
			<u>£ 165 10 8</u>	
			<u>£ 177 0 5</u>	
			<u>£ 11 15 9</u>	

FACSIMILE OF THE CODEx VENETUS OF ARISTOPHANES' ACCOUNT. FROM JUNE 4, 1905, TO MAY 31, 1909.

Column showing Financial Result from Date of Publication to May 31, 1909.	Account for Current Year.
£ 104 3 8	£ 104 3 8
£ 104 3 8	£ 104 3 8

To Deficit Balance brought forward (excluding Value of Stock) £ 104 3 8

(No Sales during year)

By Helianth Society's Debit Balance from Publication to May 31, 1909 (excluding Value of Stock) £ 104 3 8

Column showing Financial Result from Date of Publication to May 31, 1909.	Account for Current Year.
£ 104 3 8	£ 104 3 8
£ 104 3 8	£ 104 3 8

LANTERN SLIDES AND PHOTOGRAPHIC ACCOUNT. FROM JUNE 1, 1903, TO MAY 21, 1904.

	£	s	d
To Slides and Photographs for Sale	40	6	0
" Slides for Hire	14	0	7
" Photographs for Reference Collection	11	7	8
" New Reference Collection of Prints	13	4	4
" Additions to Catalogue	1	4	0
	£86	0	71

LIBRARY ACCOUNT, FROM JUNE 1, 1908 TO MAY 31, 1909

	£	s	d
By Purchases	68	0	4
By Balance	18	0	1
	86	0	5
	86	0	5

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT. From JUNE 1, 1908, to MAY 31, 1909.

<i>Expenditure.</i>		<i>L.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>L.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
To Rent		100	5	6			
" Salaries—							
Librarian and Secretary	140	0	0				
Auxiliary Treasurers	25	0	0				
Office Boy	26	0	0				
Type!	12	15	0		204	1	0
" Insurance					15	13	0
" Miscellaneous Expenses					32	12	1½
" Stationery					37	17	1
" Postage					41	11	0½
" Sundry Printing, Rules, List of Members, Notices, &c.					27	14	6
" Grants—							
British School at Athens	100	0	0				
" " Rone	50	0	0				
C. H. Hawes (Grevs)	39	0	0				
Egyptian Exploration Fund	5	5	0		185	5	0
					85	9	5
" Balance from Library Account					361	17	1
" Balances from "Journal of Hellenic Studies" Account					16	19	11½
" Balance from Lantern Slides Account					53	12	0
" Depreciation of Books					118	9	5½
Balance							

<i>Income.</i>		<i>L.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>L.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
By Members' Subscriptions—							
Proportion brought forward from last year..	437	7	6				
Received during current year—Arrears.....	81	18	0				
" " " " 1908.....	23	2	0				
" " " " 1909.....	740	14	10				
" " " " 1910.....	2	2	0				
					1294	4	4
Less 1910 subscriptions and $\frac{1}{4}$ of 1909 subscriptions forward to next year ..	439	8	0				
					854	15	10
" Members' Entrance Fees					94	10	0
" Student Associates' Subscriptions					8	8	0
" Libraries Subscriptions—							
Proportion brought forward from last year..	94	4	0				
Received during current year—1908.....	39	2	11				
" " " " 1909.....	160	1	0				
					283	17	3
Less $\frac{1}{4}$ of 1909 subscriptions forwarded to next year	91	7	3				
					192	6	2
" Late Compositions brought into Revenue Account					42	0	0
" Interest on Deposit Account					7	4	9
" Dividends on Investments					62	8	8
" Contributions towards Rent by British School at Athens and British School at Rome for use of Society's room					10	0	0
" Balance from "Examinations at Thysbeia" Account					11	15	9

£1281 9 2

BALANCE SHEET. MAY 31, 1969.

Liabilities.

To Peter Payable	£	s	d	£	s	d
1. Subscriptions carried forward				283	12	11½
2. Endowment Fund				532	15	9
				547	11	0
(Includes legacy of £200 from the late Canon Adam Farrer)						
3. Life Compositions and Donations—						
Total at June 1, 1968	£	18	4	0		
Received during year, 1968				15	15	0
£15 15s.				18	7	19
Less 3 Life Members deceased				42	0	0
Excess of Assets over Liabilities at June 1, 1968				251	5	6
Add Surplus Balance from Income and Expenditure Ac.				118	9	5½

369 14 11½

£3559 13 8

Examined and found correct.

(Signed)

ARTHUR J. BUTLER, Auditors.
F. POLLOCK*Assets.*

By Cash in Hand—Bank	£	s	d	£	s	d
on Deposit				21	10	6
Assistant Treasurer				700	0	0
Deity Club				20	0	6
				13	15	7½
				754	6	7½
1. Debtors Receivable				149	13	1½
2. Investments (Life Compositions)				1263	3	11
3. (Employment Fund)				500	0	0
				1763	3	11
4. Valuations of Stocks of Publications				342	10	0
5. Library				350	0	0

£3559 13 8

SEVENTH LIST OF
BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS
ADDED TO THE
LIBRARY OF THE SOCIETY
SINCE THE PUBLICATION OF THE CATALOGUE
1908—1909.

Note.—The first four Supplementary Lists, which were bound in volumes xxiii-xxvi of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, have been reprinted, combined in a single alphabet, price 6d. (by post 7d.). The Catalogue published in 1903 and the Concluded Supplement i-iv, and Supplements v and vi, bound together in a stiff cover, can be purchased by members and subscribing libraries at 2s. 6d. (by post 2s. 10d.); price to non-members 3s. 6d. (by post 3s. 10d.).
This and subsequent Supplements may be had price 3d. each.

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Alexander (W. H.) Some textual criticisms on the eighth book of the *De Vita Caesarum* of Suetonius. [Univ. California. *Class. Phil.* II (1).] 8vo. Berkeley. 1908.
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- Bywater (I.)** *Editor.* See Aristotle on the Art of Poetry.
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Deir el Bahari, La seconde trouvaille de. Sarcophages. By E. Chassinat. 1 (1). 4to. Cairo. 1909.
Demotische Denkmäler. Part II. Die demotischen Papyrus. By W. Spiegelberg. 2 vols. Text and Plates. 4to. Strassburg. 1906-8.
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Stèles du Nouvel Empire I. (1) By P. Lacan. 4to. Cairo. 1909.

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Répertoire généalogique et onomastique du Musée du Caire. By G. Legrain. Monuments de la XVII^e et de la XVIII^e Dynastie. 8vo. Geneva. 1908.

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- Diels (H.)** *Editor*. See Theophrastus.
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9108 " Vespasian (= " Temple of Mercury ").
9109 Baths near the forum, the *caldarium*.
9112 " " Interior of men's *tepidarium*.
9113 Stabian baths, apodyterium and ante-room leading to Palaestra.
9111 " Palaestra, mural decoration of S.W. angle.
9113 Theatre colonnade used as barracks for gladiators.
9114 House of Cornelius Rufus, view through the *tablinum* into the peristyle.
9115 " the Balcony, fountain surmounted by Cupid.
9116 " Tragic Poet, view from the Atrium through the *tablinum* towards shrine in peristyle.
9117 " Marcus Helconius, the peristyle.
9118 " the Vettii, the peristyle, looking S.
9119 " " " W.

Frescoes at Pompeii.

- 9120 House of the Vestil, fresco painting, punishment of Ixion.
 9121 " " fresco, Cupids as Columns.
 7971 " " " "
 9122 Fresco in 'Panthoon' (decoration of fourth period).
 9123 Fresco, Venus and Adonis.
 9124 " Judgment of Paris.
 9125 " " "
 9126 " decoration of the third period.

Frescoes in Naples Museum.

- 9127 Fresco, Aeneas wounded.
 9128 " Achilles and Briseis.
 9129 " " Odysseus.
 9130 " " in quadriga.
 9131 " The sacrifice of Iphigenia.
 9132 " Jupiter and Juno.
 9133 " Medea meditating the murder of her children.
 9134 " Medea.
 9135 " Orestes and Pylades.
 9136 " " " Herculeanum.
 9137 " Perseus and Andromeda.
 9138 " Combat of Pompeiana and Nuceria in the Amphitheatre at Pompeii.
 9139 " Paquius Proculus and his wife.
 9140 " The Judgment of Solomon (extricated).
 9141 " The ladies playing knucklebones, by Alexandros. Herculeanum.

Monies.

- 9142 Mosaic from House of the Faun. The battle of Issus.
 9143 " " " " detail, head of Alexander.
 9144 " " " " The denizens of the Nile.
 9145 " " " " Cat killing partridge : ducks and fish.

Miscellaneous.

- 9146 Bronze basin for hot water in form of a little fortress.
 9147 Amphora of blue and white glass : the Loves as vineagers.
 9148 Gladiatorial helmets.
 9149 Strong box.
 9150 Stamped leaf of bread.

NOTICE TO CONTRIBUTORS.

THE Council of the Hellenic Society having decided that it is desirable for a common system of transliteration of Greek words to be adopted in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, the following scheme has been drawn up by the Acting Editorial Committee in conjunction with the Consultative Editorial Committee, and has received the approval of the Council.

In consideration of the literary traditions of English scholarship, the scheme is of the nature of a compromise, and in most cases considerable latitude of usage is to be allowed.

(1) All Greek proper names should be transliterated into the Latin alphabet according to the practice of educated Romans of the Augustan age. Thus α should be represented by *e*, the vowels and diphthongs *υ*, *αι*, *οι*, *ου* by *y*, *ae*, *oe*, and *u* respectively, final *-ος* and *-ω* by *-us* and *-um*, and *-πος* by *-er*.

But in the case of the diphthong *ει*, it is felt that *ei* is more suitable than *e* or *i*, although in names like *Laodicea*, *Alexandria*, where they are consecrated by usage, *e* or *i* should be preserved, also words ending in *-ειος* must be represented by *-eius*.

A certain amount of discretion must be allowed in using the *e* terminations, especially where the Latin usage itself varies or prefers the *i* form, as *Delos*. Similarly Latin usage should be followed as far as possible in *-e* and *-a* terminations, e.g., *Priene*, *Smyrna*. In some of the more obscure names ending in *-πος*, as *Δαίρυπος*, *-er* should be avoided, as likely to lead to confusion. The Greek form *-um* is to be preferred to *-o* for names like *Dion*, *Hieron*, except in a name so common as *Apollo*, where it would be pedantic.

Names which have acquired a definite English form, such as *Corinth*, *Athens*, should of course not be otherwise represented. It is hardly necessary to point out that forms like *Heracles*, *Mercury*, *Minerva*, should not be used for *Heracles*, *Hermes*, and *Athena*.

(2) Although names of the gods should be transliterated in the same way as other proper names, names of personifications and epithets such as *Nike*, *Homonoia*, *Hyakinthios*, should fall under § 4.

(3) In no case should accents, especially the circumflex, be written over vowels to show quantity.

(4) In the case of Greek words other than proper names, used as names of personifications or technical terms, the Greek form should be transliterated letter for letter, *k* being used for *κ*, *ch* for *χ*, but *y* and *u* being substituted for *υ* and *ου*, which are misleading in English, e.g., *Nike*, *apozomēnos*, *diadumēnos*, *rhyton*.

This rule should not be rigidly enforced in the case of Greek words in common English use, such as *aegis*, *symposium*. It is also necessary to preserve the use of *ou* for *ου* in a certain number of words in which it has become almost universal, such as *boule*, *gerousia*.

(5) The Acting Editorial Committee are authorised to correct all MSS. and proofs in accordance with this scheme, except in the case of a special protest from a contributor. All contributors, therefore, who object on principle to the system approved by the Council, are requested to inform the Editors of the fact when forwarding contributions to the Journal.

In addition to the above system of transliteration, contributors to the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* are requested, so far as possible, to adhere to the following conventions:—

Quotations from Ancient and Modern Authorities.

Names of authors should not be underlined; titles of books, articles, periodicals, or other collective publications should be underlined (for italics). If the title of an article is quoted as well as the publication in which it is contained, the latter should be bracketed. Thus:

Six, *Jahrb.* xviii. 1903, p. 34.

or—

Six, *Protogenes* (*Jahrb.* xviii. 1903), p. 34.

But as a rule the shorter form of citation is to be preferred.

The number of the edition, when necessary, should be indicated by a small figure above the line; e.g. Dittenb., *Syll.*² 123.

Titles of Periodical and Collective Publications.

The following abbreviations are suggested, as already in more or less general use. In other cases, no abbreviation which is not readily identified should be employed.

- A.-E.H.* = Archäologisch-epigraphische Mittheilungen.
Ann. d. I. = Annali dell' Istituto.
Arch. Anz. = Archäologischer Anzeiger (Beiblatt zum Jahrbuch).
Arch. Zeit. = Archäologische Zeitung.
Ath. Mitth. = Mittheilungen des Deutschen Arch. Inst., Athenische Abtheilung.
Baumeister = Baumeister, Denkmäler des klassischen Alterthums.
B.C.H. = Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique.
Berl. Vas. = Furtwängler, Beschreibung der Vasensammlung zu Berlin.
B.M. Bronzes = British Museum Catalogue of Bronzes.
B.M.C. = British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins.
B.M. Inscr. = Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum.
B.M. Sculpt. = British Museum Catalogue of Sculpture.
B.M. Terracottas = British Museum Catalogue of Terracottas.
B.M. Vases = British Museum Catalogue of Vases, 1893, etc.
B.S.A. = Annual of the British School at Athens.
B.S.R. = Papers of the British School at Rome.
Bull. d. I. = Bullettino dell' Istituto.
Burselt = Burselt, Griechische Geschichte.
C.I.G. = Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum.
C.I.L. = Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.
Cl. Rev. = Classical Review.
C.R. Acad. Inscr. = Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions.
C.R. St. Pétr. = Compte rendu de la Commission de St. Pétersbourg.
Dar. Sagl. = Daremberg-Saglio, Dictionnaire des Antiquités.
Dittenb. O.G.I. = Dittenberger, Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae.
Dittenb. Syl. = Dittenberger, Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum.
Εφ. Αρχ. = Εφημερίς Αρχαιολογική.
G.D.I. = Collitz, Sammlung der Griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften.
Gerh. A.V. = Gerhard, Ausgewählte Vasenbilder.
G.G.A. = Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen.
Hensl. H.N. = Hensl., Historia Numorum.
I.G. = Inscriptiones Graecae.¹
I.G.A. = Rühl, Inscriptiones Graecae antiquissimae.
Jahrb. = Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts.
Jahresh. = Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes.
J.H.S. = Journal of Hellenic Studies.
Klio = Klio (Beiträge zur alten Geschichte).
Le Bas-Wadd. = Le Bas-Waddington, Voyage Archéologique.
Michel = Michel, Recueil d'Inscriptions grecques.
Mon. d. I. = Monumenti dell' Istituto.
Müller-Wies. = Müller-Wieseler, Denkmäler der alten Kunst.
Mus. Marbles = Collection of Ancient Marbles in the British Museum.
Neue Jahrb. kl. Alt. = Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Alterthum.
Neue Jahrb. Phil. = Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie.

¹ The attention of contributors is called to the fact that the titles of the volumes of the second issue of the Corpus of Greek Inscriptions, published by the Prussian Academy, have now been changed, as follows:—

<i>I. &c.</i>	I. = Inscr. Atticae anno Euclidis vetustiorum.
" II. = "	" aetatis quae est inter Eucl. ann. et Augusti tempora.
" III. = "	" aetatis Romanae.
" IV. = "	Argolidica.
" VII. = "	Megridica et Boeotica.
" IX. = "	Graeciae Septentrionalis.
" XII. = "	Inscr. Maris Aegaei praeter Delum.
" XIV. = "	Italiae et Siciliae.

Niese = Niese, Geschichte der griechischen u. makedonischen Staaten.

Num. Chr. = Numismatic Chronicle.

Num. Zeit. = Numismatische Zeitschrift.

Pauly-Wissowa = Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft.

Philol. = Philologus.

Ramsay, C.B. = Ramsay, Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia.

Ramsay, Hist. Geog. = Ramsay, Historical Geography of Asia Minor.

Reinach, Rép. Sculpt. = S. Reinach, Répertoire des Sculptures.

Reinach, Rép. Vases = S. Reinach, Répertoire des Vases peints.

Rev. Arch. = Revue Archéologique.

Rev. Ét. Gr. = Revue des Études Grecques.

Rev. Num. = Revue Numismatique.

Rev. Philol. = Revue de Philologie.

Rh. Mus. = Rheinisches Museum.

Röm. Mitth. = Mittheilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abtheilung.

Roscher = Roscher, Lexicon der Mythologie.

T.A.M. = Tituli Asiae Minoris.

Z.f.N. = Zeitschrift für Numismatik.

Transliteration of Inscriptions.

- [] Square brackets to indicate additions, i.e. a lacuna filled by conjecture.
() Curved brackets to indicate alterations, i.e. (1) the resolution of an abbreviation or symbol; (2) letters misrepresented by the engraver; (3) letters wrongly omitted by the engraver; (4) mistakes of the copyist.

< > Angular brackets to indicate omissions, i.e. to enclose superfluous letters appearing on the original.

. . . Dots to represent an unfilled lacuna when the exact number of missing letters is known.

- - - Dashes for the same purpose when the number of missing letters is not known.

Uncertain letters should have dots under them.

Where the original has iota adscript, it should be reproduced in that form; otherwise it should be supplied as subscript.

The aspirate, if it appears in the original, should be represented by a special sign, ^h.

Quotations from MSS. and Literary Texts.

The same conventions should be employed for this purpose as for inscriptions, with the following important exceptions:—

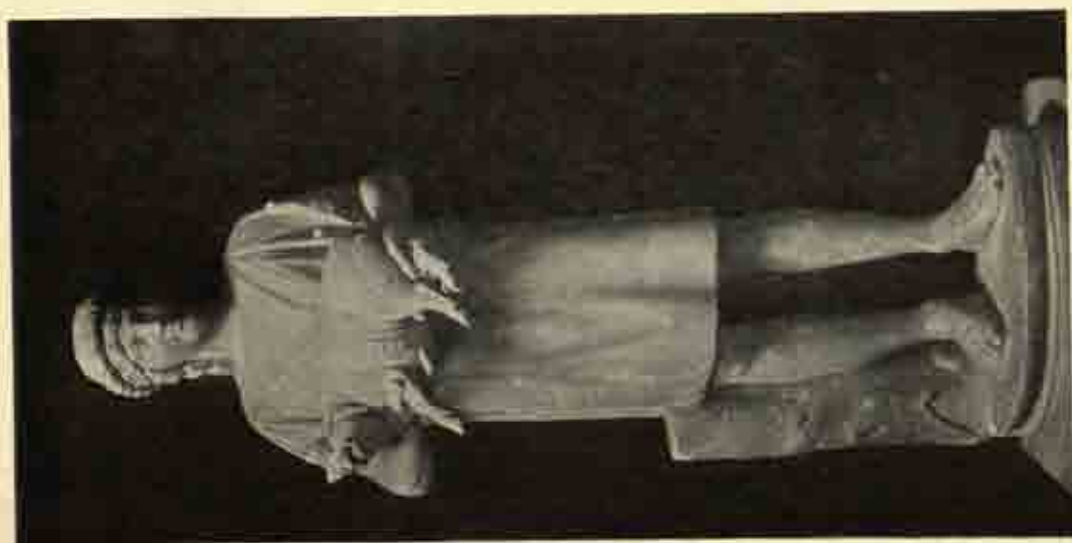
() Curved brackets to indicate only the resolution of an abbreviation or symbol.

[] Double square brackets to enclose superfluous letters appearing on the original.

< > Angular brackets to enclose letters supplying an omission in the original.

The Editors desire to impress upon contributors the necessity of clearly and accurately indicating accents and breathings, as the neglect of this precaution adds very considerably to the cost of production of the *Journal*.

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Ο ΔΑΨ ΕΣΤΙΑΣ.



a. Wall above Marmara.



b. Door in Hellenic tower above Marmara.

THE MARMARA ISLANDS.



a. Church of St. Nicolas *ἐν τῇ Γένῃ*.



b. Castle above Galimi.

THE MARMARA ISLANDS.



4. Aphthoni.



5. Pasha Liman. Polygonal Wall at Khoulia.

THE MARMARA ISLANDS.



SCHOOL TABLET (BRIT. MUS. ADD. MS. 37518).



SCHOOL TABLET (BRIT. MUS. ADD. MS. 37533).



A LOFT IN THE UPPER PART OF THE ERECHTHEION, 1811.



KYLIX BY HISCHYLOS.



KYLIX BY HISCHYLOS.



CENTRE OF KYLIX AT BERLIN (2100).



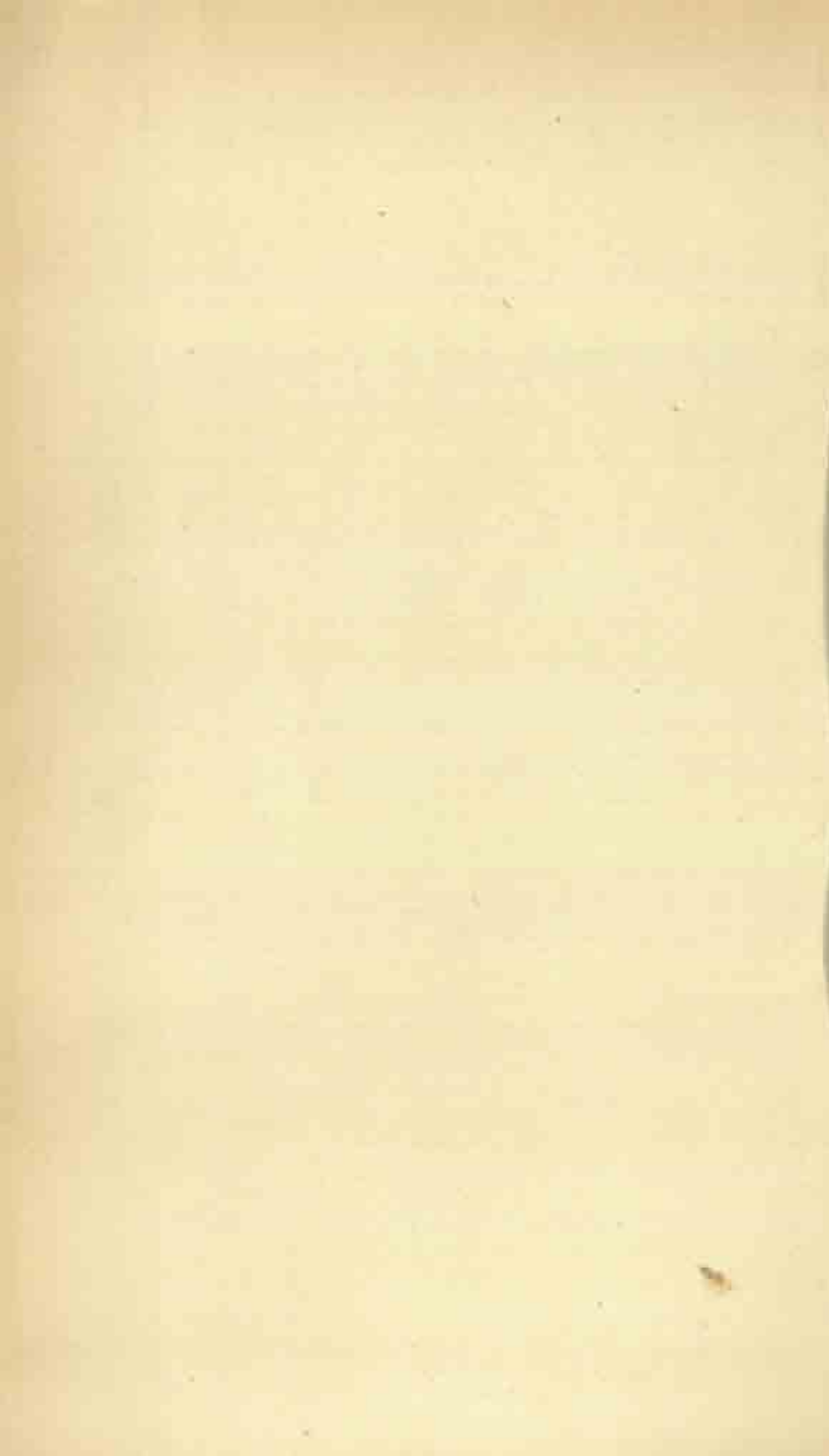
PLATE AT BERLIN (2099).



TWO PLATES IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.



CENTRE OF KYLIX IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.



EXPLANATION OF SIGNS USED

— ANCIENT REMAINS PRESERVED
 - - - - - ANCIENT REMAINS TRACEABLE

□ OTHER BUILDINGS

○ OLIVES

↑ PINES

▨ GARDENS

▨ CULTIVATED

▨ PASTURE

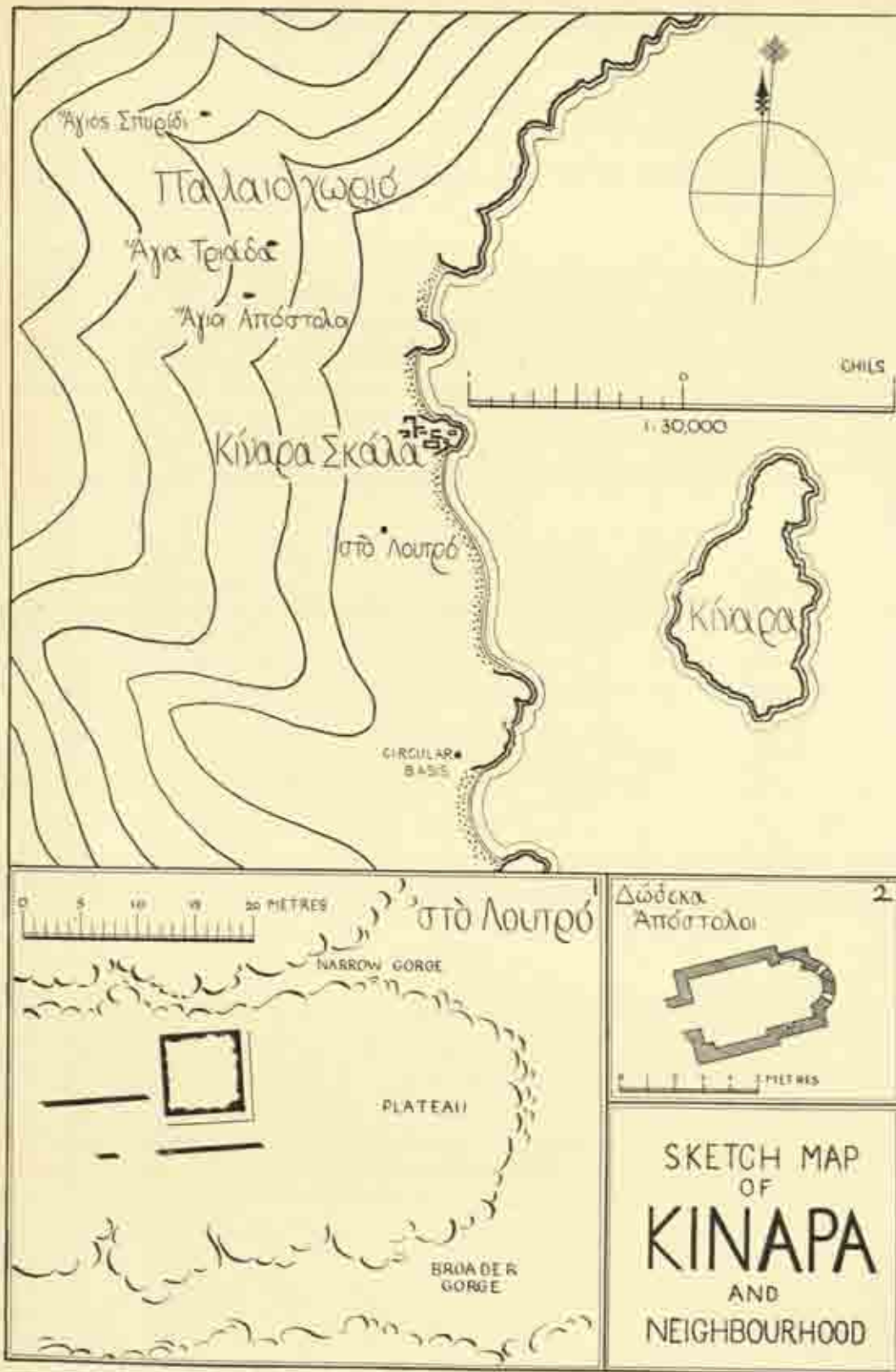
▨ COMMON

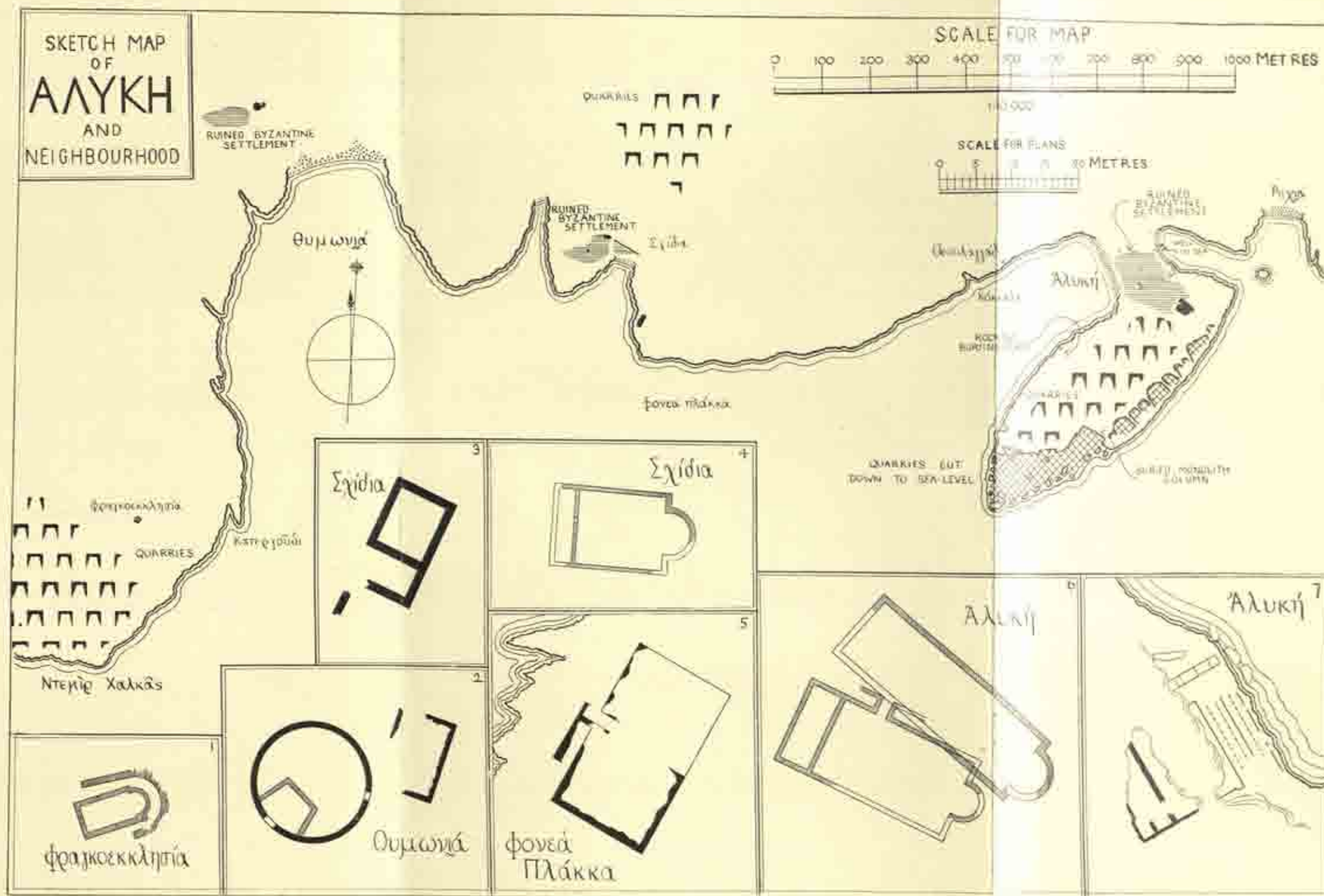
SCALE OF METRES

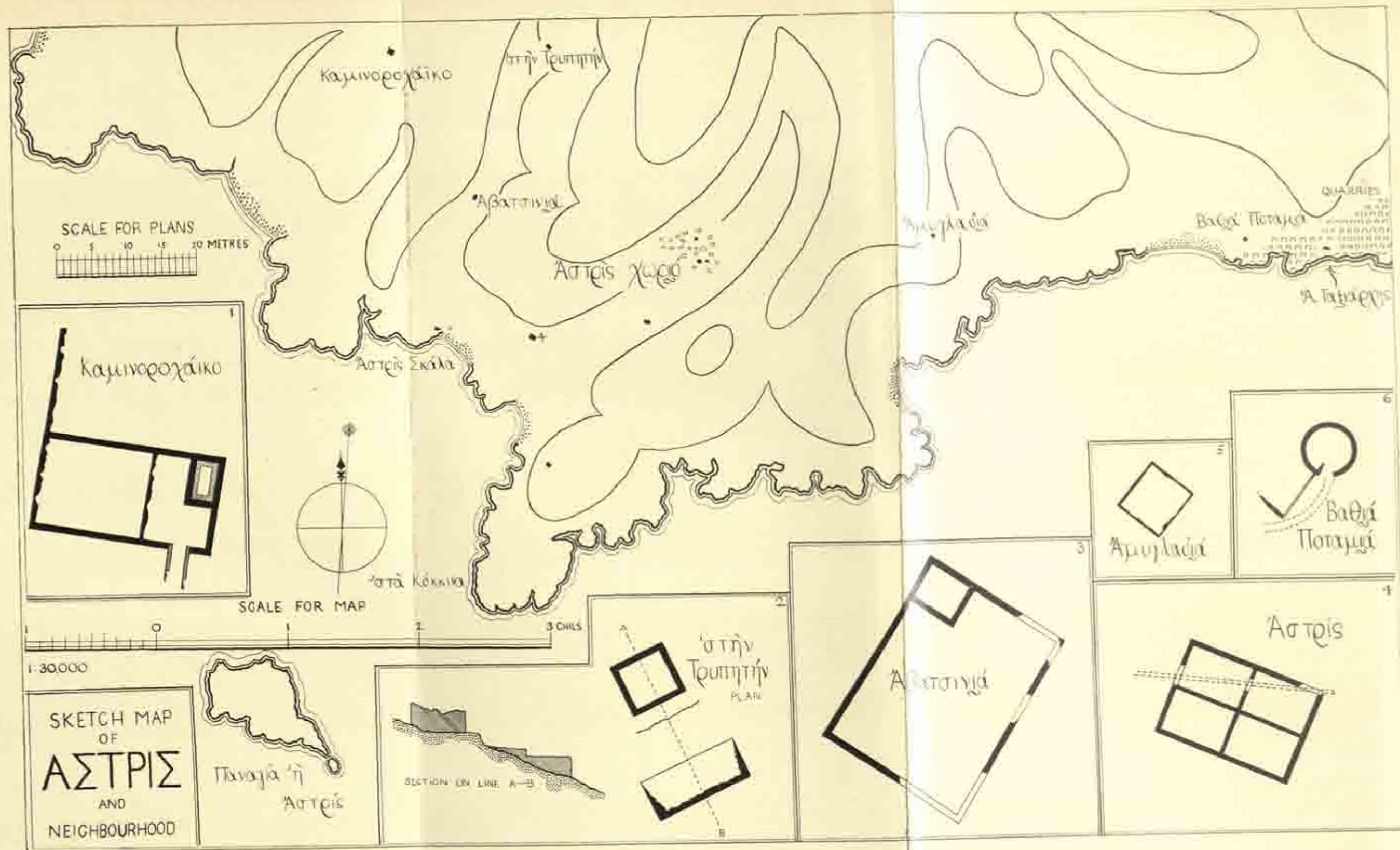


SKETCH MAP OF LIMENA SHEWING NATURAL FEATURES, THE ANCIENT REMAINS, MODERN OCCUPATION AND CHARACTER OF CULTIVATION 1907











(a)—N.W. Wall.



(b)—N.E. Wall.



(c)—S.E. Wall, Masons' Marks.



(d)—S.E. Wall, Inscription.



(e)—S.E. Wall, Apotropaion.



(f)—S. Wall, with dark course.

LIMENA (THASOS) DETAILS OF TOWN WALLS.



(a)—N.E. Outwork.



(b)—N.E. Wall.



(c)—Detail of E. Wall.



(d)—S.E. Wall.



(e)—Frieze built into Entrance.



(f)—S.W. Wall.



(a)—Relief of Pan (from Cast).

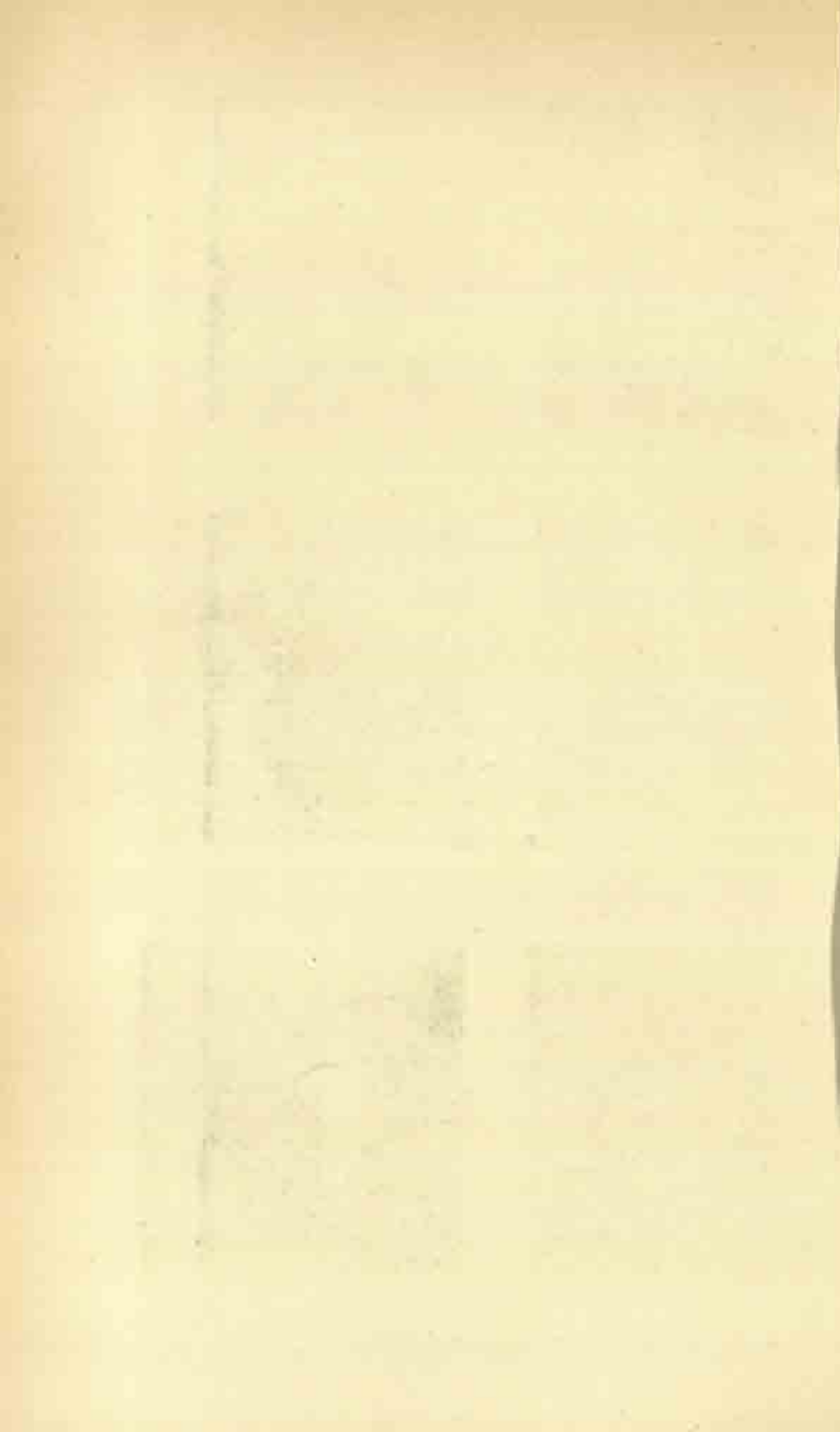


(b)—General View of Shrine.



(c)—Natural Grotto.

LIMÉNA (THASOS), SHRINE OF PAN.





(a)—Angle of Quarries.



(b)—Unfinished Block.



(c)—Hole for Hawsér.



(d)—Byzantine Capitals.



(e)—Thimonia Tower.



(f)—Demi Chalkia.



DETAIL OF FUNERARY RELIEF FROM LIMÉNA, THASOS.
(From a Cast.)



A. Nos. 63.

74

62.

66.

67.

1:3.



B.

No. 81.

1:3.

RHITSÓNA. Vases from Grave 46.



A.

No. 84. 6 1/2 x 12.



B.

RHITSÓNA. Lekythoi from Grave 48.





151



152

NAUKRATITE VASE FROM RHITSÓNA.

Fig. 1

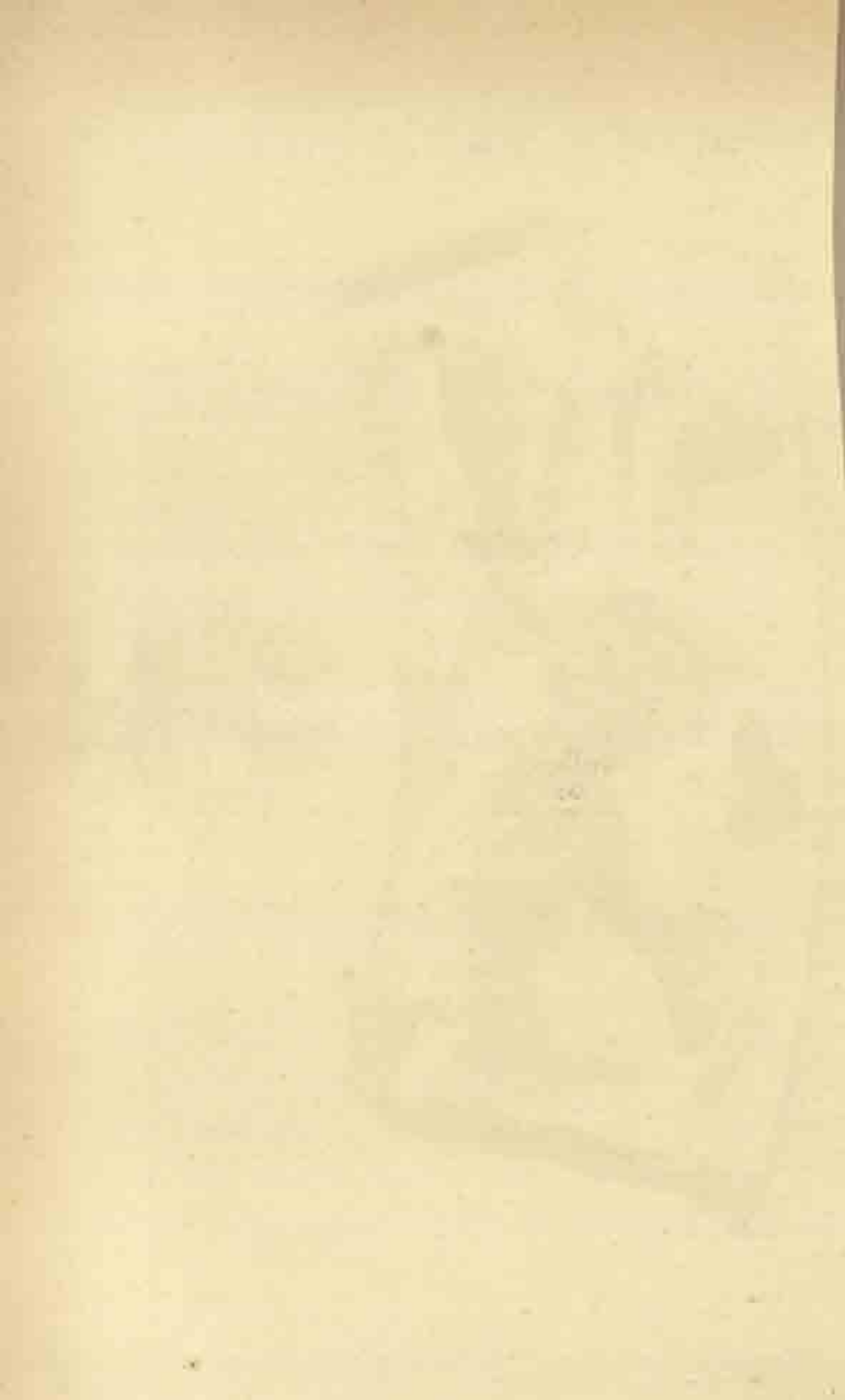


Fig. 2



FROM RHITSÓNA.

POLYCHROME KANTHAROS



The Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies.

PRESIDENT—

PROFESSOR PERCY GARDNER, Litt.D.

Objects.—The Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies was founded in 1879 for the following objects:—

- 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 civilisation.

The Journal.—In accordance with the first object the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* was issued in 1880, and has since been published in half-yearly parts, under the management of an Editorial Committee. The present Committee consists of PROFESSOR ERNEST GARDNER, MR. G. F. HILL, and MR. F. G. KENYON, with a Consultative Committee consisting of PROFESSOR BYWATER, MR. SIDNEY COLVIN, PROFESSOR PERCY GARDNER, PROFESSOR HENRY JACKSON, and MR. R. M. DAWKINS (ex officio, as Director of the British School at Athens). The *Journal* is recognised not only in England but elsewhere as one of the leading organs of classical archaeology. Twenty-eight volumes and four supplements have now been issued. To enable the *Journal* to be carried on with the same efficiency, and, further, to enable the Society to fulfil the other objects for which it was created, and more especially to take in hand or to support the work of exploration in Hellenic countries and the publication of results, the Council appeal to all members to do what they can to enlarge the numbers of the Society, and invite all persons who desire to see England at least on a level with other countries in devotion to Greek studies, to offer themselves as candidates for election. With its present 906 members and 162 subscribing Libraries the margin of revenue left after the publication in each year of two numbers of the *Journal* with adequate

illustrations is not large enough to allow of more than occasional small grants for other purposes. If the numbers could be raised to 1,000 or more, there would remain every year a surplus which might be devoted with real effect to the prosecution of archaeological research in whatever direction might seem advisable. Even as it is the Society has been able to give substantial help to the work of the British School at Athens, of the British School in Rome, of the Asia Minor, Cyprus, and Cretan Exploration Funds, as well as to some private explorers.

Meetings.—By an arrangement recently made with the Society of Antiquaries, the Society holds occasional meetings in that Society's rooms in Burlington House, when papers are read and discussed, and any communications of importance can be made to members.

The Library.—The books and periodicals which have been acquired by the Society for the use of members are kept in the Society's own Library at 22 Albemarle Street. During the past few years the Council have made considerable progress towards the formation of a good Reference Library of works dealing with every department of Greek art, language, and history. As the Library grows its usefulness grows also, and it is eminently desirable that the Society should be in a position to continue to devote from £75 to £100 a year to this object. The Library Catalogue published in 1903, price 3s. 6d., makes this collection accessible to country members, as books may be forwarded through the post. All subsequent accessions are catalogued annually in the *Journal*, and then added to the Catalogue. It should be added that the Librarian is within stated times daily so far as his duties permit at the service of members when the Library is open.

Photographic Department.—Some years ago the Council began the collection of a series of photographs of Greek sites, scenery, and objects of art. It was a natural step from this beginning to have lantern slides made from these and other Greek subjects, which could be lent at a low rate to members for lecturing and teaching purposes. This branch of the Society's work met with so much encouragement that in 1898 the Council accepted an offer from one of their body, Mr. J. Linton Myres, of Christ Church, Oxford, to undertake the organisation of a collection both of photographs and lantern slides which should be so far complete as to supply all the reasonable demands of lecturers and teachers. It need hardly be pointed out that this development has involved not only considerable labour on the part of the organiser, but also no small demand upon the Society's funds. These collections are now in working order and a new and complete Catalogue of Slides giving particulars of the collections of photographs and negatives, was published in the *Journal* for 1904. Accessions to the slide collection have since been catalogued annually in the *Journal*. It is obvious that the development of this side of the Society's work has strengthened its special claim upon the support of all serious students of Greek art, archaeology, history, and literature, and particularly of members of the teaching profession, whether at the Universities or in Public Schools. The Catalogue of slides (price 1s., annual supplements 3d.

each), can be obtained from the Librarian at 22 Albemarle Street, to whom also should be addressed all applications from members desiring to borrow them.

Entrance Fees and Subscriptions.—The foregoing summary of the objects and the work of the Society will serve to show that as time goes on the demands made upon its resources are likely to increase rather than to diminish, while some loss of revenue must occur year by year through the death or resignation of members. It is therefore of the first importance that the supply of candidates for membership should be constant and increasing. Applications for membership, or for information about the Society, should be addressed to the Secretary at 22 Albemarle Street, W.

The Annual Subscription of One Guinea entitles members to receive a copy of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* as published. The entrance fee due from new members on election is two guineas. Back numbers of the *Journal* can be obtained by new members on payment of the subscription for the years in which they appeared. The Annual Subscription can be compounded for by a single payment of £15 15s. and the entrance fee of two guineas. The Life Subscription does not entitle new members to the volumes issued previous to election, but the privilege of obtaining all back volumes on payment of the subscription for the year in which they were issued is a substantial one, as the volumes cannot be acquired through other sources at a less cost than 30s. nett.

Student Associates are admitted by the Council, at their discretion, for a period not exceeding five years, to certain privileges of the Society, on payment of an annual subscription of one guinea, without payment of entrance fee. They are allowed to receive the *Journal*, to read in the Library, and to attend meetings; but are not entitled to borrow books, or lantern slides, or to vote at meetings. Every candidate must satisfy the Council by means of a certificate from his teacher, who must be a person occupying a recognised position in an educational body and a Member of the Society, that he or she is a *bona fide* Student in subjects germane to the purposes of the Society.

Libraries may subscribe to the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* at the members' subscription of one guinea per annum, without payment of the entrance fee of two guineas. Librarians desiring to avail themselves of this privilege should apply to the Secretary.

All Subscriptions are payable to the account of the Hellenic Society, and should be addressed to

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c/o MESSRS. MACMILLAN & CO.,

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The affairs of the Society are administered by the Council, the present constitution of which is shown on the following page.

LONDON, February, 1909.

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‘Ο ‘ΑΦ’ ΕΣΤΙΑΣ.

TWO STATUES OF A BOY CELEBRATING THE ELEUSINIAN MYSTERIES.¹

[PLATE I.]

WHEN the great tunnel under the Quirinal was being constructed many fragments of statues and inscriptions came to light, most of which are at present stored in the *Magazzino Archeologico*. Among the finest is the statue of a boy (Pl. I. a) in the Fourth Room, found during the excavations of 1899-1900, and published in the *Bullettino Comunale* for 1901, Pl. X., where it is described as probably a Pasitelean imitation of the early Peloponnesian School of the fifth century B.C., unlike any known type, but suggestive on the one hand, from the myrtle wreath on the support, of an Eros or Thanatos, on the other, from its grave and serious aspect, of a *camillus*. M. Reinach in a note in vol. iii. of his *Recueil des Statues Antiques* (p. 177) also regards it as archaistic; Dr. Amelung as a copy of a bronze original produced somewhat later than the Hestia Giustiniani. Amelung also points out that the myrtle wreath and myrtle-bound staff of torch-like form connect the statue with the worship of Eleusis (*Museums and Ruins of Rome*, i. p. 232). Hidden away in the *Magazzino* the work appears to be little known, in spite of the remarkable freshness and beauty of the type, to which nothing essential, save the attributes once held in the arms, is lacking. The boy with his ungirt chiton of peculiar form, his fillet and carefully arranged hair—note especially the tress turned back over the parting in the middle of the forehead—was holding some weighty object, as the position of the arms and the *puntelli* on the body prove; the writer in the *Bullettino*, pre-occupied with the *camillus* theory, suggested an *acerra*, a small sacrificial animal, or two lesser objects such as a *profericulum* and *patiera*.

Two days after examining this statue and mentally restoring it as holding an animal or tray of offerings, I came upon a replica (Pl. I. b and c) in one of the corridors of the Palazzo dei Conservatori. For any reference to this statue I have searched in vain; the history, like the type, appears to be unknown. The restorations are unimportant; the r. and l. arms from the elbow,

¹ Read at the Annual Meeting of the British School at Rome, Nov. 1908.

most of the pig, the upper part of the tree trunk, the lower part of the trunk, and the tip of the nose. It is clearly much later in date, an Antonine as opposed to an Augustan copy, but the identity of the figures is beyond doubt. The waving locks parted on the forehead and drawn away to the side—the centre tress alone rolled straight back under the fillet—the two curls in front of the ears and the others falling on the neck, though less carefully worked out in (*b*), are all distinctive; so is the narrow chiton with its falling sleeves, and neither can, so far as I have been able to discover, be paralleled elsewhere, though the way in which the chiton lies on the shoulders recalls that other Eleusinian problem, the so-called Eubouleus. Each copy supplements the other: (*a*) has the attributes on the stump by which the Eleusinian character of the work is made clear; (*b*) supplies the attribute, the sacred pig, also closely connected with Eleusis.¹ Without the help of (*a*) we could not have been certain of the period to which the common original must be referred—indeed (*b*) is an instructive example of the divergences possible to a late copyist; without (*b*) we could not have restored with certainty the object held by the boy; with the two together the type can be completely re-constructed.

Two points of difference there are, but they are unimportant: the plain fillet of (*a*) is replaced in (*b*) by a large rolled fillet, and the right foot, bare in (*a*), in (*b*) wears a sandal. As to the first point, not only is the plain fillet far more in keeping with the date and character of the original, but the existence of a second copy of the head in the Louvre, modified indeed and of inferior workmanship, but in the matter of the fillet agreeing with (*a*), proves the rolled fillet of (*b*) to be due to the copyist.² This head is assigned by M. Reinach to the circle of Myron; though modified in detail,³ the essential features, including the tress turned back from the forehead, have been preserved.

With regard to the second point, no late copyist would invent so bizarre an attribute as a single sandal, but few would hesitate to transfer it from one foot to the other; we may therefore safely infer that (*a*), the statue in the Magazzino, wore one sandal also, but on the left or missing foot. In the fourth book of the *Aeneid*, when Dido is offering her final sacrifice to the gods below before mounting the funeral pyre, she is described as standing *unam exuta pedem vincula*—with one foot bare; the so-called Barberini suppliant has a sandal on one foot only, and Dr. Ameling (*Skulpturen des Vat. Mus.* ii. No. 393) has brought together a number of parallels which prove that the baring of one foot had a definite religious meaning and was especially connected with the cult of the chthonian goddesses.

¹ Schid. *Aristoph. ad Pac.* 974. 5: cf. *Aschura*: 747.

² The fillet is not the flat and broader athletic band, but narrow, straight, and thickish. The Louvre head has been published independently by Partsch (*M. W.*, Fig. 132) and Reinach (*Plac. Antiques*, Pls. XXIX and XXX).

Both assign it to the years 460-450 B.C. The complete statue seems to me to point to the earlier date.

³ The boy is made to look older, and the curls in front of the ears have been shortened and turned into loose locks.

With regard to the little pig, the *χοιρίδιον* of Aristophanes and the Scholiasts, the sash and fillets are certainly additions of the copyist. They do not occur on any representation of the universal Eleusinian offering⁴ but in Roman art are familiar to all from the slab in the Forum representing the *Suovetaurilia*, and the similar scenes on the column of Trajan.

The *locus classicus* for the myrtle wreath and torch is of course the Iacchus chorus in the *Progs* (330 *seqq.*); the scholia on the passage give us further details, and with regard to the *βάκχος*, the fourth-century coinage of Eleusis,⁵ and the frieze of the great altar of the goddesses,⁶ furnish examples which closely correspond to the attribute on the support of (α)⁷ as well as to the literary evidence. Who then was this boy, and what was the part he played in the Eleusinian worship?

References in late authors and citations in the lexicographers, confirmed in the last fifty years by the discovery of some fourteen inscriptions at Eleusis and elsewhere⁸ prove that a class of youthful officials of both sexes,⁹ called collectively *μνηθέντες ἀφ' ἐστίας*—literally the initiates from the hearth, whether of the goddesses or of the city is a disputed point—or individually *ὁ* or *ἡ* *παῖς ἀφ' ἐστίας*, existed at Eleusis, who were every year recruited by lot from the Eupatrid families and initiated at the expense of the state. The earliest literary reference to these is in a quotation from the lost speech of Isaeus *πρὸς Καλυδόωρα* (*Lex. rhet.* s. v. *ἀφ' ἐστίας μνηθείς*), *ὁ ἀφ' ἐστίας μνηόμενος Ἀθηναῖος ἦν πάντως κλήρω δὲ λαχὼν* (he who was initiated from the hearth was in every respect an Athenian; but he was elected by lot).

Their duty consisted in the performance of certain expiatory rites in the name and on the part of the other *mystae*. They were not elected in early childhood, but were *αὐξανόμενοι, παῖδες δευτέρας ἡλικίας, ἀμφιθαλεῖς*, growing boys (Lenormant, pp. 201-7; Boeckh, *O.G.* 393, etc.)—roughly speaking, children between the ages of eight and fourteen. Though too young for full initiation—Himerius (xxii. 7) contrasts the *παῖς μύστης* with the *ἐμπύτης ἀνὴρ*—they were yet, as Porphyrius tells us, able to serve as mediators between the gods and the rest of the *mystae* (*de abst.* iv. 5). Their election was a time of rejoicing and giving of presents for the family (*Per. Phorm.* Act I. Sc. i. 15), and the inscriptions referred to, which once adorned statues erected by parents in honour of such children, are further proof of the greatness of the distinction. None of those so far discovered goes back earlier than the first half of the third century B.C., but, judging by the analogy of other dedications, there is no reason to suppose that the custom was not in use much earlier. The very phrase of Isaeus seems to point to a

⁴ Coinage of Eleusis, 350-320 B.C. (B.M. Cat. *Attica*, Pl. XX. 1-4). Eleusinian vase at St. Petersburg (*Compte Rendu*, 1839, Pl. II.) etc.

⁵ *Antiquities of Athens*, Pl. VII.

⁶ Cf. Schol. Aristoph. *ad Ep.* 408.

⁷ Lenormant (*Recherches archéologiques o. Eleusis*, p. 204) enumerates thirteen; to which should be added *Epik. Arch.* 1894, p. 175.

⁸ The inscriptions mentioning girls thus far discovered are of late date.

time when participation in the Mysteries was the birthright of Athenians alone.

Of their dress nothing is known from literature. Other Eleusinian officials, hierophants and *daduchi*, wore rich and stately garments, which Athenaeus (i. 27 ε), probably inverting the truth, accuses them of having assumed in emulation of that invented by Aeschylus for the actors in his tragedies. That the dress of the *παῖδες ἀφ' ἐστίας* was equally distinctive and suitable to either sex is a safe and obvious inference.

A statue of an Athenian boy engaged in the performance of the Mysteries would *a priori* be likely to be from the hand of an Attic sculptor, and the type in fact connects itself with that great group of Attic works which Furtwängler (*Masterpieces*, p. 81), connects with the name of Calamis, comprising the Choiseul-Gouffier statue, the 'Iacchus' of the British Museum and its replica in Munich, and others; to which list must now be added that belonging to a somewhat earlier period, the veiled lady discovered by Dr. Amelung. A peculiarity of the group is that youth only seems to have attracted the artist; no bearded or matronly figure has hitherto been associated with his name, and the Eleusinian boy adds another and still more youthful type to those already known. The conjecture that the statue in the Magazzino is an archaistic work is finally disproved by the evidence of the sandal and other attributes and the discovery of replicas, though we may recognise in the mannered and elaborate style of the Augustan copyist the source of the error.

In conclusion, the evidence for the identification may be thus summed up:—

There was at Eleusis a class of youthful *mystae* permanently attached to the service of the goddesses, and forming a link between the ordinary *mystae* and the priests; statues were erected in their honour; like other members of the hierarchy they wore a special dress; like other *mystae* they sacrificed the sacred pig, and, in the procession of Iacchus at least (Aristoph. *Ran.* 107) wore myrtle wreaths and carried the *βακχος*.

In the statues here published we have the figure of a young boy in a chiton of otherwise unknown form, with hair arranged in a fashion not elsewhere found, and with one foot bare, a sure sign of connexion with chthonian worship; he holds the Eleusinian pig, and on the support the copyist has placed the myrtle wreath and staff. The parallel is complete and gives us a type new in the history of ancient art, such a boy as Calamis may have made for the people of Acragas, as Aristophanes through the mouth of the *Δέξιος Δέξιος* speaks of, at once ideal and typical, in the good years before Euripides and modernism had sapped the strength of Athens.

KATHARINE ESDAILE

NOTE I.

ON THE MEANING OF THE NAME *παῖς ἀφ’ ἐστίας*.

The most commonly received view is that which translates the phrase ‘initiates of the altar,’ i.e. of the goddesses. Recently, however, Mr. Farnell has brought forward a new interpretation. ‘I would suggest that the phrase literally means “the boy who comes to the mysteries from the city’s hearth,” the hearth in the Prytaneum: that the boy by proceeding thence was representing the future hope of the state of Athens, and by his initiation was supposed to specially guarantee the favour of the goddesses to the younger generation of the community.’ (*Culte of the Greek States*, vol. iii. p. 164.) The view that the boy personated Iacchus in the procession is now abandoned. The election by lot and not by fitness, to say nothing of the girls *ἀφ’ ἐστίας*, is against it, as is the age of the Iacchus in the Berlin vase (*Tischbein*, i. 39; *Jahrb. d. Inst.* 1891, p. 120).

NOTE II.

ON THE PETWORTH CAMILLUS.

This statue possesses considerable importance as the only other published statue in which a boy in ritual dress is carrying a pig. (*Clarac*, 769, No. 1910; *Spec. Ant. Marbles* I. pl. 68; *Michaelis*, pp. 597, 613.) He wears a laurel wreath and a very wide ungirdled tunic, whose shoulder-pieces hang down like sleeves below his elbows. The material is Parian marble. *Michaelis* gives no opinion as to its date, but the work appears to be Roman and the laurel wreath seems to suggest a Roman origin. Possibly it may represent a *camillus* in attendance on the *Fetiales*, holding the pig always sacrificed on the conclusion of a treaty. (*Cf. Daremberg and Saglio, v.v. Fetiales.*)

K. E.

THE MARMARA ISLANDS.

[PLATES II.-IV.]

THE islands of the Marmara group, of which the largest are Marmara, Pasha Liman, Aphisia, and Koutali, lie north and west of the Cyzicene peninsula in the sea to which they give their name. The following account is derived from my own gleanings during a short stay in Marmara and Pasha Liman (1907), supplemented from the detailed monograph¹



FIG. 1.—MARMARA ISLANDS.

published by M. Manuel Gedeon of the Greek Patriarchate, who visited all the islands of the group in 1894, studying chiefly the Byzantine and later

¹ *Προκόννητος*, Constantinople, 1885. Practically the only new discovery recorded in the

present paper is the Hellenic fortification above the village of Marmara.

antiquities. Other archaeologists except Texier² seem hardly to have set foot on the islands (which are nevertheless well known to sportsmen for their shooting and fishing³), and most of the authorities cited below speak briefly and often from hearsay only. The islands are, however, easily accessible from Constantinople by Mahsousse and other steamers:⁴ they are very picturesque and unspoilt, and the inhabitants, to judge from my own happy experience, genuinely hospitable.

Marmara, the largest of the group, was known to the ancients as Proconnesus and still retains the name in ecclesiastical documents. The name Proconnesus is variously derived:

(1) From *πρόξ*⁵ or *προκάς*⁶ a kind of deer identical with *τεβρός*: this is probably the right derivation, as the island was also called *Elaphounesus*,⁷ *Νεβρίς*⁸ or *Νεβρία*.⁹

(2) From *πρόχος* a pitcher, commemorating an omen given to the settlers by a woman of the country.¹⁰

Hence the coins of Proconnesus¹¹ bear either a deer or a pitcher as 'types parlants.'

(3) From *προσχάω* and *νήσος*¹²—a mere subtlety of the grammarians, on the assumption, doubtless backed by a giant legend, that it had not always been an island.¹³

The Byzantines generally write *Προκόννησος*, as from *προίξ* *προκός* which is apparently the derivation favoured by the *Etymologicum Magnum* on the ground that the island furnished to all other islands a dowry of marble! It is possible that the real explanation is to be found in some forgotten myth analogous to the Cyzicene legend of the dowry of Persephone.¹⁴ The modern name Marmara, which has been taken over by

² His notes are chiefly geological, as are Spratt's in *Quarterly Journal Geol. Soc.* 1850, p. 218; Sibthorp (in Walpole's *Papagos*, p. 46) has collected some notes on the natural history. An article by K. Zachariades in the first volume of *Σενοβόρυς* (pp. 404-412) contains little but educational statistics.

³ Cf. *The Field*, Sept. 16 and 23, 1905.

⁴ This involves a considerable but not uninteresting *débarcadere*, as the steamers call at several Thracian ports going and coming. They leave twice a week at sunset, arriving at Marmara the following noon.

⁵ *Etyim. Mag.* s.v. *Προκόννησος*.

⁶ Sch. Ap. Rh. II. 279.

⁷ Plin., v. 40, but Scylax (84) distinguishes them as two islands.

⁸ Plin. *Naturalis*.

⁹ Thucyd. cont. 437 n.

¹⁰ Thucyd. cont. *ad fin.* (*Προκόννησος*) ἦν τινος Νεβρίας δωδεκαμήνης τοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ κατὰ χερσόνησον δωδεκαμήνῃ πρόχου ἄκουσιν Σαπίες περὶ τὴν αἰῶνα, αἱ δὲ ἀκούουσιν τῆς αἰῶνος... ἀποστερομένης τοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐγγύστατος ὁδοῦ ἢ καὶ συνταύτης

γὰρ ἡ τῇ τῇ αἰῶνος, αἱ δὲ ἔχουσιν πρόχου δωδεκαμήνην ὁδοῦ ὡς καὶ λαβόντες, αἱ δὲ χερσόνησον, καὶ γὰρ ἐκτετακτοῦ, τῆς δὲ καὶ τῆς αἰῶνος δωδεκαμήνης πρόχου τῆς αἰῶνος δωδεκαμήνης καὶ τῆς ἀπὸ τῆς αἰῶνος δωδεκαμήνης πρόχου εἰκόνας.

¹¹ See *B.M. Cat. Mynt.*, pp. 175-9, where they are assigned to a period c. 230-c. 280 A.D., i.e. after the Cyzicene conquest and deportation. An older coin (about 400 A.D.) is published by Wroth in *New. Chron.* 1904, 306, Pl. XV, 14. Some of them bear magistrates' names. The copper coins are fairly common in the island, very rare outside.

¹² Schol. ad Apoll. Rhod.; *Etyim. Mag.*

¹³ I heard a similar modern legend to the effect that when God created Rumeli and Anatoli there were certain stones left over which He ordered the Devils to carry from the latter to the former. The Devils dropped the stones half-way, whence the Marmara islands.

¹⁴ App. *Bell. Mich.* I. 75. Coronelli (*Isolaria*, 281) says the islands were called *Proconnes* 'perché che gl' imperatori Greci le danno per dote alle Sorelle o Figlie che maritavano.'

the Turks, is used consistently in the early Italian navigators.¹⁵ In the Crusading period the names were both in vogue: *Proconneso* is used in the *Partitio Romaniae*, *Marmara* by Villehardouin.¹⁶

Of the history of Proconnesus little enough is known: the island was colonised from Miletus,¹⁷ and served like Cyzicus as a stepping-stone to the Euxine. The Milesian colony was ruled by a tyrant Metrodorus under Darius,¹⁸ took part in the Ionian revolt, and was sacked by the Phoenician fleet.¹⁹ Later it became a member of the Delian league. Commercial jealousy may have been the reason for the deportation of its inhabitants by Cyzicus²⁰ in 362 B.C. In the Byzantine period Marmara was cruelly exposed to every invader of the capital,²¹ and was used like the Prinkipo Islands chiefly as a place of banishment,²² especially for refractory priests.²³

Many of the banished saints are still commemorated in Marmara and the other islands. The calendar published by Gedeon includes *proteggres* in honour of S. Nicolas of Studium (Marmara, Feb. 4),²⁴ S. Macarius of Pelocete (Aphysia, Apr. 1),²⁵ S. John of Kathara (Aphysia, Apr. 27),²⁶ S. Hilarion of Dalmaton (Aphysia, June 6),²⁷ S. (*δαριος*) Timotheus (all islands, Aug. 1),²⁸ S. Bassa (Halono, Aug. 1), S. Theodore Graptos (Marmara, Oct. 11),²⁹ S. Stephanus, jun. (Marmara, Nov. 28),³⁰ S. Philetaerus (Marmara, Dec. 30).³¹

Proconnesus was the seat of a Byzantine bishop, and became an independent archbishopric as early as the ninth century,³² a metropolis in 1824.³³

The alleged grant of the island by Emmanuel Comnenus in 1115 to a

¹⁵ Tommasek, *Sittd. Abud. Wien* 124 (1591), p. 3.

¹⁶ 245, Ducloux.

¹⁷ Str. 587. Theoph. cont. (437 B) is probably in error as to the *Sansians*. *Elys. Mag.* (A.C. *Προκοννησος*) speaks of Milesians in the same legend.

¹⁸ HdL iv. 138.

¹⁹ HdL vi. 33.

²⁰ Paus. viii. 46; cf. Demosth. in *Polycr.* § 5, in *M&L* § 173.

²¹ Theoph. cont. 196 (Russians in the reign of Theophilus); *ibid.* 229; Cedr. ii. 227 (Sarracens from Crete in 806); G. Pashy. ii. 529 (Catalans in 1307).

²² Stephanus (son of Romanus Lucipennis), A.D. 945 (Cedr. ii. 325, Zon. iii. 481, Theoph. cont. 437, Lee Gram. 330, Syn. Mag. 735-4), and Basilissa Petelinos (Cedr. ii. 342, Theophylactus, A.C. 979 (Zon. iii. 521)).

²³ The patriarchs, Nicephorus 815 (Cedr. ii. 56, Zon. iii. 325), Michael Cerularius 1058 (Soyl. 644), Arsenius 1238 (G. Pashy, i. 271—for the monastery of Suda see Gedeon, p. 12—cf. ii. 43, Nicoph. Greg. i. 95), and of the saints noticed below: Nicolas, Macarius, John, Hilarion, Theodore, Stephanus, and Philetaerus; all but

the last were exiled during the iconoclastic period. Hierocles' *Epist.* and Photius 82, Bekker (cf. *Vita Chrysostomi*, lxxv. 22, Migne) show that this was the recognised use of the island. Philetaerus is said by the *Synax. Constantinensis* to have been sent to the quarries.

²⁴ Under Leo Armenius (Migne, *P.G.* cv. 912).

²⁵ Under Michael Balbus; cf. *Anal. Bell.* xvi. 140 ff.

²⁶ c. 713.

²⁷ c. 845.

²⁸ S. Timotheus is said to have come to the islands under Justinian and to have converted the inhabitants from their barbarous manner of life—they lived by plunder from wrecks and from boats which put in during stormy weather. The life of Timotheus is dismissed by Gedeon, who pronounces it most untrustworthy and even devoid of truth in local colour (pp. 126-129).

²⁹ c. 834. Migne, *P.G.* cxvi. 669-72.

³⁰ Migne, *P.G.* c. 1178.

³¹ May 19 in *Acts* 88 (under Maximian).

³² Ignatius (879) is the first archbishop in Gedeon's list.

³³ Gedeon, p. 13.

John Comnenus is backed only by a forged deed, purporting to be the renewal of the grant in 1224 by Manuel Comnenus in 1224 to George Marmora and his successors.³⁴

Under the Latin Empire Marmara fell to Pierre de Bruisquel³⁵ and became a Latin bishopric.³⁶ The Catalans made an attempt on it in 1307,^{36a} and in 1315 it is mentioned among the islands granted by Philip of Tarentum, prince of Achaia (as titular Emperor of Constantinople) to Martin Zaccaria:³⁷ we have, however, no evidence that the deed was ever carried into effect. Nor has any tradition come down to us of the capture of the island by the Turks. Under their administration it was tributary to the Voivode of Galata.³⁸

Marmara is roughly oval in shape, about eleven miles long by six-and-a-half across at its broadest point. It is divided lengthways by a long ridge running east and west, which reaches its highest point at the western end of the island above the village capital. The northern slopes are very rugged and bare, only tiny coast-plains being available for cultivation: there is good grassland at the chiflik of Tetrágonο, but trees are almost non-existent. The southern half is somewhat more hospitable: it contains three villages and one valley of considerable extent, as well as some (unfortunately disappearing) oak-woods.

The population is entirely Greek in speech and religion except in the village of Marmara, which seems to be the oldest on the island, being mentioned by Buondelmonte in 1422.³⁹ The other villages are at least as early as the sixteenth century: Palerne says there were eight in 1582,⁴⁰ and all of these are shown in Covel's map (1677).⁴¹ The latter author is responsible

³⁴ Printed in the preface of Andrea Marmora's *Historia di Corfu*, 1672 (Gk. and Lat.), and Dappoz, *Archipel*, p. 491 (French). It is discredited by Hopf (*Venedo-Bysantinische Analekten in Süder. K. Akad. zu Wien*, 1866, xxxii, p. 508). Cf. Godeon, p. 152. Finley's copy of the *Historia di Corfu* has the following MS. note: 'This is a forgery: the title proves it. It may have been framed on some document of Manuel of Epirus, Emperor of Thessalonica, 1230-1282. The indication would really be xii. 107.'

³⁵ Villehardouin, § 245.

³⁶ Leques (ii. 945 (Marmorensis); cf. the thirteenth-century Provincial in Mas Latrie, *Trois. A seventeenth-century Latin Mission to Marmara* is mentioned by Cayrou (ed. Le-grand, p. 57).

^{36a} Pashy, vi. 25.

³⁷ L. de Góngora, *Real Armada de la Es-pañola di Genova* (Madrid and Genoa, 1665-7), Tit. viii. No. 22 (May 26, 1315): 'Asia Minor cum Comitibus, Baronibus, Civitatibus. Insulae adjacentibus videlicet Focasta, Marmora, Tenedo, etc.'

³⁸ Godeon, p. 219. The Kadi was similarly under the Mollah of Galata (d'Omissa, *Tabelle*, ii. 281) so that the islands were administered as a suburb of Constantinople. Hence Coronelli's reference to the *Subashi*, who was the local representative of the Voivode. The revenues of Marmara were sold for five purses (£350), those of Aphisia and Koñali for 400-500 dollars Piscock. Coronelli (*Isolaria*, 281) records that the late Sultan Mahomet IV. gave the islands to his mother for the construction of the Yeni Valide Mosque, and that the marbles were used for that building.

³⁹ § 62 . . . *ab alto latere oppidum elemtur paucorum inhabitantium ubi scopuli aliqui praesulant*: Martelli (Add. MS. 15,760, f. 38 verso. 1489), *qua vero meridione occurritque spectat oppidum habet eundem quo insula nomine, cetera deserta alque inania inest*.

⁴⁰ *Peregrinations* (1606), p. 373.

⁴¹ Viz. *Chakiri* (Galini), *Falatra*, *Gannato*, *Antoni*, *Khazak*, *Arbanitochori* (together inland), *Parastio*, *Marmora*, *Gannato* and *Arbanitochori* are now chifliks.

for the statement that the inhabitants except in the village of Marmara were of Albanian origin.⁴² I was told by a friend resident in Smyrna that about twenty-five years ago a great number of the Constantinople boatmen were from the islands, and amongst themselves talked Albanian; the language survives certainly in Aphloni.

Marmara, the capital and administrative centre of the island,⁴³ lies under the mountainous west end, but possesses a small coast plain and some olive-yards: here as elsewhere silkworm-culture is beginning to supplant vine-growing. There are said to be 700 or 800 houses in the village, of which 30 are Jewish, 40 Turkish, and the rest Greek. The Jews are Spanish-speaking and apparently not a very old settlement: they are said to have been attracted by the wine-trade. The Turks here alone form a community: elsewhere in the island their only representatives are the port and fishing officials and the proprietors of the two chiflikis of Gamiato and Tetrágon. The churches are modern or insignificant: that of the Theodores is said to be very ancient, but possesses no feature of interest. Beside the church of the Virgin on the port is a fragment of Byzantine wall, presumably the remnant of a small castle—the *epitulum* shown in Buondelmonte's map—such as were commonly built in the Aegean islands for the defence of ports.⁴⁴

On the foot-hills above, a short half-hour from the village,⁴⁵ are considerable remains of Hellenic walls (Pl. II, α), which suffice to prove that the ancient capital⁴⁶ occupied approximately the same site as the modern. The walls are of various construction, generally polygonal. The best-preserved portion is the highest point, a spur of the mountain, whence two diverging walls run from a square tower towards the sea. The inner face of this tower is carefully built of squared blocks laid in courses, of which three are visible above ground: the face of one stone measures 1.56 × 0.60 m.; the

⁴² "All the inhabitants Xtians, all Albanians except Marmara, where there are Greeks" (*Add. MS.* 22,914, f. 29 v°); cf. Palanis, *op. cit.*, p. 373: (at Palatia) "Leur coiffure ressemble à celle d'Esclaves; elles portent leur robe ouverte par devant où elles mettent un grand pièce d'ouvrage d'or, & de soye de toutes couleurs qu'elles font elles memes." Cornicelli (*Isolarie*, p. 251) says: "(le Donne) essendo naturalmente bellissime, vestono panni sopralini, portano la sottoveste di seta, di soya, una Giubba con bottoni di Argento dorato, ed in testa un grosso involto rotondo di seta gialla, come Felpa guarnita d'oro, giugnendo l'orifizio sine alle spalle." The costume of a woman from Marmara in (Anon.) *The Customs of Turkey* (London, 1802, Pl. XIII.) has, however, nothing remarkable about it. The *Gr. de Marmellus* (*Sumerian L'Orient*, 1. 167) wrote in 1820: "Les femmes de l'île de Marmara portent de longues robes à bandes de diverses couleurs, et une haute coiffure chargée de fleurs et de mou-

selles blanches." *Shalvars* are now practically universal as far as I see. A custom which may have a bearing on the race-question is noted by Coronelli (*loc. cit.*): "Altro costume singulare quest' Isola... che pagando certa somma di denaro, il Sulasci permette a Spesi di convener liberamente, e di poter ancor dormire con le Spose prima di congiugersi immediatamente insieme; restitudo però gravide sarebbero quelli condannati al remo." This is also reported of the 'Platic' villagers (in the Brusa district), who appear to be of North-Greek origin.

⁴³ The island is a *noket* under Ersek: the smaller islands form a second *noket* with a *noket* at Pasha Liman.

⁴⁴ In Core's day Marmara village was known also as Πέγος (*Add. MS.* 22,914, f. 29 v°).

⁴⁵ The place is known as *Knerpássa*: it is immediately above the 'chapel' (of S. Elias) shown on the Admiralty Chart 2242 (1935).

⁴⁶ Scylitz, § 94, *vīkēn kai vīkēn Πρωτοκράτος*.

thickness of the wall is about 1.50, and at least one stone runs right through. In this inner wall two small doorways or windows are cut: their heads are formed by cutting away two courses of stones diagonally (Pl. II, *b*).

Adjoining the tower on the south side is a stretch of good polygonal wall, roughly coursed and well jointed; it stands to a height of 1.00–1.50 m. and runs for some 10.00 m.; below it the slope of the hill is thickly strewn with worked blocks for a considerable distance. The average thickness of the wall seems to be about 2.00 m., but except in the neighbourhood of the tower remains are scanty and built in the roughest style.

A short distance north of Marmara is Galimi, a village of 200 houses, all Greek; it is mentioned by Pachymeres⁴⁷ as Γαλιμοδαμῆς. Immediately above it is an *ayasma* of the Panagia; some Byzantine detail, including the crossbeam of a marble iconostasis with the bust of the Virgin in relief, and a small rubble apse, are the only remains of the church. All around are massive supporting walls built of large unworked stones (as long as 2.75 m.) roughly laid without mortar but with some attempt at coursing. These are evidently of ancient date and may mark the site of the sanctuary of the Proconnesian Cybele: the Galimiotas hold a yearly panegyris at the spot.

An hour inland from this place brings us to the castle (Pl. III, *b*) noticed by Texier⁴⁸ and the Admiralty survey.⁴⁹ It stands on a high conical hill overlooking the southern sea at the junction of two ravines: the only possible approach—i.e. along the isthmus—is still defended by two horseshoe-shaped towers joined by a curtain wall: the walls are about 2.00 m. thick and built of small flat granite stones laid in mortar. The castle originally occupied the whole of the hill-top and the walls, with some buildings and cisterns inside of it, may still be traced. The high-lying site and the remoteness from the sea mark the castle as a fœdal, not a defensive, fortress: it is probably to be attributed to the short-lived domination of Pierre de Braicnel.

At the end of the valley commanded by the castle is the Chiftlik of Gamiato, a Turkish farm with a considerable silkworm culture: it is said to occupy the site of a village.⁵⁰

The only place on the bare northern coast is the marble quarrying village of Palatia, which boasts four hundred houses, all Greek; the few Turks are either port-officials, or quarrymen who come for temporary employment. The rough solid-wheeled bullock trolleys with wooden axles used for conveying marble down to the port have the distinction of being the

⁴⁷ I, 288; cf. 286 and Godeon 128. The harbour to the north (Petalî Liman) is mentioned by the Russian abbot Daniel (1193) as a stage between Constantinople and Jerusalem (ed. Noroff, pp. 5, 6).

⁴⁸ Texier, *Descr. de l'Asie Mineure*, II, 167; Godeon, 155.

⁴⁹ Admiralty Chart 2242 (1955). The height

of the hill is 1840 feet.

⁵⁰ The site is marked on Pococke's map. The other chiftlik, Tetrígono, seems also to have been a village down to 1766 (Godeon, pp. 155, 219). It is probably the *Ἀγβαρυγία* of Covell's map: the site is an ideal one for Albanian shepherds.

only wheeled traffic of the island. The churches are modern, and date as elsewhere in the island chiefly from the first half of the 19th century: the local wooden screen-work is elaborate but deficient in restraint and finish.

The church of S. George is used for *incubatio*: it stands on an ancient site, and a tessellated pavement with a commonplace but not unpleasing geometrical design has been uncovered to the west of it. Round about are Byzantine walls of stone and tile laid in courses, similar to the masonry of the adjacent building, seen and drawn by Texier,⁵¹ which is now quite formless.

The harbour is fair but exposed to the N.E.: the villagers own and even build on the spot caïques of the larger sort, the chief export being of course marble. The outer mole on the west side of the bar is an interesting monument: it is built of enormous blocks of marble 4.50 m. (the width of the mole) \times 1.25 \times 0.90 m. deep: some of these blocks have projecting extremities pierced for the mooring of ships alongside: this is evidently Buondelmonte's *pons lapideus*, which is shown conventionally as an arched structure in his map.

The famous marble-quarries (Fig. 2) lie to the south and east of the village, and are now worked by private persons holding concessions from government:⁵² the quarries are open workings and the beds of marble appear very irregular in stratum.⁵³ The stone is white with a marked bluish vein⁵⁴ and is exported to Constantinople, Smyrna, and especially Alexandria. Ancient wedges are frequently found in the workings.⁵⁵

Proconnesian marble was used in classical times not only for the buildings of Cyzicus,⁵⁶ but further afield for the palace of Mausolus at Halicarnassus⁵⁷ and for a temple at Heraclea Pontica;⁵⁸ it retained its repute down to Byzantine times and was used for many of the buildings of

⁵¹ Pl. XLIII, in the small edition (*L'Univers*, rii.), where it is called '*Restes du Palais de Justinien*': this he does not explain or justify, saying only that '*le monument antique de Palatia se compose de deux épaves murailles construites en moellons de marbre avec plusieurs rangs de briques intercalées. Une seule fenêtre dont le cintre est en brique existe encore*' (ii. 159). Schweigger (1576, in Feyerabend's *Reisebuch*, ii. 92) has the following curious note: 'In Proconnesos ist vor Zeiten ein schon Amphithestrum, Schauspielhaus oder Spielhaus von lauter Marmor gewesen dasen aus der sieben Wunderwerken der Welt'—presumably a confusion with Cyzicus.

⁵² They were formerly worked by *corvée*, the royal quarries receiving certain privileges from the government (including the right to wear white turbans) in return (A. La Motraye, *Pontus*, i. 472; J. Dallaway, *Constantinople*, 368; cf. Sandys, 27). This probably dates

from the grant of Mahomet IV. White turbans were worn as a distinction by the inhabitants of the Mastic villages in Chios, another imperial appanage.

⁵³ Texier (ii. 158) says that the greater part of the island is composed of it: 'Le calcaire marbre cristallin d'un blanc éclatant, constitue la majeure partie de l'île. Le granit gris ne se montre que dans la montagne qui domine le port de Galini.'

⁵⁴ Spratt, however (*loc. cit.* p. 215), describes it as 'in some parts quite as white, pure, and crystalline as the Parian, but generally more resembling the cipolline (sic) of Caryata.'

⁵⁵ The quarries are mentioned in the second of the 'Letters of Brutus' to the Cyzicenes and in the *Cod. Theodos.* xi. 28.

⁵⁶ Str. 589.

⁵⁷ Vit. ii. 8, cf. x. 7.

⁵⁸ Phot. Bibl. 229, ed. Bekker.

Constantinople, including the churches of S. Sophia and the Holy Apostles,⁸² later still by the Turks for the Ahmedieh,⁸³ the Yeni Validieh at Constanti-



FIG. 2.—MARBLE QUARRY AT PALATIA.

nople,⁸⁴ the Validieh at Sentari,⁸⁵ and other works;⁸⁶ it was also frequently employed for the sarcophagi of Byzantine emperors.⁸⁷

An hour east of Palatia close down by the sea stands the only

⁸² Zos. ii. 29; Theoph. cont. 141, 143, 146, 147; Evagrius, *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 28, cf. Migne, *Patr. Gr.* xxxv. 281; Paul. Silent., 576, 606, 664 (S. Sophia); Const. Rhodius, 122 (colonnade of Barut Column), 670 (floor of Holy Apostles); of Lethaby and Swainson, *St. Sophia*, p. 237; Strzygowski, *Wasserbehälter*, p. 253, who traces the marble by masons' marks to Ravenna. Proconnesian marble is also mentioned as the material of a eulastatue in Rome in 'Passio IV. Circulatorum' (*Berl. Sitzb.* 1896, pp. 1290, 1292), and of an imaginary temple in Zosimus, *Περὶ Ἀπεριῆς* (in Berthelot, *Actes des Grecs*, ii. 111). In Const. Rhod.

Proconnesian and (coloured) Cyzicus marble are distinguished, the latter being probably the red-veined variety formerly quarried at S. Simeon near Artaki on the Cyzicus peninsula.

⁸³ Sandys, 27.

⁸⁴ Corenelli, *Intorio*, 281.

⁸⁵ La Motte, i. 472.

⁸⁶ Thos. Smith, *Nolitia Gr.* p. 118; Hobhouse, 819.

⁸⁷ Collins, *Περὶ τῶν Ταφῶν, παλαιῶν*; Const. Porph. *de Cæcis*, l. 643 ff. The funerary inscriptions *C.I.G.* 5258, 5292, 5346 (Smyrna), and Dainoff, *Paen. de la Thrace*, 76, mention Proconnesian sarcophagi.

noteworthy church in the island, S. Nicolas Παλατιανός ἐν τῇ Πύρρᾳ (Pl. III, α and Fig. 3).⁶⁴ The plan is a reduced version of the type with apsidal transepts particularly common at Athos;⁶⁵ the customary columns in the narthex are rendered unnecessary by the small scale of the building. The dome is octagonal, standing on a square base: it is said by Gedeon to have been rebuilt in the early nineteenth century.

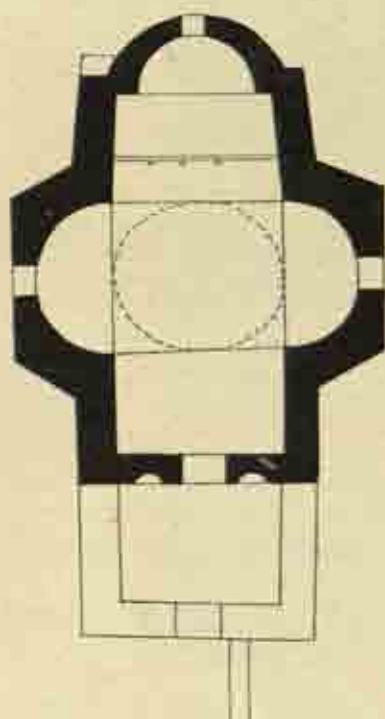


FIG. 3.—S. NICOLAS PALATIANNOS ἐν τῇ Πύρρᾳ. Sketch-plan 1:200.

Further along the coast, opposite the lighthouse, is the modern (1804) church of Panagia Kastrólas: incubation is practised here especially by lunatics.

Of the three southern settlements Aphtoni (Tlk. *Asmalí* = 'with vines') is an extremely picturesquely situated village of 250 houses (Pl. IV, α). The inhabitants are of Albanian origin and say they came from Seodra four hundred years ago: the language is still spoken here and I believe nowhere else on the island.⁶⁶ The ancient ἐπιτραχιλίον mentioned by Gedeon has been removed for safety to Constantinople.

Klazaki tills the lower portion of the considerable valley behind it but is disproportionately small. It has according to tradition never been able to increase beyond thirty-nine houses: if a fortieth is built one of the original thirty-nine falls down. This is said to be due to the curse of S. Timotheus the patron-saint of the island, who was slandered by the inhabitants of Klazaki.⁶⁷

S. Timotheus, though credited with the conversion of the island in the time of Justinian, is, according to M. Gedeon,⁶⁸ more probably to be referred, with his fellow-saints to the

⁶⁴ Connected by Gedeon (p. 112) with the monastery mentioned by Pachy. I. 271 [Ἀποτίμιος] ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἐκ τῆς Προεδροπόλεως τῇ δεξιᾷ ἀκροπόλει τῇ ἐκ τῆς Ὑψηλῆς Λαυρεντίας Σελῆας ἀκροπόλεως Ὑψηλοκλίσουρας].

⁶⁵ Also found at 'S. Elia', Salonica (Texier and Pallou, Pl. LII); S. Demetrius on Ossa (Mexico in *Arch. des Miss.* III (1834), 225; *Tour, Highlands of Turkey*, II. 15); S. Titus at Gortyna (Fyfe, *Arch. Rev.* xlii (1897), p. 60); Hagíoi Saranta, near Sparta; New Meni in Chios; and a small church within the

walls at Aegesthona.

⁶⁶ Cf. above, p. 10. I have, however, been told by a Kutilian that it survives also to a limited extent at Psathia.

⁶⁷ Dallaway, 397, records that Klazaki turned Turk to escape paying *khazatch*, but was rewarded by a doubling of the tax: this would account for the dwindling of the village, but it is fair to say the incident was unknown to the villagers of Aphtoni.

⁶⁸ Pp. 120-3.

Iconoclastic period. His cell and well-house, built ⁷⁰ side by side, and of no great age, are shown in a picturesque valley tributary to the Klazaki stream. The *ayasma* is potent in cases of fever, if the patient makes the journey thither on foot, washes his hands and face, and leaves a garment attached to one of the trees ⁷¹ at his departure. The church is modern and only worth visiting for its picturesque situation high up among the oakwoods.⁷²

Prastio (Πραστεῖο or Πραστός), the last village, is only half an hour from Marmara: it has 400 houses and tills the upper part of the Klazaki valley. Above it is the picturesque monastery of S. Hermolans, built like Megaspelaeon and others in Greece, with its back against a cliff: the buildings, though extensive, are tenanted by two monks only. The plain church contains some relics and a picture of its patron which makes a loud knocking if neglected in the matter of lamps. The monastery is mentioned in a *sigillion* of 1676.⁷³

I shall perhaps be pardoned for inserting among the antiquities of the island the following account of a *βρουκόλακας* in Marmara ⁷⁴:-

'One Yánc *σύμμα* *ρίς*, of the Ile Marmara, severally excommunicated, at last coming home suspected his wife's chastity, stamp't her on the belly and broke her neck down stairs; her mother excommunicated him a new; at last he dyes, being protected by the Turkes, whome he served in many things. Two years after, his friends, fearing so many excommunications upon him hinder'd his dissolution, digg'd him up, found him intire, hair, nayles, etc., onely very black. They got a *συγχώρησις* from the Archbishop: it would not serve turn, for a years after they found him still intire: at last came the mother of his wife and desir'd his pardon likewise, saying she was now satisfied that God had testified the innocencie of her daughter: upon the Archbishop's fresh *συγχώρησις* he was dissolved in a very little time. This was asserted to me by several men of credit, especially Sr D. T., Sr D. P., & Sr D. H.' ⁷⁵

Of the other islands, Pasha Liman, opposite the western point of the Kapu Dagh, retains also its ancient name, Halone, certainly not, as Gedeon would have it, a corruption of *Ἀλκονία*, but rather 'so called of the forme of a yard in which oxen use to grinde corne or beate it small.' ⁷⁶ The island is mentioned by Pliny (*Halone cum oppido* ⁷⁷) by Pachymeres (as *Ἀλόνιον* ⁷⁸),

⁷⁰ The well is in a covered chamber, in the roof of which is a hole where fons was immovably ground and pressed for the salt.

⁷¹ No particular tree.

⁷² It contains a picture of the Virgin, which is regarded as an oracle for the success of ventures. Three crosses are made on it with a coin, after which, if the coin sinks (is accepted), the women is propitious. This method of divination is common in other parts, e.g. near Aitaki on the Cyrenaic peninsula (Sestini, *Peisacra di Creta*, I. 28), and has analogies in ancient

practice.

⁷³ Sathas, *Μισαϊνική Βιβλιοθήκη*, III. 694.

⁷⁴ From Covel, MS. Add. II. 912, f. 180 *rec.* For the superstition in question see *Παλιὰ Παράδοσις*.

⁷⁵ Sir Daniel Harvey, Ambassador at the Porte, 1672-81. The other initials I do not recognise.

⁷⁶ Fynes Moryson, *Itinerary*, II. 88.

⁷⁷ *v.* 46.

⁷⁸ II. 585. Uzzano mentions the island as *Andanum*, p. 226.

and in the legend of S. Bassa.⁷⁸ The island has four villages, Pasha Liman and Halone on the well-sheltered western bay, Vory (Βόρει) to the north, and Skouria to the south. Halone is the seat of the Archbishop of Proconnesus.⁷⁹ The island is said by Palerne to have been settled by Albanians under a renegade pasha⁸⁰; it is low-lying and had a considerable export wine-trade, mentioned as early as Motraye.

Of the villages, I have visited Pasha Liman, Vory, and Khouklia. Pasha Liman (called *Βουλγάρι* in Covel's map) is the seat of the Mudir, the port of call for steamers, and the centre of the till lately important wine-trade, now languishing: the village also boasts a small manufacture of carpets (*kilims*). Vory is a small place of eighty houses. It has a miracle-working church of S. Anna with a hermit's cell, the former a foundation, the latter the dwelling-place of S. Stephen the younger.⁸¹ A panegyris of S. Anna is held on the 25th July, and is much frequented by invalid pilgrims, who are cured by holding the picture in their hands and being 'struck' by it. The picture is covered with *ἀναθήματα*, especially rings.

Vory is also worth visiting for a fine specimen of a Turkish country-house, which stands in the village. The house is square in plan, the two lower storeys solidly built of stone and indifferently lighted. The door is approached by a double flight of steps, is heavily barred, and further defended by a rough kind of *moutrier* formed by piercing the floor of the overhanging wooden storey. The upper-floor has a delightful reception-hall, with a divan at either end, and characteristic panelled ceilings and carved spandrels throughout, all painted in bold colours giving a fine effect of barbaric magnificence.⁸²

Khouklia is a small place of about eighty houses standing on a picturesque bay: it is reckoned an hour and a half from Pasha Liman. The church⁸³ (H. Triada) is a rather more interesting building than usual: the columns stand on ancient and Byzantine capitals of various dates and the screen is a fair specimen of island woodwork. There is a pebble mosaic in the *narthex*, and a fragment of marble *opus sectile* in the northern apse. Two ancient marbles

⁷⁸ Synaxarion, Aug. 21. Bassa was martyred under Maximian; it is, however, uncertain whether she died in Halone or at Cyzicus: according to local legend her remains were washed ashore at Halone. Her *kyiavna* is still to be seen there (Gedeon, p. 37).

⁷⁹ For at least two centuries (Gedeon, p. 194).

⁸⁰ *Peregrinations* (1696), p. 372: "Alloues a cete entre foyz deshabitez jusques à ce qu'elle fut à un certain Paschat sans Albanais de Nation qui l'envoya peupler des gens de son pays à sont tous Chrétiens." This was written in 1582. Gedeon (55) remarks that the names in Halone are curious and foreign-sounding. The island is sometimes called *Βούργουρα*, from a supposed Bulgarian colony. Covel gives the names *Βουλγάρι*, *Αρμυτον*, indifferently to the

village of Pasha Liman.

⁸¹ He was called to Proconnesus, founded a monastery of S. Anna, and lived in a cave called *Kyrosida*: see *Vita S. Stephani junioris* (Migne, *Patr. Græc.* i. p. 1178). The effigy of S. Stephen appears on a Byzantine bishop's seal (Schlumberger, *Sigillographie*, 192, p. 732).

⁸² A similar house at Agnapha is described by Woodhouse (*Atolia*, 38) and there is another above Vory. The type is a combination of the 'Pyrgos' with the normal Turkish timber-framed house.

⁸³ Zachariades (p. 405) describes it as *Αἰὼν Παπαροπούλει*, adding that many pilgrims flock to it at the panegyris from the islands and the Kapu Dagh. *Παναγιώτης ἐκ τῶν παλαιῶν χρόνων, ἐκδοσθεὶς ἐν δευτέρῃ αἰτῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ*.

are built into the pavement, one a portion of a sarcophagus inscription, the other a *haustrophedon* fragment also funerary;³⁴ both were published by Gedeon.

The Hellenic *enclite* recorded by the same author—presumably the *oppidum* of Pliny—runs along the ridge behind the village and down to the sea on both sides of it. The upper parts are best preserved and stand to a height of nearly 200 m. in some places: the masonry is polygonal, the stones employed being very small (Pl. IV., b). I saw no coins in the village, though I heard of Cyzicene staters and parts being found there. A much-worn fragment of a funeral stele, apparently of Hellenistic date, is preserved in a private house.

Aphisia or Arablar (the latter name from a colony of Arabs on the eastern bay³⁵) appears to be Seylax' Elaphonnesus, 'an island with a good harbour cultivated by the Proconnesians'³⁶; the anchorage between it and Pasha Liman is protected on the north by the small island of Koutali. Aphisia is probably also the Old Proconnesus of Strabo, possibly the Ophiussa of Pliny; but Diogenes of Cyzicus³⁷ mentions an island *Physis* distinct from Ophiussa. In the Byzantine writers the name is spelt Aphousia,³⁸ and the island is mentioned most frequently as a place of banishment.³⁹

The condition of the island is backward owing to lack of boats, church lands, and damage done to the vines. It has two villages, Arublar on the east and Aphistia on the west coast.⁹³ At the latter are ruins of a church of the Trinity, of which Gedeon records a curious superstition. It was believed that if a sailor was detained by adverse winds on his homeward voyage, the wind could be changed if his relations at home made the circuit of the ruins burning incense the while.⁹⁴

The ancient name of Koutali (*Tr.* Ekinlik, 'place of sowing') is unknown: the modern, derived from its shape,²² is already of respectable antiquity.²³ The island is mostly under cultivation, and the one village, with its large and well-built houses, has a very prosperous appearance: many of the inhabitants are deep-sea sailors, and in the days of sailing-ships were well-to-do people. I have the authority of a native for the statement that the Albanian language still survives in Koutali. Koutali contains several churches, none of importance. According to tradition, the Franks in the

²⁴ Specimens of this have been sent to the editors of the *Curran*.

²⁶ Le Brayn, 67. It no longer exists.

29 0.4.

57. *Id.* Stahl. Byg. z. v. Bergbaur.

²⁴ *Anal. Boll.* xvi, 159: διὰ τὸ ἀπεισὶν τῆς εὐσεβοσύνης, ὡς ὅτι, οὗτος ἐκλογισμένος [?].

* Theoph. i. 774 (Sons of Constantine VI., 812 A.D.), *Acta SS. and Synaxes*, Mar. 28 (Hilarius of Dalmatia, c. 787; for his *Synaxis* cf. Gieseler, p. 78); Apr. 1 (Macarius of Polesis, c. 829); Apr. 17 (John of Kathara, c. 713); Dec. 28 (Theodore Grapton; cf. Migne, *Patr. Gr.* cxvi. 669-672).

¹⁰⁰ Two villages were lost by Palerme in 1582.

(*Peregrinations*, p. 371).

31. Gaddison, p. 63: Αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες τοῦ κυρίου, ὡς καὶ ἡ μαγίστη, ἰδοῦσαι, καὶ ὄψονται τὸν ἀποκαταστάσαντα τὰ πάντα, πάντας καταστήσαντα — ὁ τοῦ ἀρχαίου ἱσχυιστοῦ ἀλλοτὴ φύσις — οἱ δὲ θῆναι εἰπερ ὁ καταλλόμενος ἔσται παῖδας τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ δὲ ὡς καὶ ἡ μαγίστη καλεῖται εἰς τὴν πατρὸς, ὅρα καὶ ἐννοήσαντες αὐτὰς περιφρονεῖσαι καὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν πάντα — τὰ, ἔχει μεταβάλλει τοῦ πατρὸς τὰν ἀνάγκαν καὶ ἐκκαταλείπει τοῦ ἑαυτῶν.

⁸² *KarráAva:apoon*: the sky line of the island, with the high conical hill of S. Elias at one end, suggests the image.

= Cf. Nicoph. Greg. lxxxviii.; (Antioch 1.
25), 312.

thirteenth century sacked the one great monastery.⁸⁴ Small antiquities are said to have been found on the site of the old (but restored) church of the Ῥόδαν Ἀμάρarton, which contains an ancient relief.⁸⁵

Le Bruyn⁸⁶ and Castellán⁸⁷ give Gadaro among the four larger islands. This appears from Pococke's map to be incorrect, Gadaro being there identical with the islet called Khersiz Ada (Marmarópoulo).

The other names given in Pliny's list⁸⁸—Acanthus, Phoebe,⁸⁹ Scopelos, Porphyriane, Delphacis and Polydora⁹⁰—cannot be attributed to individual islands of the Cyclades archipelago, which includes many satellites of the larger islands, west of the peninsula, and a small group of rocky islets—the Mela islands⁹¹—off the eastern point of the same. Gedeon⁹² found traces of ancient occupation even on Gerá and Koyun-adassi.

Under the Turks the inhabitants of the islands supplied recruits for the fleet,⁹³ and their fishermen were required to make an annual journey to the Black Sea to fetch a particular kind of sand, which, being deposited off Seraglio point, bred oysters for the Grand Signior's table.⁹⁴ The almost unmixed character of the population preserves the islands from many of the disadvantages of Turkish government. From the records published in M. Gedeon's monograph, it appears that the inhabitants, owing to their vineyards, quarries, fisheries, and shipping, were fairly prosperous in the middle of the eighteenth century: their trade began to decline with the opening of the nineteenth, and this depression brought about the mortgaging of the church lands, which form a great part of the available tillage, to the great monasteries of Athos, the Αἰμῶν in Lesbos, S. Nicholas of Andros, and elsewhere.⁹⁵ The result has been that in the case of Marmara one-third of the cultivated land has been thus alienated, while the coming of steam has still further handicapped the petty commerce of the islands. Even now the small village of Aphitoni owns about twenty ships of 200-300 tons,⁹⁶ but the old enterprising spirit of the islanders is more apt to find an outlet in emigration since the encroachments of steam even upon coastwise trade. From Prastos, for instance, I was told that as many as twenty persons had gone to America, and even from the tiny hamlet of Khonklia five or six.

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⁸⁴ Gedeon, p. 83.

⁸⁵ *Id.* p. 79.

⁸⁶ *Id.* p. 67.

⁸⁷ *Id.* *ib.* 92.

⁸⁸ *v.* 10.

⁸⁹ Cf. Steph. Byz. s.v. Βαθίαια.

⁹⁰ Cf. Steph. Byz. s.v.

⁹¹ Of these only S. Andreas is cultivated (Halkiotas, in *Ξενοφάνης*, i. p. 225), and none are inhabited. Sathas (*Μετ. Β.β.* iii. 265) cites a *Sigillon* of 1626: *επι του δε του εθνος δεσποτι Μηχανισμου παντοκρατορος του Αγίου Αρχιερως του Ιωαννου Μοδρουμπα κριαθιενος*. The island was, however, uninhabited at the end of the

century (Coronelli, *Isolaris*, 281).

⁹² *Id.* p. 317.

⁹³ Gedeon, 54, 116.

⁹⁴ Dappert, 491.

⁹⁵ Cf. Gedeon, pp. 23, 52, 54, 55, 129, 130. Cf. S. Karydinos, *Τὰ ἐν Καλλονῇ Μοναστήρια*, p. 25.

⁹⁶ It is curious to remark that the two pre-eminent sea-going villages (Aphitoni and Kóniata) preserve the most distinct traces of their Albanian origin—a fresh example of the adaptability of that race to sea-faring life exemplified in the history of Hydra and Spetsa.

MURSIL AND MYRTILOS.

SEVEN years ago I wrote: "to claim the Pelopids as "Hittites" is really to appeal too much to the imagination as an aid to the writing of history."¹ But it is dangerous to be too unimaginative.

The name of Oinomaos' treacherous charioteer, whom Pelops afterwards cast into the Myrtoan sea, and to whom as the *ραπαῖεντρον* Pelops thereafter made offering at his grave and cenotaph,² was Myrtilos. The same word, in the form Myrsilos, was not uncommon as a personal name in Asia Minor. Herodotus³ mentions it as a name for Kandaules; and the tyrant of Mytilene⁴ is well known.

The recent discoveries of Dr. Winckler at Boghaz Kyöi⁵ have revealed to us an archive of cuneiform tablets, consisting of letters, despatches, and royal decrees of the well-known Hittite kings of the fourteenth century B.C. whose names have hitherto been known to us, on the authority of their Egyptian transcriptions, as 'Seplul' or 'Sapararu,' 'Maurasar,' 'Mautenu,' and 'Khatasar.' From the new discoveries we know that these names were in reality Shubbiluliuma, Mursil, Mutallu, and Khattusil. Other names of kings now known are Aranda, Duthalla, and Arnuanta.

The 'Asia Minor' character of the names Mursil and Mutallu springs to the eye. The former is obviously the same as Myrsilos or Myrtilos,⁶ the latter the same as Motylos (the name of a Carian connected with the *Τρωϊκά*)⁷ and we dare say that the place-name Mytilene is composed of the same elements as the Hittite proper name Mutallu. It is evident that the Khatti or Hittites were the type-people of Anatolia. The peculiarities, religious, artistic, and other, which we regard as characteristic of the culture of Asia Minor were the peculiarities of the Khatti civilization, with its centre at Boghaz Kyöi. Here resided emperors who ruled from Canaan and Armenia to the Black Sea and Aegean, who defeated Egypt in Palestine and planted imperishable records of their march on Sipylus and Tmolus. Their empire was but loosely knit, it is true, and the great phase of its existence which is made known to us by the discoveries at Boghaz Kyöi lasted for

¹ *First Orientation of Greece*, p. 122.

² *Pam.* vi. 20.

³ *Hdt.* i. 7.

⁴ *Alc. fr.* 43; Strabo, xiii. 617.

⁵ *Mit. der deutschen Oriental-Gesellschaft*, No.

35 (Dec. 1907).

⁶ The identity with the name of the Lesbian tyrant was pointed out by Winckler, *Op. Litt.* 219 Dec. 1906.

⁷ *Pape-Brewster*, 247.

little more than two centuries (1400-1200 B.C.), but during that time the power of the Pterian emperors made itself deeply felt, and was not soon forgotten: various Greek legends, for one instance, that of the Amazons, point to a remembrance of the conquering Khatti.⁸

The period of Hittite power was contemporaneous with the decadent 'Mycenaean' age of the prehistoric Greek civilization, which some would identify as the period of Achaean suzerainty from Argolis, while others would bring the Achaeans later, and identify them with the users of 'Geometric' pottery of the early iron age. However this may be, the Achaeans of legend were ruled by the descendants of Pelops, whom all tradition unites to bring from Asia, as a Lydian, a Phrygian, or even a Paphlagonian.⁹

Now in view of the name of the charioteer who is so closely connected with Pelops in legend being practically identical with that of a Hittite king, the theory that 'Pelops' was a Hittite immigrant, a theory which one rejected so absolutely a few years ago, appears in a new light as well worthy of credit.¹⁰ We need not believe in the actual existence of 'Pelops,' any more than in the actual existence of 'Minos,' but it is by no means impossible that, as the kings of Khatti certainly reached the Aegean, one of them, or some sub-king or general, reached Greece and founded a dynasty there.

The further possibility that Myrtilos the charioteer is a dim and altered reminiscence of the historical king Mursil need not be rejected out of hand. Mursil, the contemporary and opponent of Seti I. of Egypt, was a great warrior. During his long reign of probably forty years (c. B.C. 1350-1310) he subdued many lands and peoples, and had diplomatic relations with others, the names and situations of which are unknown to us. The lands of Gasga, Tibia, and Zikhria which are mentioned in his annals¹¹: where were they? It is by no means impossible that Mursil carried his arms across the Aegean.

If we admit some such connexion between prehistoric Greece and the Khatti in the fourteenth century B.C. (i.e. during the 'Mycenaean' or latest

⁸ The tale of the warlike Amazons on the Thermopylae may well be a very ancient legend which reached Greece from the East; of the tenacious Khatti warriors (the Hittites are always represented by the Egyptians as slavers) and their effeminate priests. Smyrna, Magnesia, Thyatira, and Ephesus, were said to have been built by the Amazons. Other traditions, such as the legend of Memnon, son of Aurora, sent by Teutamon, King of Assyria, with two hundred chariots to help Priam, his vassal (Diod. ii. 22), have often been quoted, and probably rightly, as referring to the Hittites. The Amazons also came to Troy, under Penthesilea, and it is not impossible that the Amazonian invasion of Attica to avenge the carrying-off of Hippolyta by Theseus really indicates some far-

away memory of an invasion of the Greek mainland by the Hittites.

⁹ Prof. Bury (*History of Greece*, p. 54), ignoring the legends, makes Pelops a 'native god,' whose 'worship had taken deep root at Pisa on the banks of the river Alpheus.' He was afterwards 'degraded to the rank of a hero.' But why should not the legends have some truth in them?

¹⁰ Dr. Curtius's general theory (in *all Hellenic all love Mycenaean*) remains as impossible as ever; it is not to be believed that *Basileus* is 'Hay-alla,' the 'Land of the Hittites,' who came there from Asia. But that a Hittite conqueror reached Greece is possible and even probable.

¹¹ Winkler, *loc. cit.* p. 18.

Minoan period)¹² we admit a new possibility into the confusion of Greek pre-history. One of the most startling discoveries made at Boghaz Kyri is that the Mitannians, a race living to the eastward of the Hittites, in Northern Mesopotamia, worshipped the purely Aryan deities Mitra, Varuna, Indra, and the Agyins or Nāsatiya-twins.¹³ The names in the cuneiform are practically identical with the well-known Sanskrit forms.¹⁴ The immense importance of the appearance of these Indo-Iranian gods in Western Asia in the fourteenth century B.C. has already been signalized by Prof. Eduard Meyer.¹⁵ What we have to note is that the Mitannians were certainly closely connected in race and culture with the Hittites, so that if the Hittites worshipped Aryan deities or had Aryan blood in them, we have unlooked-for possibilities of eastern Aryan or proto-Iranian blood and culture reaching Greece from the east during the later Mycenaean age. But the main stock of the Anatolians was not Aryan, it was *kleinasiatisch* (Mediterranean)¹⁶ and

¹² Actual contact seems to be shown at the fortress of Gium Kalesi in Phrygia, which the expedition of Cornell University is said to have discovered to be Mycenaean in plan (*The Nation*, 17 Oct. 1907). On the rocks on which Gium Kalesi stands are two famous Hittite figures, probably representing a king following a warrior-god (Teshub?). The king wears the Egyptian uraeus and therefore is probably not Mursil, but one of the successors of Khattusil, either Daddullia or Armuta, in whose time (1250-1200 B.C.) relations with Egypt were good, and imitations of Egyptian court ways and dress may well have been introduced by Egyptian queens (Rameses II. married Khattusil's daughter, and no doubt Egyptian princesses were often married to Hittite kings). There is no trace on these Gium Kalesi figures of the later affectation of Assyrian dress (see the illustration in Perrot-Chippiez, iv, Pl. 352). The date of 1250-1200 B.C. for these sculpture would agree very well with a 'Mycenaean' plan of the fortress, by which is presumably meant a Northern (Achaean?) rather than a 'Minoan' Cretan type of building.

¹³ Winckler, *loc. cit.* p. 51.

¹⁴ The passage reads: *da-mi Mitra-nāsti* *da-mi Ureus* (var. *Arūna*)-*nāsti*, *da-mi Indar* (var. *Indara*), *da-mi Nāsatiyāna*, '(gods) Mitra, (gods) Ureus, (gods) Indara, (gods) Nāsatiyā'. The termination *-nāsti* is probably the Mitannian nominative suffix plural (i), and *da-mi* must be a dual form: *Nāsatiyāna* = SK. *Nāsatiyau* (*Nāsatiyau*). Why Mitra and Varuna are plural, their names being determined by the sign 'gods' instead of 'god' as in India's case, may perhaps be explained by Vedic scholars. It will be noticed that the gods follow in their natural order, Varuna with Mitra, but that apparently

the combination Mitra-Varuna is not indicated, the two being quite separate, while the Agyins are brothers, as always. I might with diffidence suggest that the combination of Mitra and Varuna was already known, and that this is indicated by the plural determinative in the case of each. [The conventional Semitic Babylonian value of the determinative ideogram of deity (AN

𐎠𐎵, *phtr*, AN: AN: 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵: AN: 𐎠𐎵
𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵 of AN: ME: 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵: we are

uncertain which form is used in this case, as Prof. Winckler has not yet published the cuneiform original), viz. *da*, pl. *idna*, is given by Winckler, but it is not to be supposed that a Mitannian reader would have read it as *da* or *idna*: if in this case he pronounced it at all, he would give it its value in his own language, and this is unknown to us.]

¹⁵ *Bücher der kgl. preuss. Acad.* 1907. The fact that the forms of the names are Indian and Vedic rather than Iranian (e.g. the Iranian form of the Vedic *Nāsatiyāna* is given by Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie*, iii, 380?, as *Nāshatiyāna*) is very important. The division between Indians and Iranians had apparently not yet taken place in the fourteenth century B.C.

¹⁶ That is, assuming that the non-Aryan languages, Lycian and Carian, are typical tongues of the Anatolian-Aegean section of the Mediterranean. Kretschmer (*Einführung*, pp. 373, 377) has sufficiently shown that neither Lycian nor Carian was Indo-European. Therefore they are no more related to Iranian than they were to Greek (Prof. Ridgeway, *Early Age of Greece*, I, p. 211, seems to have misapprehended Kretschmer on this point). And the religion

perhaps the Mitannians also were really a *kleinasiatisk* people, but ruled by an Indo-Iranian aristocracy and royal house,¹⁷ which the Khatti were not.¹⁸ In that case it is not probable that the Iranian or Aryan deities were worshipped in Anatolia,¹⁹ so that we need not figure 'Pelops' as a prehistoric Xerxes, and Myrtilos as his Mardonius. Nevertheless, possibilities of Aryan influence from the East transmitted through Pteria remain.

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of Anatolia was hardly Aryan in general character; those of its gods who are evidently of Aryan origin were foreign importations, Mitra from the Indo-Iranian East, Papas or Bagaios from the Phrygian-Thracian North-west.

¹⁷ Cf. Meyer, *loc. cit.* p. 17. Prof. Meyer has pointed out that the Mitannian royal names Sausatar, Artataru, etc., are Aryan.

¹⁸ Their royal names, Shubshuliuma, Arzanda, Mursil, and the rest, seem typically *kleinasiatisk* (non-Aryan) in form.

¹⁹ None of the gods represented in the sanctuary of Khatti at Yassili Kaya, near Boghar Kyü, can be identified with the Aryan deities we have named. In the Vedas the sacred animal of Indra is the bull, and he rides upon horses. In later Indian iconography Indra, spangled with stars to represent the heavens, rides upon an elephant, which in the Rig-Veda is yet unknown as his animal. Some of the gods at Yassili Kaya stand upon animals, and this type of representation was characteristic of Anatolian religious iconography to the last. At Sakchegözü, south of the Taurus, Prof. Garstang has recently discovered, in the ruins of the Hittite palace there, a relief showing a god riding upon a stag. These representations are certainly closely analogous to the Indian consecration of animals with deities, the Nandi bull with Siva, the elephant with Indra, and so

on. They may not improbably in Anatolia be of Iranian origin, but no Aryan deity can be identified at Yassili Kaya, where we see only the Great Mother, with probably her son Atis, and various forms of the elder male deity, Teshub, whom the Egyptians called Sutekh. It is, nevertheless, possible that the worship of Mithras (Mitra), and perhaps also that of Mên, the moon-god, reached Anatolia from the east at this time. Mên seems more probably of Iranian than of European (Phrygo-Thracian) origin. Mên the Iranian moon-god, who goes with Mitra, was represented on the coins of the Indo-Scythic king Kanishka by the same type as was Mên on Anatolian coins (P. Gardner, *Coins of the Greek and Scythian Kings of Bactria*, Pl. XXVI. 9), namely with the sun behind his shoulders, just as on the coins of Huvishka he has the sun behind him (P. Gardner, *loc. cit.* Pl. XXVI. 4). [This, by the way, seems to render doubtful Prof. Sir William Ramsay's idea (*Notes on St. Paul*, p. 286), that the supposed moon behind the shoulders of Mên is not a moon at all, but a development of wings as represented in archaic art. If it is not the moon in the case of Mên and Mên, it is at least curious that Mitra, the sun-god and counterpart of Mên the moon-god, has on the Bactrian coins an undoubted sun in the same position as the "wings" of Mên and Mên.]

THE ATHENIAN ARMY IN 431 B.C.

ὁπλίται δὲ προεχίλιους καὶ μυρίαὶ εἰσὶν ὅσοι τῶν ἐν ταῖς φρουραῖς καὶ τῶν παρ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐξαισιχιλίων καὶ μυρίων· κοσμήτην γὰρ ἐφέλασαν . . . καὶ τοὺς τῶν προεβύτατων καὶ τῶν νεωτάτων, καὶ μυριάδας ὅσων ὁπλίται ὄντες.—THUC. II, 13.

ACCORDING to the above statement Athens had in 431 a field force of 13,000 and a garrison force of 16,000 'oldest and youngest and aliens,' both apparently consisting solely of hoplites. Let us examine the different categories composing the garrison force. A roll was kept of all Athenians between the ages of 18 and 60, and these men were all liable to some sort of service (Arist. *Resp. Ath.* 53, Pollux 2. 11). For the first two years of their service the young Athenians were enrolled among the *περιπολοὶ*, and after a preliminary training they were sent to guard the frontier-forts (*φρουροῦσαι τὰ ὄρια ἔρη*, Arist. *Resp. Ath.* 42). The words *ἐν τοῖς φρουραῖς*, in the passage before us, leave little doubt that these are the men designated as *νεώτατοι*. On the same principle we are entitled to look for the *προεβύτατοι* among the oldest men included on the roll, not among the citizens over 60 years of age. The normal age at which an Athenian was transferred from the field force to the reserve was apparently 50: thus Lycurgus (*in Leocr.* 39) speaks of Athens being defended by men over 50 after the battle of Chæroneia, and Socrates, who served at Amphipolis when in his forty-seventh year (Plato, *Apol.* 28 E), is not heard of on foreign expeditions after that date, though Plato was fond of referring to his exploits on active service (*Symp.* 219 E, *Charm.* 153 A, *Laches* 181 A). It is moreover in the nature of things improbable that men over 50 would be fit for foreign service, or that a guard composed largely of men over 60 would be adequate for the defence of a city wall. The lack of any precise information as to the age for transfer to the reserve is perhaps due to the fact that no definite age was ever laid down by law, but it seems to have become a recognised rule that men over 50 should not be called upon for service abroad. We may then conclude that the *προεβύτατοι* are the men between 50 and 60 years of age, and statistics tell us that for 13,000 men between the ages of 20 and 50 there will be about 3,750 between 18 and 20, and between 50 and 60.

Can we then assume that the number of alien hoplites was 12,250, or say 11,000, if we make allowance for a certain number of citizens being transferred to the reserve before the normal age, owing to ill-health?

In Thuc. 2. 31 we hear that when the whole force of Athens invaded the Megarid, it included 3,000 alien hoplites, and we never hear of the aliens providing a larger contingent. A number of aliens were probably employed on the fleet (Thuc. 3. 16), and there is no reason why we should suppose that the number of adult alien males ever exceeded 10,000, the total in the year 317 (Athen. vi. 272 E). It seems likely from the passage before us that Thucydides reckoned the number of citizens in the field force as roughly equal to those in the reserve, and added 3,000 to the latter for the number of aliens included in it; and we must therefore conclude that the number of hoplites in the reserve did not exceed $3,750 + 3,000$, or, allowing for invalids, perhaps 8,000 in all, a total very different from that given by Thucydides.

Moreover, there is a considerable body of literary evidence which renders it impossible to believe that Athens had at this time 26,000 citizen hoplites. Up to the time when Aristophanes produced the *Δακτυλῆς* (427), Thetes were not employed as hoplites (Harp. s. v. *θῆτες*), and hence we should have to suppose that the number of the three upper classes liable to service was at least $26,000 + 1,200$, for the cavalry also were recruited solely from the upper classes. Now a century later, the lowest class of the population formed 57 per cent. of the whole (Athen. vi. 272 n); and during the Peloponnesian War the number of light troops at Athens considerably exceeded 10,000 at a time when part of the fleet was mobilised (Thuc. 4. 94). Hence, if we believe that Athens had 26,000 citizen hoplites, we must estimate the total male citizen population between the ages of 18 and 60 at about 45,000.

As against this Herodotus (5. 97 and 8. 65) speaks of the total number of citizens as 30,000 at the close of the sixth century, and the figures he gives for the Athenian contingent at Marathon and Plataea prove that this is no under-statement. Now the number of citizens cannot have increased very much in the fifty years before the Peloponnesian War, for in that period fall the great disaster in Egypt, the disfranchisement of 5,000 citizens in accordance with Pericles' law of 445, and the dispatch of a very large number of settlers to different places; and in any case it is quite possible that Herodotus assigned to the population of Athens the figure at which it was usually estimated in his own day.

Again, the number of recipients of the corn given by the King of Egypt in 445 was 14,240, a number we have on the authority of Philochorus (Schol. Arist. *Vesp.* 718 and Plut. *Per.* 37). This clearly represents the total of at least one class, probably of the Thetes, for the poorest people would be those most likely to receive the corn. Now if the lowest class formed 57 per cent. of the population in 317, it is improbable that in 445 it formed only 31 per cent.

Thirdly, in the course of the Peloponnesian War we never hear of anything like 26,000 hoplites at Athens: indeed Thucydides (2. 31) speaks of 16,000 hoplites, inclusive of aliens, as the largest force which Athens ever put into the field; and we may be sure that on this occasion there were not as many as 13,000 hoplites left at Athens, for the risk of the city being

surprised while the field army was at Megara was scarcely worthy of consideration.

Fourthly, Aristotle (*Resp. Ath.* 24), referring to a time before the members of the ecclesia were paid, i.e. to the close of the fifth century, speaks of the 20,000 citizens who received pay from the state as forming a very large proportion of the whole. (τροφή γὰρ ἔσσεσθαι πᾶσι, τοῖς μὲν στρατευομένοις, τοῖς δὲ φρουροῦσι, τοῖς δὲ τὰ κοινὰ πράττουσι. . . συνέβαινε γὰρ πλείους ἢ δισμυρίους ἄνδρας τρέφεσθαι.)

Again Lysias (20, 13) tells us that in 411 the number of *δημῶται* was 9,000: this clearly refers to the hoplites, for it was to them that Theramenes, to whose party Lysias' client belonged, wished to give the franchise. In the first twenty years of the war Athens had lost about 5,500 hoplites in battle (1,000 at Delium, 600 at Amphipolis, 200 at Mantinea, 3,000 in Sicily); settlers had been sent to Aegina, to Potidaea 1,000 (cf. Diod. 12, 46), to Lesbos 2,700 (cf. Thuc. 3, 50), to Melos 500 (cf. Thuc. 5, 116), some 5,000 in all, of whom the greater part were doubtless Thetes (*C.I.A.* i, 31); while the plague had killed 300 cavalry and 4,400 hoplites *ἐκ τῶν τάξεων* (Thuc. 3, 87). Let us for the moment put on one side the question of what is meant by the *τάξεις* and assume that because the plague killed one quarter of the cavalry it killed at least as large a proportion of the hoplites. We have also to make allowance for the number of young men that had grown up to take the places of those who retired, and though the infantile mortality would be very large during the plague, we must estimate these as at least 15 per cent. of the total. If then the number of the three upper classes liable to service in 431 was 27,200 we have the following figures for 411:—

Total in 431	27,200
Less: Killed in battle	5,500
Sent as settlers, perhaps only	1,500
Died of plague, 6,800 + 300	7,100
	<hr/> 14,100
	13,100
Add: Excess of recruits over superannuated (15 per cent.)	4,000
Total for 411	<hr/> 17,100

These figures can only be reconciled with the statement in Lysias by supposing that the long war had made poverty so general at Athens that 8,000 men had sunk to the lowest class; but to this it may be objected that at a time of national danger it is unlikely that men would be allowed to give up their heavy armour: the state would not be too rigid in considering property qualifications when it was against its interest to do so; and moreover by 411 a number of Thetes were serving as hoplites (Thuc. 6, 43).

Lastly, the figure 30,000 reappears in the fourth century (Arist. *Ecol.* 1132, Plato, *Ax.* 369 A), while in the time of Demosthenes we find the total given as 20,000 (Demosth. *in Arist.* i, 51) or 19,200 (Plut. *Vit.* x, *Orat.* 843 D). At the census taken by Demetrius in 317 the number of citizens was 21,000 (Athen. vi, 272 B, cf. Diod. 18, 18 and Plut. *Phoc.* 28).

In view of these figures it is impossible to maintain that Athens had 45,000 citizens of the military age in 431, and various attempts have been made to discover the nature of Thucydides' error. Beloch (*Bevölkerung der Griechisch-Römischen Welt*, p. 60) considered that the error lay with a copyist and wished to omit the words *καὶ μύλιον*, and this view is endorsed by Busolt (*Griechische Geschichte*, III, p. 886), who gives a short review of the literature on the subject. It is, however, quite impossible to account for the supposed corruption of the text, and Thucydides' total is confirmed by Diodorus (12. 40). Again, though Themistocles is expressly stated to have increased the size of the wall of Athens so that it would need fewer men for its defence (Thuc. 1. 93), yet a guard of 6,000 men would surely be insufficient for a circumference of 148 stades.

The explanation of the passage put forward by Meyer (*Forschungen zur alten Geschichte*, II, pp. 156 ff.) is based on a different supposition. He thinks that the text is sound but that the phrase 'oldest and youngest' had come to be used loosely as a synonym for the citizen reserve. According to this theory the citizens were divided into a field force and a garrison force, roughly equal to one another: the members of the former were called *οἱ ἐκ τῶν τάξεων* and of them a roll was kept, to which Thucydides had access, while of the garrison force, which was composed of 'oldest and youngest' and infirm soldiers of all ages, no accurate list was preserved (Thuc. 3. 87).

To this explanation there are various objections. Firstly, there is the difficulty mentioned above of supposing that Athens had as many as 26,000 hoplites. Secondly, no authority of any kind can be quoted for the division of the force into two equal halves, nor is there any parallel recorded in ancient Greece to such an arrangement, though it must be admitted that our information about details of organisation is so slight that if such a parallel did exist we might easily not know of it. Again, the men between 18 and 20 and between 50 and 60 were included in the *κατάλογος*, and Thucydides could certainly ascertain how many of them perished in the plague: it seems improbable that he should give us the loss *ἐκ τῶν τάξεων* and not *ἐκ τοῦ καταλόγου*, if there were any difference between the two. The loss *ἐκ τῶν τάξεων* is given as 4,400 and that of the cavalry as 300, or one quarter of their total strength: this suggests a total for the *τάξεις* of 17,600 or rather less, for the cavalry were taken from the highest classes of all, and so would probably suffer less in proportion. Now, as mentioned above, if the field force of men between 20 and 50 amounted to 13,000 we should expect to find about 3,750 men between 18 and 20 and between 50 and 60, a total for the *κατάλογος* of 16,750. These figures must surely be sufficient to show that *ἐκ τῶν τάξεων* is a mere synonym for *ἐκ τοῦ καταλόγου*.

There are, however, indications which show that Meyer is right in regarding 'oldest and youngest' as a phrase which had come to be applied loosely to the citizens of the garrison force, though that body was not composed solely of hoplites between the ages of 18 and 20, and 50 and 60. In Thuc. 1. 105 we hear that the 'oldest and youngest,' led by Myronides, went to assist the Megarans against the Corinthians and their allies, a force

whose number is variously estimated at 4,500 or 10,000. During the battle the Corinthians were surrounded in a garden where they were stoned by the Athenian light troops. On this occasion, then, the phrase 'oldest and youngest' is applied to a large force, consisting partly of light troops.

For many reasons it is probable that the garrison force did not consist solely of hoplites, but that it included about 10,000 light troops. Seldom, if ever, in the account of an ancient siege do we hear of hoplites, as such, taking part in the defence. And when we consider the siege-craft of the period, it is clear that the hoplite was by no means the best soldier to defend a high wall, like that of Athens. The defender's task was to locate and to block mines; to hang out soft stuff to take the shock of the battering-ram, or to manipulate engines to break those of the enemy; to raise his fortifications to such a height that the enemy could not get a footing on them. For all such purposes the hoplite would be of little use; he would certainly be valuable if the enemy succeeded in forcing a gate, or if, as more frequently happened, they were admitted by traitors, but even for street fighting no large mass of heavy-armed men could be employed; missiles thrown from house-tops and windows would be more effective, while a few hoplites defended the open spaces or the barricades across the roads. It would clearly be best to have a few detachments of hoplites posted at definite points in the city, and to leave the actual defence of the wall to light troops.

Again it is curious that Thucydides (or Pericles) in enumerating the resources of Athens should have omitted all mention of the light troops who, numerically at least, formed a large part of the army that took the field at Delium and elsewhere. Of course, most of the Thetes served at one time or another as rowers, but the whole fleet was seldom manned and those disengaged would naturally help in the defence of Athens. Moreover, even rowers can grow too old for active service, and very possibly it was the fact that all the oldest and youngest Thetes, as well as the oldest and youngest citizens of the higher classes, served in the garrison force that earned for that body the title of *πρωτοτάτοι καὶ νεωτάτοι*.

Let us now suppose that the garrison force contained only 3,750 citizen hoplites. This gives a total of 16,750 hoplites for 431, and in 411 we shall have:—

Total in 431	16,750
Less: Killed in battle	5,500
Sent as settlers, perhaps only	1,500
Died of plague	4,400
	<hr/> 11,400
	5,350
Add: Excess of recruits over superannuated (15 per cent.)	2,500
Total for 411	<hr/> 7,850

or, with cavalry, nearly 9,000 for the three upper classes, a total, if anything, rather less than given by Lysias. The difference is accounted for by the fact

that in 411 the number of hoplites had been increased by the enrolment of Thetes.

If this solution of the problem be accepted we shall arrive at a figure for the total number of Athenian citizens almost identical with that reached by Beloch; and those historians who, on the strength of this one passage, have accepted a higher total, have surely been guilty of an exaggerated respect for Thucydides' precision of speech, or perhaps they have fallen into the mistake of thinking that Athens was in every way a greater city than she really was. Such a mistake is to some extent natural when we consider how much more we know about Athens than about any other city in Greece, but is easily exposed by a close examination of the literary evidence.

G. E. FAWCUS.

TWO GREEK SCHOOL-TABLETS.

[PLATES V., VI.]

MR. MILNE's article in the last volume of the *Journal* (xxviii. 121 ff.) calls attention to an interesting class of documents, the tablets or ostraka which served as school-books in Graeco-Roman Egypt. The British Museum has recently acquired two unusually good and complete specimens of this class. As they are, to the best of my belief, the most perfect that have yet come to light, it seems worth while to publish them *in extenso*.

The first (now Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 37516) is a single wooden tablet, 1 ft. 4½ in. in length, 5½ in. high at the left-hand end, and 4½ in. at the right-hand end. Projecting from the left-hand end is a small knob, nearly an inch in diameter, through which a hole is bored, by which means the tablet could be suspended from a nail in the wall of the school, as in the well-known kylix of Douris at Berlin¹. The corners at both ends are rounded. The surface of the tablet is slightly whitened, and the required ruling, horizontal on one side, horizontal and vertical on the other, is obtained by scraping away the whitening with a narrow-pointed instrument. The tablet has at some time been broken across in an approximately horizontal direction, and the two parts have been joined together by dowels.

The contents of the tablet are grammatical. On the one side (which we will for convenience call the *recto*: see Plate V. for a reduced facsimile) is a series of variants on the sentence, ὁ Πυθαγόρας φιλόσοφος ἀποβὰς καὶ γράμματα διδάσκων συνεβούλευεν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ μαθηταῖς ἐναιμόνως ἀπέχεσθαι, giving the subject in every case and number successively, and showing the consequent variations in the adjective and participles agreeing with it. Modern Greek grammars have often been criticised for including forms which, though theoretically correct, do not occur in actual use; but the Greeks themselves did not shrink from this device, for we find in the present instance the dual and plural of Πυθαγόρας used in all their cases. The sentences are not free from mistakes of transcription; e.g. l. 2 ἀποβαντες for ἀποβάντος, l. 5 συνεβουλευσαται for συνεβούλευσας, l. 6 δυεως for δυεῖων, l. 15 διδάσκοντοισι for διδάσκουσι. ἑαυτοῦ is kept unchanged throughout.

The *verso* of the tablet contains a paradigm of the optative and participles of the verb *νικάω* in all its moods. The arrangement strikes one as confusing, all the singular forms in each voice being set out first, then all the duals, and finally all the plurals.

The writing is a small cursive, apparently of the third century of our era. The text follows.

¹ *Mon. d. I.* ix. Pl. LIV.; *Frumentum, Schools of Hellas*, Pl. I.

- α Πυθαγόρας φιλοσοφῶς ἀποβας καὶ γράμματα διδάσκων συνβουλευεν τοῖς αὐτοῦ μαθηταῖς ἐναιμίον ἀπεχεσθαι τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν φιλοσοφῶν ἀποβάντες καὶ γράμματα διδάσκοντες λόγος ἀπομνημονεύεται συνβουλευόντων τοῖς αὐτοῦ μαθηταῖς ἐναιμίον ἀπ[έ]χεσθ[αι]
- 7ω Πυθαγόρα φιλοσοφῶ ἀποβάντι καὶ γράμματα διδάσκοντι· ἐδοξεν¹⁴ συνβουλευσαι τοῖς αὐτοῦ μαθηταῖς ἐναιμίον ἀπεχεσθαι τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν φιλοσοφῶν ἀποβάντε καὶ γράμματα διδάσκοντε φασιν συνβουλευσαι τοῖς αὐτοῦ μαθηταῖς ἐναιμίον ἀπεχεσθαι
- 8 ω Πυθαγορε φιλοσοφε ἀποβας καὶ γράμματα διδάσκων σὺ ποτε συνβουλεύσασθαι τοῖς αὐτοῦ μαθηταῖς ἐναιμίον ἀπεχεσθαι καὶ δικῶς
- 9ω Πυθαγόρα φιλοσοφῶ ἀποβάντην καὶ γράμματα διδάσκοντε συνβουλευτήν τοῖς αὐτοῦ μαθηταῖς ἐναιμίον ἀπεχεσθαι τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν φιλοσοφῶν ἀποβάντην καὶ γράμματα διδάσκοντων λόγος ἀπομνημονεύεται συνβουλευόντων τοῖς αὐτοῦ μαθηταῖς ἐναιμίον ἀπ[έ]χεσθ[αι]
- 10 τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν φιλοσοφῶν ἀποβάντων καὶ γράμματα διδάσκοντων ἐδοξεν συνβουλευσαι τοῖς αὐτοῦ μαθηταῖς ἐναιμίον ἀπεχεσθαι τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν φιλοσοφῶ ἀποβάντην καὶ γράμματα διδάσκοντε φασιν συνβουλευσαι τοῖς αὐτοῦ μαθηταῖς ἐναιμίον ἀπεχεσθαι
- ω Πυθαγόρα φιλοσοφῶ ἀποβάντην καὶ γράμματα διδάσκοντε σφω ποτε συνβουλεύσασθαι τοῖς αὐτοῦ μαθηταῖς ἐναιμίον ἀπεχεσθαι καὶ πληθυντικῶς
- α Πυθαγόρας φιλοσοφῶν ἀποβάντες καὶ γράμματα διδάσκοντες συνβουλευσθαι τοῖς αὐτοῦ μαθηταῖς ἐναιμίον ἀπεχεσθαι τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν φιλοσοφῶν ἀποβάντων καὶ γράμματα διδάσκοντων λόγος ἀπομνημονεύεται συνβουλευσάντων τοῖς αὐτοῦ μαθηταῖς ἐναιμίον ἀπ[έ]χεσθ[αι]
- 15 τοῖς Πυθαγορικῶν φιλοσοφῶν ἀποβασί¹⁵ καὶ γράμματα διδάσκοντες ἐδοξεν συνβουλευσαι τοῖς αὐτοῦ μαθηταῖς ἐναιμίον ἀπεχεσθαι τοῖς Πυθαγόρας φιλοσοφῶν ἀποβ[ά]τας καὶ γράμματα διδάσκοντας φασιν συνβουλευσαι τοῖς αὐτοῦ μαθηταῖς ἐναιμίον ἀπεχεσθαι
- ω Πυθαγόρας φιλοσοφῶ ἀποβάντες καὶ γράμματα διδάσκοντες ὅμως ποτε συνβουλεύσασθαι τοῖς αὐτοῦ μαθηταῖς ἐναιμίον ἀπ[έ]χεσθ[αι]

¹⁴ Words thus marked are in the original without above the line.

¹⁵ Extracted from something longer, perhaps omitted.

The second school-book (Add. MS. 37533) is on a larger scale. It is a wooden book, consisting of eight tablets, fastened together by silken cords passed through two holes in one of the long sides. Each tablet measures 10½ in. in height and 3½ in. in width. The outer sides are darkened by exposure, but inside the wood is naturally of a light yellow colour, and has not been whitened. Each page, with the exception of that forming the outside at each end, is numbered in the left-hand margin of one of the short sides (the book being held with the outer long side nearest the reader), the numbers running from α to π. The numeration shows that one leaf, containing pages μ and ν, is missing. Only seven of the pages (α-δ, η, θ, ι) contain writing: the rest are blank. The writing appears to be of the third century. The whole is in an excellent state of preservation.

The greater part of the text consists of a list of verbs, showing what cases they govern. The list includes 207 verbs, roughly grouped according to their meanings, but with no scientific classification. A few intransitive verbs are included. This list is followed (after two blank pages) by a phonetic classification of the letters of the alphabet, a series of gnomic questions with their answers, notes on the uses of conjunctions, a classification of nouns, and a set of formulae for the use of the various cases with verbs, which are identical with those actually used in Add. MS. 37516 *recto* (see above). This shows that this method of teaching the use of the cases was one regularly adopted in Greek schools, and was not merely the peculiarity of any individual teacher.

The text and arrangement are as follows: obvious mis-spellings are not specially noted. The last page which contains writing is reproduced in Plate VI. on a slightly reduced scale.

1 a. Outside, on which are a few traces of writing.

οἰδίσω τούτων
εγκωμιάζω ταύτων

1 b. Numbered α in left-hand margin.

ὁδῶμα 2.

επαφροδίτω¹

επαινώ τούτων
ἀποδέχομαι ταύτων

τιμῶ ταύτων

δοξάζω ταύτων

προσβένω ταύτων

5 γεραιρῶ ταύτων

σεμνυνῶ ταύτων

15 καλῶ ταύτων

φανῶ ταύτων

εγκαλῶ ταύτων

ἐπικαλοῦμαι ταύτων

οὐ λέγεται ἐπικαλῶ

ατιμαζῶ ταύτων

20 μίζω² ταύτων

ἐξουθενίζω ταύτων

εχθαίρω ταύτων

υβρίζω ταύτων

10 λοιδορῶ ταύτων

ἀποστρεφόμεναι ταύτων

¹ The apparent γ is presumably a slip of the pen, and Ἐπαφροδίτη the name of the school.

boy to whom the book belonged.

² *See* *passim*.

ου λεγεται απυστρεφοι

βδελυττομαι τούτου

Column 3.

25 ου λεγεται βδελυττω

φιλω τούτου

αγαπω τούτου

ατεργω τούτου

φειγω τούτου

30 εκτρεπομαι τούτου

ειδωμι τούτο τούτω

συγχωρω τούτο τούτω

παράχωρω τούτα τούτω

προξενω τούτα τούτω

35 χαριζομαι τούτο τούτω

ψηφίζομαι τούτο τούτω

πρυταρηνω τούτα τούτω

παρεχω τούτο τούτω

Column 4.

απειρετω τούτα τούτω

40 λαμβανω τούτο

δεχομαι τούτο

προσείμαι τούτο

εχω τούτου

επιπορω τούτου

45 επιτιχω τούτου

παθος ουκ εχει

πλουτω ου λεγεται πλουτουμαι

ευδοκιμω παθος ουκ εχει

ἐερω τούτου

50 πλυσιστω⁶ τούτου

2a. Numbered β.

παιω τούτου

τυπτιω τούτου

αμνησμαι τούτου

τιμωρουμαι τούτου

55 διαχωρομαι τούτου

αναιρω τούτου

εκποδων ποιουνμαι

τούτου

αποστεινω τούτου

60 συναιρομαι τούτου

επαρκω τούτω

επικουρω τούτω

βοηθω τούτω

Column 2.

εγμμαχω τούτω

65 συνειγνιζομαι τούτω

επαμυνω τούτω

συνείσταμαι τούτω

συνλαμβάνομαι τούτω

συνπνέω τούτω

70 υπεραγωνιζομαι τούτου

υπερμαχω τούτου

σώζω τούτου

ρυσμαι τούτου

φυλασσω τούτου

75 τηρω τούτου

νικω τούτου

Column 3.

περεγνιζομαι τούτου

κρατω τούτου

επικαλούμαι τούτου

80 ου λεγεται επικαλω

περιερχομαι τούτου

τοι ταπα περιεοστω

τούτου

περιπολλω⁷ τούτου

85 βαδιζω

⁶ *sc. πλυσιστω*.

⁷ *sc. περιπολλω*.

περιεργαζομαι τουτο
καταγκοπω⁸ τουτο
καταπτεινω τουτο
αμυχρευω τουτο
90 εραυνω τουτο

Column 4.

ζητω τουτο
πολυπραγμοικω τουτο
ωτακουστω τουτο

οργιζομαι τουτω
95 ου λεγεται οργιζω
μημω τουτω
αγανακτω τουτω
δυσχεραινω τουτω
μνησικακω τουτω
100 χολιαινομαι τουτω
επεξερχομαι τουτω

αχθομαι επι τουτω
λυπουμαι επι τουτω
αηδως εχω

2 b. Numbered γ.

105 αναμνησκομαι τουτο

ανυπολλω τουτο
ανανεουμαι τουτο
αναφερω τουτο

φανταζομαι τουτω
110 προορωμαι τουτο
ονειροπολλω τουτο

ακουω τουτου
ακροωμαι τουτου
πυνθανομαι τουτου

115 συνιημι τουτω
νοω τουτω
προσκαρτερω τουτω

Column 2.

προσιδρευω τουτω

προτρεχω τουτω
120 επιμελουμαι τουτου

φιλολογω
φιλοπονω
απαγγελλω

ορω τουτου
125 θεωρω τουτου
βλεπω τουτου
θειωμαι τουτου

προσιστητω τουτω
κελευω τουτω
130 βασιλευω τουτω⁹

Column 3.

αρχω τουτου
βασιλευω τουτου
παρακελευω τουτω

συμβουλευει τουτου
135 παραινω τουτω
παρεγκυνω¹⁰ τουτω

προτρεπομαι τουτου
ου λεγεται προτρεπω
παροξυνω τουτου
140 ακουω τουτου
επαιρω τουτου
αναγκειρω τουτου
παρορμω τουτου

Column 4.

ερεθιζω τουτου

145 σωφρονιζω τουτου
διδασκω τουτου
παιδευω τουτου

⁸ *Sc. κατακόπτω.*⁹ This line is erased.¹⁰ *Sc. παρεγγυῶ.*

νουθετω τουτον

αγαμαι τουτον

150 θαυμαζω τουτον

ζηλω τουτον

μακαριζω τουτον

ευδαιμονιζω τουτον

θελω τουτον

155 βουλομαι τουτον

ου λεγεται βουλω

περι πολλου ποιουμαι

τουτον

3 a. Numbered δ.

δια σπονδης εχω τουτον

160 προθυμω τουτον

προσθυμαι¹¹ ου λεγεται προθυμω

αντιποιουμαι ου λεγεται

αντιποιω

αντιλαμβανομαι τουτον

εφιεμαι τουτον

165 ορεγομαι τουτον

δωρουμαι τουτον

χαριζομαι τουτον

φιλοτιμουμαι τουτον

παραλαμβανω τουτον

170 παραδεχομαι τουτον

ξενιζω τουτον

προξενω τουτον

Column 2

τρεφω τουτον

αυξανω τουτον

175 προβιβαζω τουτον

σπενδω ου λεγεται σπενδομαι

επιγομαι ου λεγεται επιγω¹²

κατεπιγω τουτον

διωκω τουτον

180 καταλαμβανω τουτον

παρακαλω τουτον

λιταρευω τουτον

ου λεγεται λιταρευομαι

δεομαι τουτον

185 αντιβωλω τουτον

Column 3.

ικετευω τουτον

γραφω τουτω

επισταμαι τουτω

ασπαζομαι τουτον

190 προσκυνω τουτον

μιμουμαι τουτον

ου λεγεται μιμω

αιτιωμαι τουτον

μεμφομαι τουτον

195 προφισιζομαι¹³ τουτον

φερω τουτον

αγω τουτον

ελκω τουτον

ευρω τουτον

200 ελεγχω τουτον

Column 4.

πρινω τουτον

καταδυσσωπ[ω]¹⁴ τουτον

αιτουμαι τουτον

αισχυρομαι τουτον

205 ου λεγεται αισχυρω

καταισχυνω τουτον

¹¹ Sic, for προθυμωμαι.

¹² Connected from ενγω.

¹³ Sic, προφισιζομαι.

¹⁴ Sic, καταδυσσωπ[ω], a late and rare word.

νοσσω τούτο (erased)
 αρρώστω
 ασθενω
 210 νοθρευω

αγοραζω τούτο
 ωνούμαι τούτο
 αφισβητω τούτω
 φιλορικω τούτω
 215 διαφερομαι τούτω

Column 5.

διαπληχθίζομαι
 τούτω
 φλυαρω τούτον
 φληναφω τούτον
 220 καταφλυαρω τούτον
 εναγγελίζω¹⁵ τούτον

υποβαλλω
 τούτω
 αναλαμβάνω
 225 τούτον
 ανακτώμαι
 τούτον

34. Numbered ε.
 Blank.

4a Numbered ζ
 Blank.

4b Numbered η,

το α δισημον
 το β μεσον
 230 το γ μεσον
 το δ μεσον
 το ε βραχυ
 το ζ διπλου
 το η μακρον [sic]
 235 το θ δασυ
 το ι δισημον
 το κ ψιλον
 το λ υγρον και αμεταβαλον
 το μ υγρον και αμεταβαλον
 240 το ν υγρον και αμεταβαλον
 το ξ διπλου
 το ο βραχυ

Column 2

το π ψιλον
 το ρ υγρον και αμεταβαλον
 245 το σ ημφωνον
 το τ ψιλον
 το υ δισημον
 το φ δασυ
 το χ δασυ
 250 το ψ διπλου
 το ω μακρον

Column 3.

τι καινον εν βιω και παραδοξον ανθρωπος¹⁶
 τις η των πραγματος διδαχη πειρα
 τι το ηδυν εν βιω το ευθυμειν τι πειθον
 255 τον ανθρωπον λογος τι το εν βιω ισχυρον
 πλουτος και αρετη τις η του βιον πραξις
 καιρος τι το εν καιρω ωφελιμων λημμα
 τι το αφθονον εν βιω φιλοσοφια
 τι ηδυν εν βιω ο χρη φεινγειν γυνη

¹⁵ Apparently written εναγγελίζω, with the first two letters erased. Not, of course, in the Christian sense, cf. I. 269.

¹⁶ The spaces between question and answer are not in the original, as a rule, but are left here to assist the reader.

- 260 τι πονήρων εν βιω ζηλος
 τι το εν ισω πλεονάζον φρονησις
 τι¹⁵ γνώμης καλλιον τυχη
 τι πλουτων [sic] αναγκαιοτερα φρονημοτης
 τις η της φύσεως κρίσις αναγκη η επιθυμια
 265 τι το μη σιγχαϊνον¹⁶ τον βιον ελπις
 τι το ενσχημον εν βιω πιστις
 τι το διαβαλλον τας φύσεις γλωσσαι η παθος

δ α. Numbered θ.

- τι το τα χρησιμα βλαπτειν [sic] πορον¹⁷ α' σωτια¹⁸
 τι το τοις θεοις αρεσκον δικαιον
 270 τι το εν κακοις γενομενον ιγαθον τολμα η βιος
 τι παιδευσι τον ανθρωπον αναγκη η χρονος
 τι το προσωπον ασχημα του βιον πονος
 τις η μαθησις των καιρων τελος
 το οφρα και το οπως και το ινα και το εαν
 275 τιμι συντασσεται τη υποτακτικη
 το αν και το ειθε τιμι συντασσεται τη
 ενκτικη μετα την μετοχην το ρημα
 οιον ελθων απηγγειλα εαν ειπης
 το ρημα επενεγκον το απαρειμφατον
 280 οιον βουλομαι γραφαι βουλομαι απαγγειλαι

Column 2.

κυριον ονομα οιον Αγαμέμνων Αλεξανδρος
 Μενελαος Αχιλλευς Διομηδης Οδυσσευς Σθενε[λαος]

ερωτηματικον ονομα οιον τις ποιος ποδαπος

- αοριστικον ονομα οιον οσος οιος¹⁹ / αοριστικο[ν]
 285 οπαιος οποσος / πατρωνυμικον ονομα οιον
 Πηλειδης Ατρειδης Πηλειων Ατρείων Νεστορι
 δης Πριαμιδης Δευκαλιδης Τελαμωνιος / κλητι
 κον ονομα οιον Νηληιος ιππος Οδυσσηυς οι
 κος Αχιλλευς οπλα / υποαοριστικον [sic] ονομα
 290 οιον Οδυσσεισκος Αχιλλεισκος παιδαριοι παι
 διστη [sic] Φωκιων Γαργίων συγκριτικον ονομα
 οιον οξυτερος σφροδροτερος καλλειων α
 μειων βραχειων / υπερβολικον ονομα
 οιον οξυτατος σφροδροτατος ταχυτατος
 295 επιθετικον ονομα οιον καλος λευκος

¹⁵ Altered to εις.¹⁶ See σιγχαϊνον.¹⁷ Corrected from σωσιτια.

5 b. Numbered 1.

- ευνειδὴς ευφυὴς δυσιδὴς φοξὸς ἀνδρὸς²⁰
 δειλὸς προσηγορικὸν ὄνομα οἶον ἀνθρῶ
 πὸς θηρίον ἵππος ὄνος βὸνς οἶκος τρα
 πεζα πῶς πρὸς τι ἔχον ὄνομα οἶον πατήρ
 300 υἱὸς ἀδελφὸς μήτηρ ἀδελφὴ συγγενὴς
 φίλος γαμβρὸς πενθερὸς θυγατήρ γυνή
 ἀπολελυμένον ὄνομα οἶον ταχὺς σφαδρὸς
 βραχὺς ῥῆξ / παρωνύμιον ὄνομα οἶον Θεωρ
 Φίλων Ἑρμαῖος Ἡρακλειδὴς / παραγωγὸν
 305 το καὶ ρηματικὸν οἶον κοίμων φρονίμος
 καλῆτωρ / εἰσιμαλογικὸν ὄνομα οἶον ὑπόπο
 ῖον προσκεφαλαῖον / ἐθνικὸν ὄνομα οἶον
 Ἕλλην Φρυξ Περσὴς Λακεδαιμόνιος
 ὁμοεισθητικὸν ὄνομα οἶον τήλικουτος τοσούτος
 310 τοιούτος / πέποιήμενον ὄνομα οἶον φλοισβός

Colophon 2.

- ρυζὸς ὀνυμαγδὸς κολοσυρτός / περιλημπτικὸν
 ὄνομα οἶον στράτος ὁ χάρος ὁχλὸς βούλη ἀγών
 ἐκκλησία / συνωνύμιον ὄνομα οἶον αἰθούσα
 ἡ στοὰ κίων ὁ στύλος ἀορ ξίφος ἀλοχὸς γυνή
 315 ὁμωνύμιον ὄνομα οἶον Λίας ὁ Τελαμώνιος καίης²¹
 Οἰλέως καὶ μὲν θαλασσίος καὶ γηγενὴς ὁμοίως κυῶν
 ὄνος καὶ κυῶν χέρσος

τέλος ἔχει τὸ
 κυρίου ὄνομα

- 320 ὀρθὴ εἶπεν
 γενικὴ λόγος ἀπομνημονεύεται εἰπόντος
 ὁδοτικὴ ἔδοξεν εἶπειν
 αἰτιατικὴ φασιν εἶπειν
 κλητικὴ σύ ποτε εἶπας
 325 καὶ ἐνικῶς
 ὀρθὴ εἰπάτην
 γενικὴ λόγος ἀπομνημονεύεται εἰπόντων
 ὁδοτικὴ ἔδοξεν εἶπειν
 αἰτιατικὴ φασιν εἶπειν

6 a. Numbered 2. Blank.

²⁰ Presumably for αἰδρῶς.

²¹ Sic, for καὶ Λίας.

²² So partly washed out. Apparently the colophon was at first written in one line.

- 6*b*. Numbered λ. Blank.
 One leaf, unnumbered μ and ν, missing.
- 7*a*. Numbered ξ. Blank.
- 7*b*. Numbered α. Blank.
- 8*a*. Numbered π. Blank, except for three washed-out lines.
- 8*b*. Outer cover.

As the school-tablets previously in the British Museum are not mentioned in Mr. Milne's article, it may be convenient to give a brief description of them here.

Add. MS. 33293 is a wooden board, painted white, having on one side *Iliad* iii. 273-277, and on the *verso* ll. 278-285. They are written in a large hand, with accents to indicate the syllables, and with the words marked off from one another. The date is probably in the third century.

Add. MS. 33368 is a book composed of eight small waxed tablets, on which are remains of scribblings, some of which have a grammatical character, such as a list of the names of cases. This may be a schoolboy's rough exercise book, and on one of the pages is a drawing in which a lively imagination may discern a portrait of the schoolmaster. It is difficult to determine the date, but it is probably of the fourth or fifth century.

Add. MS. 34186 is a pair of waxed tablets, on one of which the teacher has written two iambic lines,

σοφῶν παρ' ἀνδρὸς προσδέχον συμβουλίας
 μὴ πᾶσιν εἰκὴ τοῖς φίλοις πιστεύεται [sic]

which have been twice copied below, between ruled lines, by the pupil. The first line occurs among the fragments of Menander (monostich 476, ed. Meineke); the second may well be from the same source. On the other tablet are the multiplication table, and a list of words divided into their roots and suffixes. The date may be in the second century.

The Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities also possesses a portion of a wooden board, containing *Iliad* i. 468-473 in a somewhat damaged condition. The board has an iron handle at the top, by which it could be hung on the wall. It is not whitened. The writing is large, with accents and marks of quantity, and probably belongs to the fifth century.

None of the British Museum tablets quite equals in literary interest the board in the Rainer collection at Vienna, which contains on the one side twenty-three lines of Euripides' *Phoenissae* (1097-1107, 1126-1137), and on the other fifty-three lines of the lost *Hecale* of Callimachus (Th. Gomperz, in *Mittheilungen aus der Sammlung der Papirus Erzherzog Rainer*, vi. 1 ff., cf. v. 74). But (with the exception of the last described) they are in exceptionally good

condition, and are characteristic examples of the educational methods of Greek schools, at any rate in Egypt. They do not suggest any very high level of education or of scientific method, but it is to be remembered that they belong to the most elementary stages of instruction, and that they come, not from any of the great centres of intellectual culture, but from the provincial towns and villages of Egypt.

F. G. KENYON.

THE GENUINENESS OF THE *Γῆς περίοδος* OF HECATAEUS¹

THE question of the genuineness of the fragments of Hecataeus has been much debated. To refer only to recent discussions, Cobet² decides summarily that not only the geographical fragments but also those of the work on 'Genealogies' are forgeries; as, however, the great Dutch scholar devotes only seven pages to the discussion of the matter, his decision can hardly be accepted as final, although his great name is sufficient warrant for treating the question as one that may be fairly considered open. But since the article in *Hermes*³ of Professor Diels, the matter has, I think, generally been held to be settled the other way, and Hecataeus has not only been credited with the fragments in question as being really his own, but, on the strength of them, has been assigned a very important⁴ position in the development of Greek thought and especially of Greek geographical science. For a long time I accepted the conclusions of Professor Diels; but a closer examination of the evidence has now convinced me that the balance of probability is strongly against the fragments being genuine, and it seems therefore worth while to restate the whole case. I shall hope to show briefly at the end that the question is one of wider interest than at first appears. Before beginning to criticize the arguments of the Berlin scholar, may I be allowed to express my admiration for his clearness of statement, for his thoroughness, and for the moderation and fairness with which he states his conclusions? These may be summarized roughly as follows:—

¹ This paper was read before the Oxford Philological Society on Jan. 29, 1909. I hope I have profited by the criticisms there passed on it.

² *Mnemosyne*, 1888.

³ Vol. xxii. pp. 411 seq. 1887. References to it are given in brackets () throughout.

⁴ See Mahaffy, *Hist. of Greek Literature*, ii. p. 14: 'Hecataeus represents most distinctly the positive tendencies of the sixth century as opposed to its speculative and mystical aspirations. With him all was matter of fact, observation, and plain recording of observations'; and Gompers, *Eng. Trans.* i. 236 (after quoting the preface to the genealogies of Hecataeus):

'We find ourselves at the cradle of criticism. The same light that Xenophanes had poured on the natural universe, Hecataeus was now to turn on the universe of human affairs.' Professor Bury in his recent *Lectures on the Ancient Greek Historians* (p. 12) thinks that Herodotus (v. 36) derived from the 'Geography' of Hecataeus his information as to the advice given by the latter to the Ionian Greeks. It must indeed have been a comprehensive work. Cf. Berger, *Erkenntnis der Griechen* (p. 145) for a depreciation of Herodotus as compared to his predecessors in geography, including Hecataeus; the passage is too long to quote.

(1) The fragments are proved genuine by both external and internal evidence.

(2) Hence we are justified in crediting Hecataeus with a wider knowledge of the West of Europe than was enjoyed by later Greeks, when their enterprise in that part of the Mediterranean had been crippled by Carthaginian competition and by the Persian conquest of Ionia (p. 419).

(3) 'Herodotus travelled through Egypt with the book of Hecataeus in his hand and questioned priests and guides as to its accuracy' (p. 434). He afterwards used the book for his 'lectures' at Athens (p. 439); in his later revision, he for some reason overlooked Book II. and Book IV., which accordingly show more resemblances to the work of Hecataeus than the parts which he carefully revised (p. 440).

(4) It is Hecataeus whom we must credit with the first attempt to test Greek tradition by native sources of information. Herodotus has only borrowed this practice from his predecessor (p. 436).

This is the case for Hecataeus. The contrary view may be briefly summed up as follows:

Though it is probable that Hecataeus composed a *Γῆς περίοδος*, which was familiar to Herodotus (cf. references later on p. 43), yet the work seems to have perished at once, as did that of his famous contemporary, Scylax of Caryanda.⁵ The fragments that profess to come from it are the work of some forger of the third century, who was probably an Alexandrian, and who drew his material from Herodotus, from Aristotle, and from other authors whose works have perished.

That such forgeries were common is well known; the letters of Phalaris are the most familiar instance; a more apposite one is the geographical work bearing the name of Scylax, which apparently was composed as early as the fourth century B.C., though possibly it is a third century work. The *locus classicus* on the subject is the words of Galen,⁶ 'Εν γὰρ τῷ κατὰ τοὺς Ἀτταλικούς τε καὶ Πτολεμαίους βασιλέας χρόνῳ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀντιφιλοτιμουμένους περὶ κτήσεως βιβλίῳ ἢ περὶ τὰς ἐπιγραφάς τε καὶ διασκευάς αὐτῶν ᾗδε αὐτὸς γίνεσθαι βιβλιοπρῶτα τοῖς ἐνεκα τοῦ λαβεῖν ἀργύριον ἀναφέρονται ὡς τοὺς βασιλέας ἀνδρῶν ἐνδόξων συγγράμματα.

Such are the two positions. The evidence naturally divides itself into two classes—the external and the internal.

To take the external first:—

I. It is natural to begin with the supposed allusions in Herodotus to the work of Hecataeus. So acute a critic as M. Croiset, in his admirable *History of Greek Literature*,⁷ considers that by detecting these Professor Diels (pp. 420-4) has settled the question. Two are dealt with by him in especial detail. One of these occurs in Hdt. ii. 5; Herodotus has just (c. 4) stated that the Heliopolites told him, among other matters, that all Egypt north of Lake Moeris had been a swamp (*ἐλος*). He goes on 'And they seemed to

⁵ Cf. Hdt. iv. 44.

Kuhn.

⁶ In Hippoc. *De Nat. Hum.* xv. p. 109, ed.

⁷ II. 556.

me to speak well concerning their land: δῆλα γὰρ δὴ καὶ μὴ προκακούσαντι, ἰδόντι δέ, ὅστις γε σύνεσιν ἔχει, ὅτι Αἰγυπτὸς ἐκ τῆς Ἑλληνες ναυτίλλονται ἐστὶν Αἰγυπτίοισιν ἐπίκτητος τε γῆ καὶ δῶρον τοῦ ποταμοῦ. The natural sense of the passage is 'any man of intelligence could have seen this for himself, and therefore I accept the statement of the men of Heliopolis.' But Professor Diels says that it means 'Herodotus presupposes that his countrymen were in a position to get this view already at home from Greek sources' (p. 423); this Greek source would naturally be the geography of Hecataeus, among whose fragments (No. 279) the δῶρον τοῦ ποταμοῦ duly occurs; Herodotus therefore is evidence for the genuineness of the fragments. Even if the interpretation of Professor Diels were the natural interpretation of the passage—and it does not seem that it is—it is surely obvious that the fragment in question suits equally the hypothesis of forgery; a third-century Simonides, who intended to exploit the work of Herodotus, would naturally bring in those passages which contained or seemed to contain an allusion to a previous authority. The forger was probably an Egyptian; he would inevitably notice the καὶ μὴ προκακούσαντι and use it in his compilation for the very purpose which it has served, i.e. to mislead the critics of his own day, as it has misled those of our day.

The same remark applies to the other and more interesting passage, where Herodotus (ii. 156) criticises the belief that the island of Chembis or Chemmis floated. The slightly polemical tone of the chapter would naturally suggest to the forger that if he borrowed the description, his own obligation to Herodotus might easily be construed as an obligation on the part of Herodotus to the author whose name he was assuming. I have not noticed the point that the spelling in the Hecataean fragment (284), 'Χέμβις' is a more accurate transcription of the original Egyptian than the Herodotean Χέμμης. If this is so, it is exactly the kind of improvement which an Egyptian forger would make on his original. But the question of orthography cannot be considered here. There are several cases where the fragments of Hecataeus give a spelling of proper names slightly different from that in Herodotus or other authors; the comparative accuracy is a question for specialists,* who unfortunately here, as elsewhere, do not agree.

Other passages in Herodotus, where he is assumed to be referring to the geographical² views of Hecataeus, are as to the circumambient Ocean stream (ii. 21, cf. iv. 36), as to the Delta only being Egypt (ii. 15), as to the Nile as the boundary of Asia and Libya (ii. 17), as to the Hyperboreans (iv. 32). Of these the first is the most important: Herodotus certainly read in some Greek writer, probably in the genuine works of Hecataeus, that the Nile rose in the circumambient Ocean stream. That Hecataeus

* There is a brief discussion of the Egyptian names in Hecataeus by Outschmid in *Philologus* x. (1856), 327-8.

² In ii. 145, v. 36 and 125 Herodotus speaks of Hecataeus personally as ὁ Λογιστάς. In

vi. 137 he combats his view of the Pelagians; but this last passage is generally referred to his 'Genealogies,' and does not bear on the present question.

held this view there is no doubt; and it would be inevitable that a forger would incorporate it in any work purporting to be that of the Ionian geographer; hence we are not surprised to find the scholiast to Apollonius Rhodius, iv, 259, quoting this view from the work of Hecataeus which was current in his day (fr. 278).

So far then as the evidence of Herodotus goes, it proves nothing either way, i.e. it is consistent equally with the genuineness of the geographical fragments that bear Hecataeus' name, or with the view that they are part of a spurious work.

II. There is only one other early testimony to Hecataeus as a writer, besides that of Herodotus; it is the assertion of Heraclitus¹⁰ that *πολυμαθὴν ῥοὴν οὐ διδάσκει*, which he illustrates by Hesiod, Pythagoras, Xenophanes, and Hecataeus. The name of Hesiod suggests that the reference is to the genealogical work of Hecataeus; this would be consistent also with the mention of Xenophanes, as a severe critic of Greek mythology. Pythagoras it is true was a geographer, but only indirectly; it is impossible to conceive of anything more opposed to his philosophical speculations on the shape of the earth than the minute details of the Hecataean fragments. The passage then tends to show that the fame of Hecataeus, though considerable, was not that of a geographer; and in any case the contemptuous tone of Heraclitus is completely inconsistent with the prominent part in the development of Ionian science which his modern admirers assign to Hecataeus.

III. Our third witness is a negative one. If the work of Hecataeus was really extant in the fourth century, it is hard to account for the total absence of any reference to him by name in the Aristotelian works. Herodotus is referred to by name seven times,¹¹ four of the references being to his contributions to natural history; he is also frequently quoted without being named, but these passages do not bear on the argument. It goes without saying that Thales and Anaximander are continually referred to by Aristotle; even Scylax is quoted once. It seems to me impossible that if (according to the modern hypothesis) there had been current in the fourth century a *Γῆς περίοδος* bearing the name of the famous Milesian statesman, full of allusions to natural objects, as Diels' hypothesis presumes, and displaying the beginnings of scientific criticism, Aristotle would not have drawn upon it directly. There is only one fragment of Hecataeus (No. 58) which has any relation to the work of Aristotle: this is the description of the fertility of Adria, where the cattle breed twice a year, and the goats have 'five or even more kids' at a birth, and the hens lay twice a day. These marvels appear in the *De Mirab.* of Aristotle (c. 128, 842 b 27).¹² It is at least as probable

¹⁰ Diogenes Laertius, ix, 1.

¹¹ Not counting the *dubia lectio* where Herodotus (or Hesiod) is quoted for the drinking of an eagle at the siege of Babylon (*Hist. Ant.*, viii, 18, 491 b 1).

¹² Diels' argument that the fragment is the

original authority, and Aristotle the copier, because the definite 'Adria' is substituted for 'Illyria,' breaks down in view of the fact that the name 'Adria' occurs in another passage of Aristotle (*Hist. Ant.*, vi, 1, 555 b) where the same statements are repeated.

that a forger took this from the work of Aristotle as that Aristotle is borrowing from the Ionian original.

IV. We now come to a definite testimony against Hecataeus. Athenaeus (ii, 70) writes as follows: 'Ἑκαταῖος ὁ Μιλήσιος ἐν Ἀσίᾳ περιήγησε: εἰ γνήσιον τοῦ συγγραφέως τὸ βιβλίον. Καλλίμαχος γὰρ Νησιώτου ἀναγράφει.

This quotation is very important. Callimachus was the librarian of Alexandria and the most learned man of a learned age, and he definitely denies the genuineness of the *περιήγησις*.

As to this Diels urges several points which must be discussed seriatim:

(a) He argues that at any rate Callimachus only denied the genuineness of the second book of the *περιήγησις*, that on 'Asia.' This rendering seems at any rate doubtful: τὸ βιβλίον may be used in this limited sense, but it is at least as likely (as Müller¹² translates it) that he referred to the whole work.

(b) Diels next maintains that it is impossible that Callimachus could really have himself examined the question critically. 'He had special interest for the main lines of Poetry' but not in the 'huge mass of Prose literature' (p. 414). But this is a pure assumption and an unlikely one. Suidas (s.v.) tells us that the works of Callimachus included such subjects as 'the colonizations of Argos,' 'the foundations of islands and towns and their changes of names,' 'the rivers of Europe,' and 'of the whole world,' 'marvels as to the whole world.' If the present fragments of Hecataeus really represent his work, it would have been one of the first that Callimachus would have consulted.

(c) Diels' third argument is that Callimachus was simply making a catalogue, and that he accordingly noted in his *πίνακες* any variations of title; hence the quotation from him implies not his own critical judgment, but simply the fact that he found one copy of Hecataeus with a different name.

That Callimachus made a catalogue of the Alexandrine library seems clear. The Plautine Scholiast¹³ says 'singulis voluminibus titulos inscripsit,' and Ezzetzel¹⁴ says that he wrote out the *πίνακες* of the books. A long note of 'titles' quoted from him is given by C. Wachsmuth in *Philologus* xvi. 656 seq. But it is surely unlikely that a great scholar and literary man merely composed a catalogue as a modern library assistant trained in a board-school would do it, and 'collected the whole mass of tradition in convenient headings.' Suidas' account of the *πίνακες* is that they were τῶν ἐν πάσῃ παιδείᾳ διαλαμβάντων καὶ ὧν συνέγραψαν in 120 books, and the quotations we have from them elsewhere show they included much more than a collection of 'titles'; e.g. Diogenes Laertius¹⁵ quotes from the *πίνακες* that 'Eudoxus learned geometry from Archytas and medicine from

¹² *Frag. Hist. Graec.* i, 311.

¹³ Quoted in *Philologus*, 1860, xvi. p. 658: *Βιβλίων τούτων πίνακας Καλλίμαχος ἀνεγράφει.*

the whole subject is dealt with at length here.

¹⁴ Quoted in *Rhein. Mus.* vi. (1848) 179: *ἔ*

¹⁵ viii. 8.

Philistion.¹² It is difficult to see how such a notice could be drawn from a mere catalogue.¹³ The further fact (?), recorded by Suidas, may be urged on both sides of the argument: if Callimachus really wrote 'over 800' books, he may well have embraced geography among his studies; on the other hand, such extreme fertility of production does not tend to a high estimation of his critical judgment.

We are then faced by the statement that the geographical work ascribed to Hecataeus was condemned, in whole or in part, by the greatest authority of the third century. This was the more remarkable, if the book was (as it probably was) in the Alexandrian library; librarians do not damn their own treasures without good cause.

But it is urged that the great geographer Eratosthenes, who succeeded Callimachus as librarian at Alexandria, reversed the verdict and declared 'Hecataeus' genuine (Strabo 7). As to this judgment it is necessary to point out:

(1) That it was hardly likely two librarians running would possess the self-denial to condemn the books on their own shelves.

(2) Strabo gives apparently what were the reasons of Eratosthenes; the work was pronounced genuine *ἐκ τῆς ἀλλοῦ ἀντὶ τοῦ γεγραμμένης*. It is not necessary with Cobet to deny genuineness to all the work that goes by the name of Hecataeus; surely it is obvious that the first thing a forger would do would be to see that his style resembled as far as possible that of the genuine works of the author he was imitating.

The explanation of the judgment of Eratosthenes then is that he wrote as a geographer and not as a literary man. We may be sure that a third-century forger would have put much geographical information into his compilation; a geographer would welcome this supposed early testimony to his own science, without being over critical as to whether it really was sixth-century work or not. So far then as Alexandrian criticism is concerned, the case is rather against the genuineness of the fragments. It may be noticed that Arrian,¹⁴ himself no mean authority on geography, did not accept the decision of Eratosthenes as final, but left the question in suspense.

V. We next turn to Strabo, the greatest geographer of antiquity. Does he assign great importance to Hecataeus, or quote points of great importance from him? He mentions him twelve times; three of these (pp. 1, 7, and 635) simply mention him as a great geographer or a citizen of Miletus, one (p. 321) belongs to the genealogies, three (pp. 550, 552, 553) refer to small points in the geography of the N. coast of Asia Minor, two (pp. 271 and 316) to a correction of Sophocles as to the R. Inachus, and one (p. 341) to the distinction between Eleans and Epeans. All these points are unimportant. In one of the other two passages (p. 18) Strabo couples Hecataeus with Pherecydes and Cadmus as 'imitating poetry and λυράριες

¹² For the whole subject of the *εἰρήνη*, cf. Schneider, *Callimachus* II. 297 seq. esp. p. 305, 'continuant multa quae in bibliothecarum

catalogis nemo facile aut exponat aut quærat.'

¹³ *De Epod. Alex.* v. 6.

τὸ μέτρον, τὰλλα φυλάξαντες τὰ ποιητικά'; in the other passage (p. 299) Hecataeus figures with Homer, Hesiod, Aeschylus, and Aleman as a recorder of marvels: his special marvel is the 'Cimmerian City.'

Strabo, it will be seen at once, gives no support to the theory that the *Ἡς Περίοδος* before him was a forgery: it had already been current for more than 200 years, and had been accepted by his great authority Eratosthenes. But it is equally clear that Strabo did not find much of value in Hecataeus, or at least that he did not quote it: there is not a trace in him of the pioneer of criticism, the representative of Ionian science in the sixth century, which modern imagination has constructed. We shall return to this point presently. First, however, the other testimonies as to Hecataeus must be summed up.

VI. The oldest of the minor geographers who refer to him seems to be the second-century geographer Agatharchides,^{16a} who says that Hecataeus did for the West what Timaeus had done for the East. Agathemerus¹⁷ another geographer, but one dating about 200 A.D., joins Hecataeus with Anaximander, Hellanicus, and Damastes, and appears to say that he improved on the map of Anaximander. These two judgments go with that of Eratosthenes. They would apply as well to a third-century forgery as to a sixth-century original and there is not the least reason to suppose that Agatharchides or Agathemerus had any critical power. Still less can this be supposed of Cercidas the Arcadian,¹⁸ who said he would gladly die in order to meet Pythagoras and Hecataeus, the historian. He is probably the Cercidas of Polybius II. 48;¹⁹ and so belongs to the latter half of the third century, the time of Eratosthenes.

Finally Hermogenes,²⁰ a rhetor of the second century A.D., praises the style of Hecataeus as 'pure, clean, and sweet,' and says that Herodotus was 'under obligations' to him. This last statement, however, belongs to the next part of the argument. It is worth while before proceeding to this to sum up the external testimonies. They seem to show that:

- (1) No writer speaks of Hecataeus as a geographer till the third century.
- (2) Aristotle omits all reference to him in a way that is strange, if his work were the first real geography of importance.
- (3) The most learned critic of Greek literature considered the *Ἡς περίοδος* (or at least part of it) not genuine, and this doubt survived among scholars till the second century A.D.
- (4) Eratosthenes is the first authority of importance for the genuineness

^{16a} *De Rebus Mari.* 48.

¹⁷ I. 1 (Müller II. p. 471).

¹⁸ Aelian, *V.H.* xii. 19.

¹⁹ Not the fourth-century traitor of Demosthenes, *De Cor.* 324. The identification with the 'Cercidas' of Polybius is probable, as Aelian mentions him in the next extract to one

about King Cleomeneus, against whom the Polybian Cercidas intrigued. Cercidas is quoted by Athenaeus as an authority on eating (847) and also for a story (554 c), both dull and dirty, about 'Ἀρπύριε καλλίκευος.

²⁰ *De Genere Dicendi.* II. 12.

of Hecataeus, and unfortunately for the defenders of Hecataeus, he gave his reasons.

(5) Strabo, though he accepts Hecataeus as a great geographer on the authority of Eratosthenes, quotes him only for unimportant details, and criticizes him on important points. It is the rank and file of compilers, geographical or otherwise, who wax enthusiastic for Hecataeus.

So much for the external evidence. We now turn to the internal. This will be dealt with under three heads:

(1) The passages common to Herodotus and 'Hecataeus.' Which of the two is the plagiarist?

(2) The inaccuracies of the Hecataean fragments.

(3) The credulity and unscientific character that marks them.

I. The evidence that Herodotus stole from Hecataeus is late, but it is completely definite. Eusebius in Bk. x. c. 3 of his *Præparatio Evangelica* is trying to prove that the Greeks were habitually dishonest in literary matters; after quoting Clement (of whom a word must be said presently) he quotes from Porphyry 'Ἡρόδοτος ἐν τῇ δευτέρῃ πολλά Ἐκαταίου τοῦ Μιλησίου κατὰ λέξιν μετήνεγκε βραχέα παραποιήσας,' viz. 'the story of the phoenix,' the 'account of the river-horse,' and 'the crocodile hunts.' The passages of Hecataeus are not quoted, but we may take it for granted that Porphyry, or rather his authority Pallio (p. 467*d*, probably Claudius Pallio, a contemporary of Pliny the Younger) read in a book bearing the name of Hecataeus what we now read in Herodotus ii. 73, 71, 70. Diels' argument as to these passages, which has been given above, is certainly plausible, at least if modern analogies may be accepted; anyone who has compiled notes must remember how difficult it is, when the time for publication comes, to refer every point to its original source; our borrowings and our own additions to and comments on our borrowings have become so inextricably mixed that to distinguish is impossible. At the same time modern analogies may be misleading. Diels compares Hecataeus to Baedeker; but it is very doubtful if ancient tourists could carry guide-books about with them, even if they wished to do so; and the convenient modern note-book with its blank pages opposite, and its apparatus for additions and corrections, is inconceivable in the fifth century B.C. But admitting that modern analogy holds good, must Diels' theory be accepted?

The first difficulty in it is that Herodotus distinctly says he drew his account of the phoenix from a picture (*γραφῇ*) and from the men of Heliopolis. Diels says that he tested the account of Hecataeus on the spot, and gave as his authority those who confirmed the statement, not the author from whom he originally drew it; but if he was quoting the author verbatim, which the hypothesis requires, Herodotus' proceeding is, to say the least, disingenuous.

And it is a fact admitted on all sides that the attitude of Herodotus to Hecataeus is one of superiority, one might go further and say in some cases, of almost bitter contempt. The former is clear in ii. 143, where he refers to him as a traveller; the latter is seen in iv. 36, where Herodotus

attacks the doctrine of the circumambient Ocean, which (as has been said) may be assumed almost with certainty to have been really held by Hecataeus. To use a man's book and at the same time to sneer at him, and to call him names, is not an honourable proceeding. Diels attempts to find a parallel for the attitude of Herodotus to his predecessor in the attitude of Aristotle to Herodotus himself; the philosopher calls the historian *ὁ μυθολόγος* and his stories *εὐηθής*,²¹ but he borrows from him the descriptions of river-horse and crocodile,²² often almost verbally, but without acknowledging his obligations. The case, however, is not really parallel.

(1) Aristotle rewrites the passages, and corrects some at least of his predecessor's mistakes, e.g. the philosopher's hippopotamus loses the 'horse-tail' with which Herodotus invests him, though behemoth still keeps his 'mane.'

(2) There surely is a great difference between borrowing the words of a previous traveller and incorporating them in various parts of a zoological treatise (Aristotle's remarks are scattered over five different books of the *Historia Animalium*) and doing what Herodotus is charged with doing—transferring whole passages from a previous book of travels to one's own book, and putting them down as if they were based on one's own observation.

Diels accounts for the polemical tone against Hecataeus by attributing it to the disappointment of Herodotus when he was unable to find native authority for the statements of Hecataeus (p. 435). This is ingenious, but is it probable?

He himself admits, though he does not accept the view, that 'we cannot find fault with the thorough-going critics of Herodotus, if they characterize all his simplicity as hypocritical, and all his references to sources as maliciously invented, invented to deceive his public as to the authorities which he had used. It seems to me that, if the fragments of Hecataeus are genuine, we are driven to adopt the position of Professor Sayce;²³ Herodotus becomes in his account of Egypt the dwarf on the giant's shoulders, and the Father of History is convicted of owing his reputation to others' researches, and of using dishonourable means to conceal his obligations. Lax as the Greeks were in borrowing, this is no ordinary case. The fame of Herodotus rests almost as much on his travels and his careful observations as on his history in the stricter sense; if his observations be borrowed and his travels resemble those of Sir John Mandeville, his reputation must surely suffer severely.

Of course, if the facts prove that Herodotus is guilty of this conduct, we must accept the conclusion; but the general truthfulness of Herodotus, which modern research tends more and more to confirm, may well make us examine carefully the evidence for so damaging a conclusion before we accept it. Herodotus had admittedly been in Egypt. Why, it may fairly be asked,

²¹ *De Gen. Anim.* iii. 5: 756b, 5.

²² The passages are most clearly set forth in

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parallel columns in Diels, pp. 430-2.

²³ Sayce, *Hdt.* I-III. Introd. pp. 21 seq.

should he have borrowed from Hecataeus what he could have seen for himself either in the world around him or in native pictures? And modern criticism tends to discredit Diels' theory in a minor point of some importance. He accepts Kirchhoff's theory as to the order in which the history of Herodotus was composed, and considers that his recitations at Athens—delivered before 440 B.C.—were the earliest parts of his work and those which ultimately made up Books I–III (p. 439). But if we hold that Books VII–IX. were the parts first composed,²² and that Book II is probably the latest part of his work, based on travels which may well be later than 440 B.C., then it becomes still less likely that Herodotus eked out his lectures on Egypt with passages drawn from his predecessor, and the statement that Herodotus 'travelled in Egypt under circumstances politically much more unfavourable' than those of the visit of Hecataeus, becomes very questionable.

One more point must be urged as to the relations of Herodotus and Hecataeus. That the work of the former was not popular is certain; whatever the *μῶμος* referred to in his epitaph may have been, Herodotus never lacked critics, from Ctesias to the author of the *De Malignitate*. If this is so, it is very curious that his gross plagiarisms were not pointed out till the end of the first century A.D. Even then there was no general acceptance of them; Clement of Alexandria is a better critic than Porphyry's Pollio; he devotes a long and interesting chapter of his *Stromateis*²³ to the *φίλαυτος κλοπή* of the Greeks. But there is no mention of Herodotus in the list of offenders, while Hecataeus figures in it, with Hellanicus and others.

The lateness of the charge against Herodotus is good evidence that the work which bore the name of Hecataeus was not generally accepted, and that the passages in it which were common to it and to Herodotus were commonly credited to their real author, not to his imaginary predecessor.

To turn now to the second point in the internal evidence. If a work composed in the third century B.C. tried to pass itself off as having been composed at the end of the sixth, we should expect to find in it anachronisms and mistakes.

The difficulty of tracing these in the fragments of 'Hecataeus' is great, owing to their extreme scantiness. It is hard to convict a forger who is represented mainly by a list of names. But scanty as the fragments are, they seem sufficient. There are mistakes of several kinds:

(1) The clearest are those where he has misread his Herodotus, and speaks of customs and peoples as still existing in his own day, when they had ceased to exist. In fr. 132 he makes Zoné 'a city of the Cicones.' Hdt. vii. 59 quite rightly says, after mentioning Zoné, 'this land (the neighbourhood of Doriscus) was *originally* that of the Cicones.' But this people had since moved further west, so far as they existed at all in historic

²² Cf. Macan, *Hdt.* vii.–ix., Introd. pp. 61 seq. ²³ p. 752.

times. So again, in fr. 189, Hecataeus says '(Among the Matienians) is a city, Hyope, and the people wear the same dress as the Paphlagonians.' The Matienians he speaks of are 'near the Gordians' and belong to the Caucasus region: they can really have nothing to do with the Paphlagonians. Herodotus (vii. 72), who makes the same remark (may we not say from whom the remark is stolen?), is speaking of the *other* branch of the Matienians on the Halys, who had the Paphlagonians as neighbours on the opposite bank of that river (i. 72). What Herodotus says exactly suits the geography; what Hecataeus says is, to say the least, extremely improbable, even if we could not account for the statement as a bungling plagiarist.

(2) A different kind of mistake is the turning of districts into πόλεις. So Iapygia is a 'city' (fr. 54), Chorasimie is a 'city' (fr. 173), Paricane is a 'city' (fr. 180). The idea of a 'city' is an odd one among the nomads of central Asia, but is more natural after Alexander had studded the East with his colonies.

(3) Again Hecataeus seems to be misled by names that he does not understand. In fr. 30 'Arinthe' is 'a city of the Oenotrians, ἐν μεσοποταμίᾳ.' The south of Italy is notoriously scant of water; but some light is perhaps thrown on the fragment by the fact that there is an 'Interamnia' in Bruttium. Perhaps a 'little learning is a dangerous thing' for a forger.

(4) I can only put down hastily other unclassified mistakes.

Fr. 112 transfers Crannon to Tempe (it is far away to the south-west); fr. 116 puts Therma in Thrace; fr. 232 makes Loryma a 'harbour,' Strabo calls it *παράλιον ἑρμαῖον*.²⁵

I have said these points may seem small, in fact they are very small; but unluckily the fragments give us nothing of importance, and so we have to test them in trifles. And this brings me to the last point, which does not bear so much on the genuineness of the fragments as on the modern view which makes their supposed author a pioneer of Ionian science, a precursor of Herodotus in his critical methods and much more.

If Hecataeus was really this he has been singularly unfortunate in his epitomators. There is not one single fact of any importance in his fragments; on the contrary, when they do give us anything but bare names we have statements like the following:—

Fr. 266: 'The pygmies making themselves look like rams, sound rattles, and so ward off the cranes who fight them, since the cranes otherwise despise their size.'

²⁵ I have said nothing of frs. 27 and 46: the former speaks of 'Cayna,' which according to Livy (iv. 37) was called Vulturum till 423, i.e. till long after the time of the genuine Hecataeus; Diels has well shown that the name may really be much older than Livy's date; in the latter Stephanus quotes Lilybaeum ἢ πόλις δὲ καὶ τῆς Σικελίας from the 'Europa' of

Hecataeus; he goes on ἐν τῇ καὶ πόλιν. Of course the town of Lilybaeum did not exist till after 397 B.C. But it is not necessary to credit Hecataeus with more than Stephanus definitely attributes to him, though his defenders are fond of doing this, when it suits their argument.

After this we are not surprised to find that Hecataeus accepted the *σκαίποδες* as facts (fr. 265), though he unfortunately transferred them from India, where they were in the land of marvels and where Scyllax had placed them before him, to Aethiopia. It seems odd that either Hecataeus or his forger thought it worth while to steal theories *ὅπως ἀποκτα ὄντα*. This is not the method of Herodotus.

To sum up the whole question. For the genuineness of the fragments we have the evidence of Eratosthenes, a really great name. Against it we have the fact that no one refers to Hecataeus as a geographer till the third century, we have the contempt of Heraclitus, the silence of Aristotle, and the decisive verdict of Callimachus; we must consider too that their genuineness seems to many to involve a serious condemnation of Herodotus; and we have to explain the extraordinary unimportance of the fragments, if they really represent a sixth-century work of epoch-making importance. Surely the cumulative weight of these arguments is convincing; singly they might well be said to leave the case an open one, but collectively they go far to prove the theory of forgery.

And now one word as to two special reasons why this subject is worth considering. The first is that there has sprung up a fashion of late years of referring large sections of the history of Herodotus to Hecataeus. Lehmann²⁰ thinks he can find the source of Herodotus' account (in Bk. i.) of Chaldaea in his predecessor; Prásek proves to his own satisfaction²¹ that Herodotus' Median history comes to him from the same source. This list could be indefinitely extended. The worst of all these theories is that they hardly admit of disproof, because there is absolutely no proof for them. The best that can be said for them is that they are possible; but no historian can accept the possible if it has no evidence to support it. If this paper could succeed in showing that we have nothing of Hecataeus but the fragments of his Genealogies, and that he really was a writer of no importance, its negative value would be considerable. The present fragments would then have the value of a compilation by a not very wise third-century scribe, who sometimes preserves scraps of information not preserved elsewhere; they would be nothing more, and so would be largely negligible. But my paper has a wider application. The *lues Boswelliana* is a well known disease of writers; it is probable that I myself suffer from it in regard to Herodotus. But is there not a *lues anti-Boswelliana*, which is a more modern complaint? I mean the tendency to accept any evidence, however poor, provided it contradicts the theories or the writers who have been hitherto respected. It is the *lues anti-Boswelliana*, which still struggles to rescue some fragments of reputation for Ctesias from the crushing refutation of the Inscriptions, which exalts the pseudo-Aristotelian account of the Four Hundred against Thucydides Book viii., and which even ventures to disprove the Politics of Aristotle himself, by the crude theories and facts of Aristotle's own bungling scholar in the *Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία*.

J. WELLS.

²⁰ *Festschrift für H. Kiepert*, 1898.

²¹ *Klio*, vol. iv.

A COLLECTION OF SKETCHES BY C. R. COCKERELL, R.A.

[PLATE VII]

By the generosity of Mr. S. Pepys Cockerell the British Museum has recently come into possession of three volumes of sketches, plans, etc., made by his father, C. R. Cockerell, R.A., during the seven years (1810-1817) in which he was travelling in S. Europe and the Levant.

The Collection contains about 500 sketches, a few in water-colour, sepia, and Indian-ink, the rest in pencil, and is of great interest both artistically and archaeologically. On its artistic interest I do not propose to dwell; Cockerell's merits as an artist have always been recognised, and these delicate water-colour and pencil notes, in which there is not an unnecessary or an unmeaning line, are quite up to the level of his finished work. It is to the archaeological interest of the collection that I would draw attention. As an archaeologist Cockerell has hardly been appreciated at his real value: he was not by temperament fitted for the drudgery of putting his notes into literary form, and owing to circumstances which Mr. S. P. Cockerell sums up in the concluding pages of his edition of his father's journal,¹ the publication of *The Temples of Aegina and Bassae* was delayed until 1859, forty-two years after his return to England. Now, however, that the recent German excavations at Aegina have proved the accuracy of his original drawings and notes, some account of other drawings made during his years of travel may be of interest to a wider circle of archaeologists than those who work at the British Museum.

For convenience of cataloguing the drawings are arranged geographically in three volumes, under the titles Turkey, Greece (including the islands), and Asia Minor.

The drawings made in Turkey are the earliest in date and, archaeologically, the least interesting: Turkey, in this case, means Constantinople and its immediate neighbourhood; Cockerell had not permission to draw in the mosques, and his sketches of the interiors are only copies of what he describes as 'fairly faithful drawings' made by a Greek for Canning, then Secretary to the British Embassy. His own drawings are mainly from memory; he says,²

¹ *Travels in S. Europe and the Levant, 1810-1817. The Journal of C. R. Cockerell, R.A.*, p. 284.

² *Op. cit.* p. 14.

'I had a scheme of drawing from windows, but it has failed. I find no Jew or Christian bold enough to admit me into his house for that purpose, so I have to work from memory. After having made a memorandum I develop it at home, and then return again and again to make more notes, till at length the drawing gets finished.' Most of these memoranda have been preserved as well as the finished drawings.

The subjects recorded group themselves naturally under the following heads:—views in or near Constantinople, the city walls, mosques, other buildings, kiosks, fountains, domestic architecture, and sepulchral monuments. Among them may be noted a careful sketch of the castle built by Phocas at the entrance to the Black Sea, with details of ornament, including a slab bearing the monogram of the founder on either side of a floriated cross set within a crescent; three views of the Palace of the Porphyrogenitus, showing (1) the building from the West, (2) the South façade with a shrub growing out of the balcony, (3) the North façade and details of its ornamentation and construction: two views of the Porta Aurea (outer gate) and of the Gates of Adrianople and of Rhégium. A comparison of these drawings with the photographs given by Van Millingen² shows that there was little outward change in either the palace or the gates between 1810 and 1899. The most interesting sketch is a small water-colour of part of the façade of the palace of Leo Marcellus on the Boucoleon, a row of three windows supported on either side by a marble lion. This façade was destroyed in 1871,³ and the lions placed at the foot of the steps leading to the Imperial School of Art inside the Seraglio.⁴ It is, however, clear that during his stay in Constantinople (June–September 1810) Cockerell was more attracted by modern Turkish Architecture than by the classical remains in the city, for though he made a careful study of the four sides of the obelisk in the Atmeidan, with notes on the materials used in its construction and drawings of the reliefs round its base, the bulk of his architectural studies are drawings and plans of kiosks, fountains, baths, etc.

In September 1810, Cockerell sailed from Constantinople by way of Troy, Tenedos, etc. to Salonika. Here he sketched the remarkable monument known as the 'Incantada,' figured in detail by Stuart,⁵ and made a study *in situ* of four of its eight bas-reliefs now in the Louvre.⁶ These are the figures representing Ganymede, Leda, a Niké and Mercury (?); the latter wears an ovoid cap, which misled Cockerell into drawing his attribute, a goat's head with long horns, as if it were a horse's head; otherwise the drawings are very faithful renderings of the originals. He also drew the Triumphal Arch erected in honour of Theodosius (A.D. 390) and a plan of the church of St. Demetrios, a Christian basilica which had been adapted into a mosque.⁷

On leaving Salonika the party cruised about among the islands, getting

² *Byzantine Constantinople*, pp. 110, 111, 112; 68, 78.

³ *ib.* p. 372.

⁴ *Byzantine Constantinople*, p. 273.

⁵ *Antiquities of Athens*, III. chap. ix. Pls. I–XIII.

⁶ *Frohnert, Sculpture Antique*, pp. 52–57.

as far south as Melos (see below, p. 57) and finally arrived in Athens about the beginning of December (1810).

The drawings made in Greece number, roughly, about 250, and are arranged in four groups under the headings Athens, South Greece, North Greece and the Islands including Crete. Cockerell was thrice in Athens for long periods, in 1811, in 1813, and in 1814; the excavations at Aegina took place in April and May of 1811, and during that year he made a long tour in the Morea (August to September) and spent a month in Crete. In the winter of 1813-1814 (Nov. 29-Feb. 3rd) he travelled from Athens, through North Greece as far north as Janina, and in July 1814 spent a fortnight in the district between Athens and Euboea. His last journey in Greece was made between January and April 1815, when, on his way to Italy via Patras, he again visited Corinth, Argos, Bassae, and various other sites explored during his first journey in the Morea.

The drawings of Athens number sixty, and include many panoramic views of the city and of the Acropolis and some suggestions for the restoration of the buildings on it. Of the Parthenon itself there are only two small sheets of pencil drawings, one showing it from the West, the other containing notes for the drawing reproduced as a frontispiece to Part VI. of *Museum Marbles*. A large water-colour sketch of the Erechtheion (Plate VII) shows the loft constructed in the upper part of the building, a detail which is not recorded by any other visitor. The sketches of the Olympieion, the Theseion, the 'Porch of Augustus' and of the monuments of Lysicrates and of Philopappus show that their condition had not materially changed for the worse since Stuart's visit.³ Among the smaller drawings is one to scale of an Aula of the Ionic Temple on the Ilissos (figured by Stuart⁴ but destroyed in 1785) and a rough sketch of the marble lions at the Peiræus.

The only drawings relating to the excavations at Aegina are a pencil sketch of the Temple of Aphaia and two sketches of the Temple at the port, reproduced as the head-piece of Part V. of *The Temples of Aegina and Bassae*.

On his first journey in the Morea Cockerell and his party crossed over from Zante to Pyrgi, and starting from Olympia made their way by Andritzena and Phigaleia, where Cockerell planned the excavation of the temple, to the South of Laconia and the Mainiote peninsula, and back by Sparta, Nauplia, Tiryns and Mycenæ to Athens. As records of this tour and of the journey made partly over the same ground in 1815 (see p. 59) there are drawings and plans of the following ancient sites: Olympia, a small plan of the Temple of Zeus with notes and measurements. Bassae: four sketches of the Temple of Apollo. Megalopolis: a plan to scale. Messene: an elaborate series of plans to scale showing the acropolis with its gates, walls and towers; the theatre and the stadium with a note on the size of the seats. On the back of one of these drawings is a sketch of the theatre at Sparta and of one of the seats in it. Mantinea: a plan of the walls, gates and theatre.

³ *Antiquities of Athens*, iii.

⁴ *Id.* i. ii. Pls. I-VIII.

Troezen: a plan of the Temple of Poseidon and a copy of an inscription. Epidaurus: a sectional drawing of the water-conduit in the Sacred Grove, and a plan of the ancient wall surrounding the promontory. Tiryns: a plan of the citadel with notes, details of the east galleries, a section of the south galleries and the threshold of the Great Gate. Mycenae: the gate of the Treasury and its entrance, plans to scale of the Tholos, the inner chamber and the Dromos. Corinth: the sketches include a plan of the amphitheatre and two views of the Temple. Cockerell did not select quite the same point of view as Stuart¹⁰ and it is therefore difficult to institute a comparison between their drawings, but the Temple seems to have suffered a good deal of damage in the interval between their visits; it is certainly more built in by houses, and the wall between the columns is built up to four-fifths of their height.

In addition to sketches of ancient sites, there are views of the mediaeval castles of Patras and Karytaena, of places in the Mainiote peninsula and of the districts round Andritzana, of Troezen and of the Argolic plain.

Cockerell made his first tour in North Greece in the winter of 1813-14 (November to February), when he went with a party to Albania. The route from Athens to Janina lay through Plataea, Orchomenos (whence Topolias and Lake Copais with its two remaining *karaßôpai* were visited), Panopeia, Daulis, Chaeronea, Delphi and Pagae to Salona. From here, on account of the plague, the travellers took ship to Arta and thence to Janina. After some stay there and an excursion to a site which they identified as Cassiopeia, the return journey was made by land over the ranges of Pindus, deep in snow, by Mezzovo and Meteora through the Pass of Thermopylae and many plague-stricken villages, to Livadia and back to Athens. The sketches made include elaborate plans to scale of Plataea, Panopeia, Daulis, Chaeronea and Cassiopeia, with detailed drawings of the masonry, etc.; plans of the Acropolis, city and Treasury at Orchomenos, with drawings of the Acropolis gateway, of the stone over the doorway of the Treasury and a copy of an inscription in the church. At Delphi a note is made of the probable position of the hippodrome and a sketch of the Castalian spring. Of the return journey there are only four records, a sketch of Mezzovo under the snow, and three views of Meteora; but this is hardly to be wondered at, as Cockerell says: "What between the cold, the horror of the plague and the fatigue, it had been an appalling journey."¹¹

During the latter part of July in the same year (1814) a tour, with two friends, was made in Euboea, under much more pleasant conditions. The party went first to Marathon; of the plain we have three views, and a plan to scale with notes on some walls. The next halting-place was Rhamnus, where they saw the temple, but made no sketches, as it had been recently surveyed by Gell. At a village near they discovered the site of the ancient Tanagra, of which Cockerell made a plan to scale, showing the theatre, construction of masonry, etc.; he also copied an inscription and made a drawing of a portion of a frieze. A day or two later he notes the finding

¹⁰ *Antiquities of Athens*, III, vi. Pl. J.

¹¹ *Travels*, p. 251.

at Delium of a capital of the same stone, probably brought from Tanagra. From Aulis the party crossed to Euboea, and among the sketches is the original drawing of the 'Temple of Zeus on Mount Ocha,' published by Walpole.¹² The next ancient site visited was Eretria, which, Cockerell says,¹³ had not been seen by modern travellers; here he made plans to scale of the city, the theatre and the port, with notes on matters of detail. From here the party returned to Athens.

The sketches of Cockerell's cruise among the Greek Islands in October and November, 1810, are almost all views of scenery or of the figures and costumes seen at the ports; but among them the following have archaeological interest: two views of the square tower at Andros, and of another square tower at Myconos; four sketches of ancient sites at Delos, a plan of the temple with architectural details, a plan of the theatre, views of the entrance to a 'cyclopean house,' and a drawing to scale of a sun-dial. At Zea (Ces) he made studies of the colossal lion and of a church, both of which are reproduced in Brinsford's account of the island.¹⁴ The sketches of Melos, one of which is dated October 23rd, 1810, are the only records of his visit to that island.

In December, 1811, he spent a month in Crete, intending to go thence with a party to Egypt. The chief feature of the stay was a visit to the Labyrinth, of which Cockerell published an account with a plan and view,¹⁵ the rough sketches for which are in the collection. The party rode viâ Retimo, from Canea to Candia, where they were wind-bound for nearly three weeks, and when they got away on December 26th were first becalmed among the Cyclades and then delayed by bad weather, so that Mr. North, who had planned the expedition to Egypt, lost patience and decided to give it up. The party separated at Scio, Cockerell and a friend going off to Smyrna, where they arrived, after many unpleasant adventures, in February, 1812.¹⁶

With the exception of five sketches of Troy, made in September, 1810, just after leaving Constantinople, all Cockerell's drawings in Asia Minor were made between February and June, 1812.

The first ancient sites explored were Teos, Gera and Clazomenae: of which plans were made, that of the harbour and district being labelled 'a bad plan of Teios.' Cockerell notes in his journal¹⁷ that the Temple of Bacchus at Budron had suffered very much since Chandler's time (1775). In March he started alone for a tour of the Seven Churches, but of the many places visited we have sketches of three only, Pergamos, Hierapolis and Ephesus. Those of Pergamos include two general views of the city and two of the castle from the south-west. There is a rough general plan of the site of Hierapolis, a plan to scale of the theatre with notes, and one of the gymnasium; a view of the theatre at Ephesus and one of the modern town

¹² *European and Asiatic Turkey*, ii. pp. 285-293.

¹³ *Travels*, p. 225.

¹⁴ *Pogonis et Recherches*, I. Pl. X., XI.

¹⁵ Walpole, *op. cit.*, vol. i. pp. 402-403.

¹⁶ *Travels*, p. 134.

¹⁷ *Id.* p. 136.

(Aiasuluck) from the ancient site. From Ephesus he went to Samos, where he was detained by bad weather, but finally got back to the mainland and to Priene. He was much struck by the site and attempted several 'restorations' of the ruins; he also made a plan of a piece of the market¹⁸ and drew one of the lion-head gargoyles. The next ancient site visited was Miletus, of which we have a general view, and two views of the Temple of Apollo. From Gerontia (the modern seaport) he went by way of Cnidos and Rhodes to Patara, the drawings of which include a view of the arch and a plan to scale of the theatre. At Myra he also drew a plan to scale of the theatre and made a 'restoration' of the proscenium. From Myra he sailed by Porto Genovese and Phaselis (of which he made sketches) to Satalia (Adalia), on the way to which he fell in with H.M.S. *Frederiksteen* (Captain Beaufort), and was persuaded to transfer himself from his coasting vessel to the frigate and to make the rest of the tour in her.¹⁹ Among the sketches at Satalia are views of the port, of the tower at the south-east angle of the walls and a reconstruction of the Gateway of Hadrian. A stay of four days at Side gave him the opportunity of making elaborate plans of the theatre, with suggestions for its restoration, and several sketches of the walls. Among the other sites visited are Alarah, Selinti (Trajanopolis), Anemurium, Selefkeli (Seleucia), Manaret and Pompeiopolis; the views of all these places given in Beaufort's *Karamania*, though apparently not Cockerell's work, agree with the sketches made by him, the most interesting of which are the drawings of Trajanopolis and of Seleucia and the plans and sketches of Pompeiopolis.

The tour ended unfortunately; ²⁰ on June 20th the Turks attacked a party which had landed at Ayas, killed a midshipman and wounded Captain Beaufort so severely that the *Frederiksteen* was ordered back to Malta, whither Cockerell also went, more because he hoped to be of service to her captain than because he himself wished to go there. At Malta he had a bad attack of fever, and it was not until the end of August that he was able to get away to Sicily, where he remained until the spring of 1813; the collection does not, however, contain any record of his visits to the various ancient sites.

In April, 1813, he returned to Greece and spent the summer and autumn near Athens, chiefly occupied with making drawings for the projected publication of the Aegina and Phigaleia marbles. This work was interrupted by a very serious attack of fever, but in November he was well enough to take part in the Albanian tour recorded above (see p. 56). In May and June he was in Zante superintending the sale of the Phigaleia marbles, and returned to Athens in July in time to accompany his friends to Euboea (see p. 57). Another attack of fever followed, and as, owing to the abdication of Napoleon, Italy was now open to Englishmen, he decided to leave Greece. During the autumn he went to Aegina and made some interesting measurements of the columns of

¹⁸ Wiegand-Schrader, *Priene*, Pl. XIII.

¹⁹ *Travels*, p. 171.

²⁰ *Id.* pp. 194-196.

the temple at the port,²¹ and on January 15th, 1815, finally left Athens for Italy, travelling by Corinth, Argos, Andritzena, Bassae, Olympia, Patras (see p. 55) and Corfu. He arrived at Naples on April 15th, but, beyond a few sketches made in Rome, this collection contains no work done during his two years' stay in Italy. The Roman sketches are: three views of the Forum from the Arch of Titus, the first drafts of one of his best-known compositions; rough sketches for his restoration of the Forum, the Capitol and the Palatine; a bit of the Theatre of Mæcellus and an elaborate drawing of the High Altar in the Church of S. John, Lateran. He returned to England in June, 1817, after an absence of rather more than seven years.

It is, of course, impossible in this brief account to discuss in what respects Cockerell's drawings and plans of less known sites differ from or agree with those of other travellers; my object is merely to bring the collection to the notice of those to whom it may prove useful.

In conclusion, I desire to thank Mr. S. P. Cockerell and Mr. Cecil Smith, late Keeper of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum, for permission to study the drawings and to publish this account of them.

C. A. HUTTON.

²¹ *Travels*, pp. 263, 264.

THE BASE OF THE OBELISK OF THEODOSIUS.

DURING a visit to Constantinople in July 1905 I spent some little time in studying the base of the obelisk of Theodosius in the Hippodrome (Fig. 1).



FIG. 1.—THE OBELISK OF THEODOSIUS.

An examination of the construction of the base and its sculpture led to the view that it was composed of material older than the reign of Theodosius. I subsequently read a paper on the subject at an open meeting of the British School at Rome.¹ In the summer of 1906, Mr. Traquair, architectural student of the British School at Athens, made a detailed study of the construction of the base. His conclusions confirm the view which I had previously expressed. The present paper, which merely claims to put forward the reasons for assigning an earlier date to the base as briefly and clearly as possible, consists of two parts, Mr. Traquair's architectural report, and my own archaeological discussion of the questions raised. Both Mr. Traquair and myself owe much to the kind assistance of Dr. Van Millingen, for but for his aid this paper would never have been written.

1.—*The Structure of the Base.*

The base of the obelisk is in three parts, which may be described from the ground upwards.

The foundation² (Fig. 2) is in two steps built of squared ashlar in courses from 18 to 22 metres high, laid as far as can be seen without mortar. The topmost course projects slightly beyond the rest

¹ *Athenaeum*, 1906, p. 402.

² Cf. the description of Gyllius given in Banduri, *Antiq. Constantin.* i. pp. 297, ff. (ed. Paris, p. 375.)

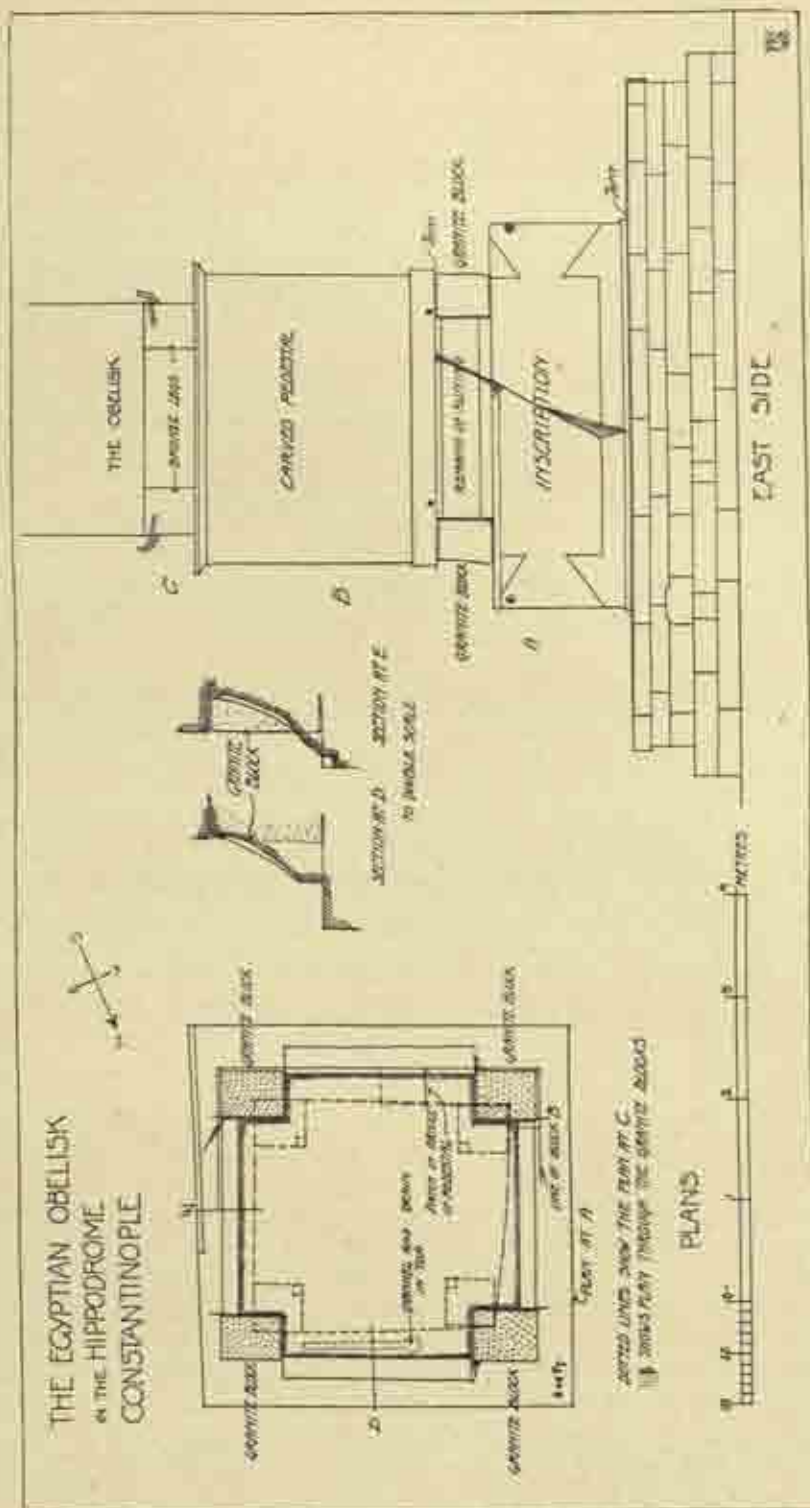


FIG. 2.—PLANS OF THE BASE OF THE OBELISK.

forming a 'nosing' to the step. The work is finely dressed, but not polished. This platform is nearly square, and measures 6.44×6.59 metres on the upper step. Upon the platform is placed a large block of white marble bearing the inscription, and the reliefs describing the transport of the obelisk. Above the inscription, but forming part of the same block, was a square fluted plinth. The angles of this and the top of the block bearing the inscription have been cut away and four granite blocks inserted, one at each angle. These are bedded at top and bottom with lead, and wedged up at the sides with small stones. They measure about 45×62 metres with slight variations, and are placed with their short ends facing east and west. At the north-west corner on the top is a roughly cut inscription KOETT. On the north side, also on top, are two holes and a hollow. These holes are not the usual perpendicular dowel holes, but are oval in shape. Round the top are a number of similar holes irregularly placed. Near the top are small holes drilled through the angles. That at the south-east corner has broken through. They may have been used to lift the stone, but would be not only unsightly afterwards, but weak for the purpose. They are probably late and intended for the attachment of some objects. The white marble block measures along the sides at the inscription level 3.74, 3.73, 3.72, and 3.63 metres, the north side being slightly shorter than the others. The plinth has been a square of about 2.75 metres, but, as the granite blocks are longer from east to west, now measures across them about 3.11 by 2.85 metres. Both plinth and inscription are broken through from top to bottom.

Upon the plinth with its granite angles rests a sculptured pedestal crowned at the top with a small, splayed cornice. At the bottom are four small square holes, two on the east, and two on the north side. At the top on the north side is a short channel terminating in a drain cut right down through the sculpture. The cornice has been broken away at the south-east angle and rather clumsily replaced. Upon the top of the pedestal are set the four bronze legs which support the obelisk. They are bedded at the top and bottom on lead, and have small square projections at the inside angle which fit into holes on the top of the pedestal to keep them from slipping. Their position on the top of the pedestal has been fixed by lines scratched in the marble, and still partly visible. They measure about 47 metres square by 49 metres high.

The granite obelisk was originally longer, and has been cut before being erected. The bottom angle, which is square above the bronze legs, is slightly rounded between them. When first erected it was evidently not quite plumb, for bronze wedges have been driven in on top of the north-east leg so as to raise the obelisk slightly at that angle. On plan the obelisk measures as follows:—E. 2.25 m., S. 2.50 m., W. 2.18 m., N. 2.38 m. The east and south sides are flat, while the north and west are convex on plan. The west side particularly has a strong curve. As the obelisk is very highly finished, this peculiar form must be intentional.

The first point of interest to be considered is the shape of the granite blocks. Had these been intended merely to strengthen the plinth, they

would have been made square. As at present placed they increase the length of the plinth from east to west, but not its breadth. Now whilst the top of the original plinth is square, and the bottom of the obelisk practically so, the pedestal which comes between them is oblong and fits the granite legs, but projects over the plinth to the east and west. This suggests the following explanation of the manner in which the monument was erected. The foundation steps, and the inscription block with its plinth were first intended to support the obelisk—perhaps with an additional square pedestal—. It was then determined to use the present sculptured pedestal. As, however, it did not fit the top of the plinth, the granite blocks were inserted at the angles to support its projecting ends. The obelisk was cut short, either to make it easier to erect, or because it had got broken at the end. It was placed on the bronze legs because, owing to the smoothness of its sides and its tapering form, it was necessary to support it from the bottom, while it was being lifted. Had the pedestal been placed in position by some device of grasping it under the angles, the granite blocks would have been wedged up. That they are bedded in lead shows that the pedestal was placed on them. They were probably covered by some form of plinth moulding now gone.

The obelisk does not bear in the slightest on the patched piece of the cornice of the pedestal, which has been carefully cut to avoid the bronze leg.

RAMSAY TRAQUAIR.

2—*The Date of the Base.*

It will be seen from Mr. Traquair's report that the base of the obelisk consists of three parts, the foundation, the inscription block, and the sculptured pedestal. He also shows that the first two belong together and were originally meant to carry the obelisk. The sculptured pedestal is a later addition, inserted at the time of the setting up of the obelisk. We thus can distinguish two periods, one the intended, and the other the actual erection of the obelisk. This view is confirmed by the Greek and Latin verses* on the inscription block, which run thus:—

κίονα τετραπλευρον, αἰὲ χθονὶ κείμενον ἄχθος,
 μούνος ἀναστήσαι Θεοδοσίος Βασιλεὺς
 πολήσας Πρόκλῳ ἐπεκέλετο· καὶ τόσος ἔσται
 κίων ἡέλιος ἐν τριάκοντα δύο.

Difficilis quondam dominis parere serenis
 iussus et extinctis palmam portare tyrannis
 —omnis Theodosio cedunt subdique perenni—,
 ter denis sic victus ego domitusque diebus
 indice sub Proclo superas elatus ad auras:

* C. I. G. 5812.

From these it is clear that an unsuccessful attempt to erect the obelisk had been made during the reign of *dominus avens*, and that it, in consequence, had long lain *χθονὶ ἄχθον*. Theodosius *extinctis tyrannis* ordered it to be set up as a monument of his victory. The work was entrusted to Proclus and accomplished in thirty-two days. This implies that Proclus found the base ready, and that the block (afterwards to be inscribed) with its reliefs showing the transport of the obelisk and its position in the Hippodrome was in place. Then to make the base more ornamental—or perhaps for mechanical reasons—



FIG. 3.—SOUTH SIDE OF THE PEDISTAL.

the sculptured pedestal was added. This also was probably found ready carved. At its south-west angle part of the cornice has been broken away and replaced in antiquity (Figs. 3, 5). The patch, as Mr. Traquair says, has been carefully fitted to avoid the bronze block that supports the obelisk, and has been carved to match the rest of the pedestal. But, while the arch over the imperial *pulvinar* is continued in it, the spears of the guards are not. It is perhaps reasonable to suppose that during the transport of the block to its present position one angle was broken off, and somewhat hastily replaced. Further proof that the pedestal was carved before being put in position is

given by the drain on its north side. This is roughly cut through the side of the block without any regard for the reliefs. The drain is therefore later than the carving of the pedestal. It seems to be contemporary with the erection of the obelisk, for its object is to let the rain water run off the top of the pedestal and prevent any damage to the bronze blocks that support the obelisk.

Thus while there is no doubt that the obelisk was erected during the reign of Theodosius, it seems certain that both the inscription block and the



FIG. 4.—NORTH SIDE OF THE PEDISTAL.

sculptured pedestal are earlier. The date of the erection is given by Marcellinus¹ as 390 A.D., when Valentinian II. and Nectarius were consuls. The *extincti tyranni*² are usually and probably rightly considered to be Maximus and his son Victor, who were defeated and killed by Theodosius in 388 A.D. The holes bored through the corners of the inscription block,

¹ v. *C.I.G.*, loc. cit.; Banduri (*Antiq. Constantin.* ii. p. 469) rightly rejects the view that the obelisk was brought from Athens and erected under Theodosius II.

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² The editions of the *C.I.G.*, loc. cit., compare an epigram in which Valentinian is called *extinctus tyrannorum*.

which Mr. Trugnair believes to have been used for the attachment of some objects, were perhaps used to hang wreaths of gilded bronze in commemoration of the defeat of Maximus. This would explain the phrase *palmam portare* of the Latin inscription. Procius was prefect of the city, and it seems that a statue was afterwards set up in his honour,⁶ but he never rose to the consulship.



FIG. 5.—WEST SIDE OF THE PEDESTAL.

We now have to consider the date of the pedestal and the inscription block. The four scenes on the former represent incidents taking place in the Hippodrome. On the south (Fig. 3), the emperor attended by three members of his family is seated in the *pulvinar* or imperial box. On both sides stand

⁶ Cf. the epigram given by Banduri, *op. cit.* i. p. 117, lib. vii.

detachments of guards, and on the steps leading to the box are two officials. At the side of the steps are other officials, four of whom hold napkins in their raised right hands ready to give the signal for the start of the chariot races.⁷ The scene on the north (Fig. 4), is similar, except that the emperor has apparently guards or officials with him in the *pulvinar*, or two sons who stand by his side, while guards are seen behind them. On the west (Fig. 5), the emperor and the three members of his family seated in the box and attended by guards receive the homage of barbarians. On the east (Fig. 6), the scene shows



FIG. 6.—EAST SIDE OF THE PRÆSTETEL.

the emperor with his family, or officials, standing in the *pulvinar*. His right hand holds the wreath for the victorious charioteer. On either side are spectators and guards. In the lower seats are two rows of spectators, and before them a line of musicians and dancing girls.

The emperor and the three members of his family seated in the *pulvinar* have always been thought to be Theodosius, his wife Flaccilla or

⁷ Cf. the statues in the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome, Helbig², 565, 584; *Doll, Com.* 1883, p. 17, Pls. II., IV.; Reinach, *Repert.* II.

p. 537, 7, 8; Strong, *Roman Sculpture*, Plate CXXIX.

Galla, and his sons Arcadius and Honorius. Since, as pointed out before, the pedestal is earlier than the time of Theodosius, he cannot be represented on it. Further the supposed Flaccilla is dressed exactly like the other three persons, and the figure does not seem to be female. Therefore if the other three are male, the Flaccilla must also be male. We may then assume that there are here shown an emperor and his three sons. The only emperor of Constantinople before Theodosius who had three sons was Constantine the Great. His three sons were, Constantinus proclaimed Caesar in 317 A.D.



FIG. 7.—CONSTANTINIAN PORTRAIT IN ROME.

Constantius Caesar in 323 or 324 A.D., and Constans Caesar in 333 A.D.* If we may assume that at the time the pedestal was carved all three sons were Caesars, it is possible that the pedestal, since barbarians doing homage appear in one scene, was the base of a monument to commemorate the Gothic War of 332 A.D. It might also have been erected in honour of the thirtieth anniversary of Constantine's reign, which was celebrated in 336 A.D.

* For these dates see Pauly-Wissowa, *s.vv.*

In 333 Constantinus would have been twenty-six, Constantius seven months younger, and Constans ten years old. Thus as regards age they would agree well with the appearance of the figures on the relief.

In style the reliefs show great likeness to other sculptures of the same period. The most important parallels are the Diocletianic and Constantinian reliefs on the arch of Constantine at Rome,⁹ and the arch of Galerius at Salonica.¹⁰ The frontality and the high relief of the figures make them seem to be standing in an open space. This is, as shown by Riegl,¹¹ a marked characteristic in the other sculptures referred to. Even more striking is the likeness shown by individual heads on the pedestal to Constantinian portraits. When they are compared with the portrait here reproduced (Fig. 7), a head in the Magazzino Archeologico at Rome, there is no doubt that they are works of the same period.

As regards the inscription block it is clear that the Greek and Latin verses belong to the time of the erection of the obelisk, the reign of Theodosius. But, since the block was originally intended for the obelisk at the time of the failure to erect it, it seems likely that the scenes showing its transport and its position in the Hippodrome date from that period. It does not seem very possible that the reliefs are Theodosian, although their style is not good. But as we have no sculptured monuments of that date except a much battered relief probably from the column of Arcadius,¹² there is no possibility of coming to a definite conclusion. It is, however, interesting to observe that Theodosius apparently used earlier reliefs for the decoration of the Golden Gate.¹³

It is not known for what purpose the erection of the obelisk was originally planned. As a mere conjecture it is possible that it was brought to Constantinople by Constantine and from the first intended for the Hippodrome. Probably he wished to erect it there, as Augustus had set up a similar obelisk in the *Circus Maximus* at Rome,¹⁴ so that his new Rome in the east should not be inferior in this respect to the western capital. Finally if Proclus erected the obelisk in thirty-two days, there seems no reason why Constantine should have failed to set it up.

A. J. B. WACE.

⁹ *Papiri B.S.R.* iv. Pls. XXXV.-XXXVII.

¹⁰ Kirsch, *L'Arc de Triomphe de Salonique*, Paris, Librairie Nilsson, 1890.

¹¹ *Spätromische Kunstindustrie*, chap. II; *Sirena Helbigiana*, pp. 250 ff.; cf. Petersen, *Atti dell'Accad. Pontificia*, ser. II. vol. VII.

pp. 150 ff.

¹² Strzygowski, *Jahrbuch*, 1893, p. 249, Fig. 10.

¹³ *Ibid.* pp. 31 ff.

¹⁴ Richter, *Topogr. d. Stadt Rom*², p. 170; Hülsen-Jordan, *Topographia*, I. 3, p. 140.

NOTE ON THE WALLS ON EPIPOLAE

IN reading again the narrative of the Sicilian Expedition lately heretical ideas have occurred to me as to the puzzling question of the walls on Epipolae, which I have thought it might be worth while with apologies to throw out for criticism. To show these pictorially, Professor Bury's Plan and my own perhaps crude views are here set side by side. In these latter there are many *details* of position upon which no stress is laid, the general idea only being indicated. I am not going to touch upon any alteration of text, but to deal solely with Thucydides as we have him, and with Thucydides only. The main suggestions I have to make are as follows:

1. That Professor Bury's wall (4) ran, as Grote puts it, north-west, not west, being intended to reach the northern cliff, but never completed to that point.

2. That this wall was made strong up to the point where it crossed the Athenian wall, but was carried a very little distance beyond that point—perhaps even destroyed; and that the long section of it from that point to Euryelus never existed.

3. That the *ἐγκαρσίον τεῖχος* of this same passage vii. 7. 1 is the Athenian wall running from the *κύκλος* northward towards Trogilus.

4. That the *παρατείχισματα* of vii. 43. 4 and 6 were either detached forts; or more probably forts attached to the wall of the outer city. This would suit the account of Demosthenes' attack even better than detached forts, as giving him more time to penetrate to the rear of the *παρατείχισμα*.

5. That the *παρατείχισμα* of vii. 11. 3, vii. 42. 4, vii. 43. 1, and the *τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης παρατείχισμα τῶν Συρακοσίων* of vii. 43. 5 are one and the same, and are the part of the third Syracusan crosswall (Bury's No. 4) *east of the Athenian wall* which it cut, *i.e.* the wall originally built by Gylippus vii. 4. 1, vii. 5. 1, and vii. 6. 4, and subsequently completed and strengthened up to this point *μέχρι τοῦ ἐγκαρσίου τεύχους* with the help of the Corinthians and allies, vii. 7. 1.

6. Further, but quite as minor points on which no strong views are held, that Labdalum stood further east than it has been usual to place it; and that the Athenian lines took a straighter course from the S. edge of Epipolae to the Great Harbour than Prof. Bury gives. This last point, however, perhaps depends upon the identification of the Herakleion. Has this been identified? If not, the line of Holm's map looks *prima facie* the most probable, providing also as it does a very clear and definite meaning for the words vi. 101 *ἐτείχιζον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν κρημὸν τὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἔλους*.

Taking these points *seriatim*, it is plain, as Grote says, that in regard to

1. Gylippus would seek to rest either end of his wall on some natural support. At one end, vii. 4. 1, it adjoined the new town wall; at the other the nearest and most obvious support would be the northern cliff of Epipolae sufficiently far to the westward to cross effectually the Athenian projected lines of circumvallation. To reach such a point it would run north-west not west. It surely cannot be maintained that διὰ τῶν Ἐπιπολῶν must mean 'the whole length of Epipolae.'

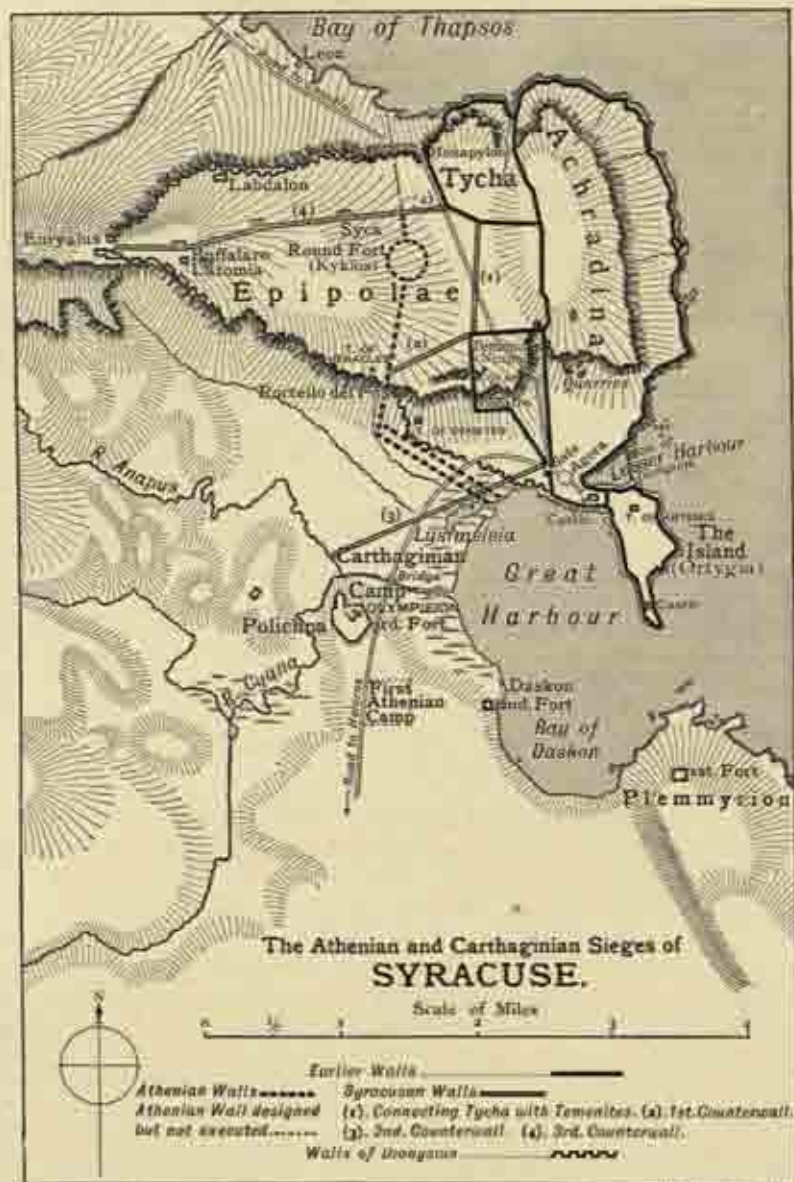
2. This wall was hurriedly built in the first instance, but on its passing the end of the Athenian wall Nikias at once ceased his efforts on Epipolae, the way for which had been already paved (1) by the burning of much of the Athenians' plant by Nikias on the occasion of the Syracusan attack on the κύκλος, vi. 102, (2) by the transference of their stores to Plemyrium vii. 4. It is distinctly stated that after the arrival of Gylippus Nikias was half-hearted and considered the Athenians' chances by land ἀνελπιστότερα even before the Syracusan wall was carried past; and that since that event he 'was standing on the defensive and avoiding all risks voluntarily incurred,' vii. 8. 3. (3) The transference of the stores involved the transference of a part of the army, so that his actual force on the spot was weakened.

When such was Nikias' attitude Gylippus felt confident of his power to resist any attack on Epipolae. On the arrival of the Corinthian and other reinforcements they were employed in the way Thucydides describes in the words vii. 7. 1 συνετείχισαν τὸ λοιπὸν τοῖς Συρακοσίοις μέχρι τοῦ ἐγκαταίου τείχους, which I should propose to translate 'they helped the Syracusans to make good their fortification up to the Athenians' wall which ran at an angle to it.' In the original rapid building of this work there would be much that needed strengthening and completing, and these weak points were made good. To strengthen it beyond this point seemed now unnecessary; but the future defence of Epipolae was organised in the following way: a τεῖχοςμα 'fort' was built at Euryelus, the easiest πρόσβασις, and no doubt at each of the other προσβάσεις also; the supports for these τεῖχοςματα were the 600 men of the special guard of Epipolae; the reserves were the τρία στρατόπεδα ἐν προτειχίσμασιν, 'the three forces in forts projecting from the city wall' or 'in detached forts'; it is in this order that Demosthenes in the night attack meets the enemy: he takes the τεῖχοςμα, then overthrows the 600, then presses on to engage Gylippus and the army from the προτειχίσματα. The meaning of taking the παρατείχισμα and tearing down its parapets will be discussed below.

We are apt to forget that though Euryelus was the πρόσβασις used on the three most important occasions it was by no means the only one and that each would require a τεῖχοςμα. Thucydides' word in vi. 96. 1 is plural διειροσύντο τὰς προσβάσεις αὐτῶν (i.e. Ἐπιπολῶν) φυλάσσειν.

Surely the bearing of this passage on the general military position has been strangely overlooked. 'Guarding the approaches' is a very different thing from building a wall the whole length of Epipolae to strike the cliff south of Euryelus, with three προτειχίσματα attached to and projecting from it. This would be

a most clumsy and laborious method of defence, and the army and general a long way off if they were wanted for use in, or to the south of, the city, where

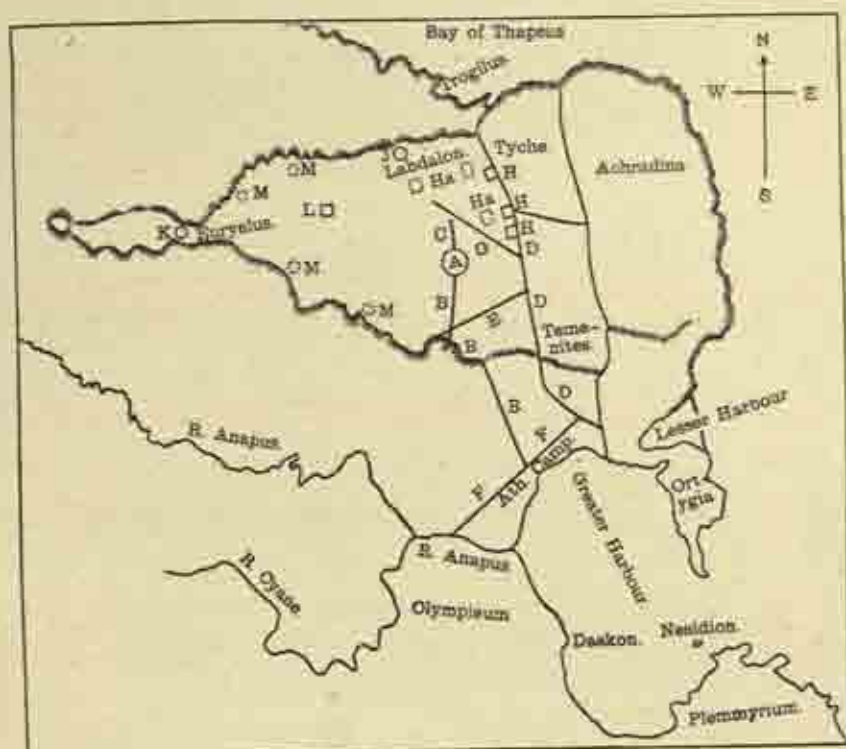


PLAN 1.—From Bury's *History of Greece*.
(By Permission of Messrs. Macmillan & Co.)

the Athenians lay in strength; and I hope to show below that the strategy of Demosthenes' night attack is inconsistent with such a theory.

To us Epipolae seems to need more defence than above described; it

seems incredible that Thucydides' description of it, vi. 96, as precipitous and accessible only at the *προσβάσεις* can ever have applied to the easy 30; to 40 ft. slope of the southern side, which any body could now climb at any point (Fig. 1). It is ridiculous now to talk of *προσβάσεις*; the whole south side is prostatic. Yet standing on Epipolae we have probably the key to the difficulty. Dionysius a few years later than this siege covered the whole plateau with his city. That city has utterly disappeared. Where to? it is not on the plateau itself; there is no soil or debris there; the rock is not six inches below the



PLAN 2—SUGGESTED DISPOSITION OF THE WALLS AND FORTS ON EPIPOLAE.

- | | |
|---|--|
| A: <i>εὐκλῆς</i> . | G: 3rd Syracusan Cross-Wall <i>παρὰ τὴν εὐκλῆν</i> . |
| B: Athenian Lines S. (should be continued down to the sea). | H: <i>τῆς προτεινόμενης τοῦ προστάτου</i> or |
| C: Athenian Lines N. (<i>καὶ τῶν τοῦ τοῦ</i> vii. 7. 1). | Hs: " " (if detached forts). |
| D: New outer City Wall, built in Winter of 415-414. | J: Labdalon. |
| E: 1st Syracusan Cross-Wall (destroyed). | K: <i>τοῦ τοῦ</i> captured by Demosthenes. |
| F: 2nd " " " | L: Camp of the 600. |
| | M: <i>τοῦ τοῦ</i> at imaginary <i>προσβάσεις</i> . |

surface. Nor yet has it gone over the northern cliffs; they are cliffs still, though low ones, with no debris at their foot (Fig. 2). But every tree on Epipolae bends from a more or less northerly direction, and the prevailing

northerly winds that bent those trees must also have carried the debris of Dionysius' city over the *southern* cliffs, transforming those cliffs into slopes. The masonry may have been removed; but a vast quantity of dust must have remained which can have gone in no other direction.



FIG. 1.—SOUTHERN SLOPES OF EPIPOLAE.

It must be admitted also that the words *συνετείχισαν τὸ λοιπὸν τοῖς Συρακούσις μέχρι τοῦ ἐγκαρσίου τείχους* (if the *ἐγκαρσίον τεῖχος* is the Syracusan wall where it cut the Athenian) is a somewhat off-hand way of describing the building of a military wall over two miles in length, and at least four times as long as that of which it was the continuation.



FIG. 2.—NORTHERN CLIFFS OF EPIPOLAE, SHOWING SOME *προβόλαια*.

It has been objected that in the rendering above (1) *συνεπικοδόμησαν*, not *συνετείχισαν* which seems rather to apply to *new* work, would have been the correct word, (2) that the pointed mention of the *assistance of the allies* implies that it was a bigger work of fortification than the Syracusans could have accomplished by themselves. If this be so, then I should suggest another rendering, viz. 'they helped the Syracusans in the remaining fortification

that was needed up to, etc.' *Συντείχισαν* is a very general word for wall- or fortress-building, and the phrase would cover all that was needed near the city for the new system of defence on Epipolae described above, including, e.g. the *τρία προτειχίσματα*; but as to their cross-wall (no doubt originally carried a certain distance further) they did nothing to strengthen it beyond the point where the Athenian wall met it at an angle.

3. Gylippus and the Syracusans are said (vii. 4. 1) to have built a *τείχος ἀπλουν*,¹ 'a wall facing one way only' from the city *πρὸς τὸ ἐγκάρσιον* 'at an angle' to the Athenian wall which ran northward from the *κύκλος*.

Professor Froeman (*Hist. of Sicily*, vol. iii. note xv.) thus dismisses in a few words all theories which do not make this third Syracusan counterwork the *ἐγκάρσιον τείχος* referred to in this passage. 'It is hardly needful to argue against those (see Grote, vii. 562; Holm, *G.S.* ii. 392) who have fancied that *ἐγκάρσιον τείχος* meant something other than this third Syracusan wall. One might be tempted to fancy that it meant the Athenian wall; but this is forbidden by vi. 99. 3 and vii. 7. 1. Thucydides would not apply the words *ἐγκάρσιον τείχος* both to a wall running north and south and to a wall running east and west. But he does apply them to two successive walls running east and west, each alike *ἐγκάρσιον* to the one that ran north and south. The Syracusans first build one *ἐγκάρσιον τείχος* of which we have heard a good deal, and which the Athenians had destroyed (vi. 100. 3 *τῇ δὲ ὑποτείχισιν καθείλον κ.τ.λ.*). Now they build another in the same general direction, but much further to the north, on the other side of the Athenian *κύκλος*.'

'Fools rush in where angels fear to tread'; but having consulted scholars far better than myself I propose to succumb to the 'temptation' aforesaid, and taking *μεχρὶ τοῦ ἐγκαρσίου τείχους* as the Athenian wall to rush in with the fools. I cannot see why the Athenian wall has not just as much right to be called 'the wall at an angle' as the Syracusan. It is no doubt awkward and ambiguous that Thucydides first says that the Syracusans built their third wall at an angle to the Athenian wall, and subsequently speaks of the Athenian wall as 'the wall which met theirs at an angle,' but it is an ambiguity that might be paralleled a hundred times over in Thucydides—indeed in this very sentence, where the *ships* are said to build a wall.

Coming now to the effect of this interpretation upon the military situation, what is the exact meaning of the words *μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα συντείχισαν κ.τ.λ.*? Grote has pointed out that the cross-wall must have been meant to have something to rest on at each end, and consequently must have taken a north-westerly direction (as in his Plan) with the intention of resting on the

¹ A *τείχος ἀπλουν* might have two varieties:
(a) two walls with battlements, etc., on their outer sides, near together, and roofed from wall to wall with a covered space below, like the Lacedaemonian wall in the siege of Plataea;
(b) two walls further apart and enclosing a fair

amount of ground like the Long Walls, or the Athenian walls on Epipolae and in the marsh near the Great Harbour. A *τείχος ἀπλουν* would have no second wall and only parapets towards the enemy.

northern cliffs; but on seeing the effect of his success on Nicias (*μετὰ ταῦτα*), who immediately gave up the game, Gylippus did not feel it necessary to carry out that intention, but provided for the defence of Epipolae in the new way above explained; and the *abandonment* of the original intention is what Thucydides means to emphasise in the words *μέχρι τοῦ ἐγκαταλείπειν τείχος*.

I have failed to find the author to whom Professor Freeman refers as taking the *ἐγκαταλείπειν τείχος* of this passage to be the Athenian wall. Perhaps he is only mentioning an obvious interpretation which must be rejected at sight. May I ask a serious hearing for the view so summarily rejected?

Professor Freeman also, after saying just before the passage above quoted that *πρὸς τὸ ἐγκαταλείπειν* is to be construed *adverbially*, then goes on without further comment to speak of this third Syracusan cross-wall as *τὸ ἐγκαταλείπειν τείχος*. Is not this begging the question?

Again, need it be pointed out that the proper place for the army and the commander-in-chief (and Gylippus himself was on the spot at the time of the night attack) is not at an advanced spot from which his access to the point where the enemy lay nearest in force—*viz.* to the south, near the harbour—was by a long route of some miles across Epipolae, round the end of the Athenian lines, and then down through the city; but at the central point from which the two lines of possible attack might both be observed and resisted? And what so central point as the wall near Temenites on the high ground facing the access across Epipolae from the west, and in sight of the Athenian camp on the low ground to the south by the harbour?

4. Coming now to the *προτειχίσματα*, I have above stated that I believe them to have been either forts projecting from the new city-wall built in the winter of 415-414, or detached forts; and that the system of defence on Epipolae was a *τείχισμα* 'fort' at each *πρόσβασις* 'approach'; in support of these the special guard of Epipolae six hundred in number; and in rear of all, the three camps in the *προτειχίσματα*, containing the main army with Gylippus' own headquarters. Exactly where these lay there is little if any indication; but if they were detached forts one at least and probably more than one must have lain within the angle formed by the Syracusan *τείχος ἀπλοῦν*, or *παρὰ τείχισμα* (see 5 below), and the new city-wall; if they were forts projecting from that wall, they were admirably placed for the defence of the city in either of its two assailable directions. Indeed I would go so far as to say that the theory of their being projecting forts in an advanced position in a wall running the length of Epipolae should be rejected as impossible merely on military grounds.

5. Next comes the *παρὰ τείχισμα τῶν Συρακοσίων*, which I hold to be the third cross-wall of the Syracusans, *eastward* of the Athenian lines. This is mentioned in four passages:

(a) In Nicias' letter vii. 11. 3 οἱ δὲ παρὰ τοῦ ἐγκαταλείπειν ἡμῖν τείχος ἀπλοῦν, ὥστε μὴ εἶναι ἐπὶ περιτειχίσαι αὐτούς, ἢν μὴ τις τὸ παρὰ τείχισμα τοῦτο πολλῇ στρατιᾷ ἐπελθὼν ἔλῃ. 'They have built a wall with one face across our lines and rendered it impossible for us to surround them without

bringing up a large force and taking their fortification.' The *παρτειχισμα* is of course here the third Syracusan cross-wall.

(b) Equally certain is the second reference (vii. 42. 4) ὁ Δημοσθένης ὁρῶν τὸ παρτειχισμα τῶν Συρακοσίων, ᾧ ἐκόλυσαν περιτειχίσαι σφᾶς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ἄπλοὺν τε ὃν καὶ εἰ ἐπικρατήσκει τις τῶν τε Ἐπιπολῶν τῆς ἀναβάσεως καὶ αὐθις τοῦ ἐν αὐταῖς στρατοπέδου ῥαδίως ἂν αὐτὸ ληφθῆναι, οὐδὲ γὰρ ὑπομείναι ἂν σφᾶς οὐδὲνα, ἠπειγέτο ἐπιθέσθαι τῇ πείρᾳ. 'Demosthenes observing that the fortification by which the Syracusans prevented the Athenians surrounding them faced one way only, and that if they could make their way on to the top of Epipolae and then beat the army there, it could be easily taken, as its defenders would not wait to be attacked, resolved to make the attempt.' The *παρτειχισμα* is the same as in (a). The Athenians must make their way to the north of it and beat the army encamped between it and the town or issuing from the town—as they must issue if they wanted to save the *παρτειχισμα*. Having no northern face it would then be indefensible and would be taken without a blow. It will be shown in (d) below that this is exactly what was happening in the night attack, when victory was suddenly turned into defeat.

(c) vii. 42 fin. 1. ἔπειτα μηχαναῖς ἔδοξε τῷ Δημοσθένει πρότερον ἀποπειρᾶσαι τοῦ παρτειχισματος. 'Demosthenes next determined before doing anything else to make a direct attack on the fortification with engines.' On this being repulsed he made his night attack.

(d) Lastly, in vii. 43. 5 we find that while Demosthenes is pressing forward with the main body ἄλλοι δὲ τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης παρτειχισμα τῶν Συρακοσίων οὐχ ὑπομενόντων τῶν φυλάκων ἤρουν τε καὶ τὰς ἐπάλξεις ἀπέσυρον. 'While others were engaged in taking the Syracusans' original defensive wall and tearing down the parapets, for the guards did not await their attack.' Is not this *παρτειχισμα* the same as in the three former passages? The name τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης παρτειχισμα is more appropriately applied to this part than to the supposed extension to Euryelus, which if it ever existed was a subsequent addition. The attack of the main body under Demosthenes had been pressed home as far as the ground between the *παρτειχισμα* and the city wall; it had taken the defenders of the *παρτειχισμα* in rear and driven them from their post; and it was aided by a secondary attack (ἄλλοι) from the κύκλος (the Athenians do not abandon τὰ τείχη τὰ ἄνω 'their works on Epipolae' till vii. 60, on the eve of the last sea-fight) which was to accomplish the main object of the Athenians, the capture of the *παρτειχισμα* now undefended. This was in course of happening (note the imperfect tenses) when the successful resistance of the Boeotians reversed the situation.

It will be seen that the above explanation makes the early success of the Athenians greater than it is usual to suppose, and implies that their defeat must have taken place quite near the outer city itself; but is not this suggested by the words βουλομένων διὰ παντός τοῦ μήπω μεμαχημένων τῶν ἐναντίων ὡς τάχιστα διελθεῖν, ἵνα μὴ ἀνέντων σφῶν τῆς ἐφόδου αὐθις ξυστραφῶσιν, which seems to imply that they were approaching the conclusion

of their task? Incidentally too it would prove that some at least of the *ταία στρατόπεδα*, if they were detached forts, were—as we should expect for facility of acting in any direction either towards the Great Harbour or towards Epipolae—close to the city gates.

6. The minor points of the position of Labdalum, and of the Athenian lines from Epipolae to the Great Harbour remain. (a) Labdalum was built (vi. 97. 5) on the edge of the northern cliffs, the Athenian headquarters being then on the bay of Thapsus, as a depôt for their tools weapons and money at a time when their main object was to build lines of circumvallation across Epipolae. It is hardly likely therefore that it would be erected one and a half to two miles from the building operations. It is only necessary to the narrative that it should have stood on the edge of the cliffs close to one of the northern *προσβάσεις*. It is no argument against this view that, in vii. 3. 4, we learn the further fact that Labdalum was out of sight of the *κύκλος* and Athenian wall; for the surface of Epipolae must have been much altered and its irregularities shaved off in the construction of Dionysius' city, and much may have been out of sight then that is in sight now. (β) An additional argument for its more easterly position is supplied by the fact that Gylippus apparently took it on the second day after his arrival; and though he covered the operation by his army, and trusted to secrecy, he would hardly yet have been so confident of his superiority as to venture such a distance into the Athenians' ground.

As to the line from Epipolae to the Great Harbour there seems nothing to fix it; but that shown by Professor Bury does not at all appear to accord with Thucydides' words vi. 101. *Ἡ ἑπὶ αὐτοῖς βραχύτατον ἐγένετο καταβάσι διὰ τοῦ ὁμαλοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἔλους ἐς τὸν λιμένα τὸ περιτείχισμα*, with which Hohn's line as stated above agrees much better.

H. AWDRY.

DE ISIDE ET OSIRIDE.

PLUTARCH'S treatise *περὶ Ἰσίδος καὶ Ὀσίριδος* is a work of considerable importance not only to the student of later Platonism, but also to the Egyptologist; yet it is a somewhat remarkable fact that it has been much neglected by the latter, although he alone possesses the knowledge that would help to clear up many of the confused and contradictory statements made by Plutarch with regard to Egyptian mythology. The commentaries of Sayce and Wiedemann on the second Book of Herodotus have been invaluable to the historian and mythologist alike; nevertheless, Plutarch's excursus into the realms of Egyptian religious lore has never received the systematic attention of the Egyptologist.¹ It can hardly be said that this is due to the want of importance attached to the subject. It is generally admitted that, whereas the eleventh chapter of the *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius is our principal source of knowledge concerning the Graeco-Roman cult of Isis, the treatise of Plutarch is almost our only account of the doctrine which the Alexandrian Platonists wove round that goddess and Osiris. There can be little doubt that Plutarch's theories were the same as those generally held by Greek and Roman worshippers of Isis, and the fact that the treatise is addressed to Klea, who appears to have been a professed devotee of the goddess, renders them additionally interesting.² Yet any one who reads Plutarch's essay cannot fail to notice how dependent the author is for information not only on the legends of Egyptian priests, but on the gleanings of his compatriot predecessors in the same field, while he is often hard put to it to explain away the grosser side of the Egyptian religion, and to account for its polytheism and worship of animals. In short, Plutarch and all the other Greek and Roman worshippers of Osiris were separated, by race, by prejudice, and by speech, from a proper understanding of Egyptian beliefs and feeling. That this gulf was to a certain extent bridged, is proved by the great vogue of the Isiac cult among Greeks and Romans, which seems to have drawn to it many of the noblest spirits of the time. Nevertheless, with all their eager enquiry and intelligence, the Greek Platonists could no more thoroughly enter into the spirit of Egyptian religion than the Egyptians could follow the metaphysical speculations of the Greek Platonists.

¹ The Egyptological notes in Parthey's edition, 1850, are out of date.

² § XXXV. . . . εἰ γινώσκουσιν, ὃ καλεῖται, δὴ προσ-

εῖναι ἱστορίαν ἀρχαίαν καὶ ἀποκτείναν ἐν Δελφοῖς τὴν
δοκίμην, τοὺς δὲ Ὀσιρινεὺς καθιστάμεντες ἱερὰν
ἐκ τῶν πατρῶν καὶ μητρῶν.

As was to be expected, Plutarch's conception of Isis and Osiris is greatly influenced by Platonism; but at the same time, he is very careful to expound the Egyptian side of the mysteries he discusses, and it is these expositions that it is the purpose of this paper to criticize.² It should be first explained that the Egyptian religion was essentially material and concrete, with all its doctrines based primarily on the working of practical magic. This was especially the case with the cycle of Osiris legends. Although Osiris had been slain and even hacked in pieces, he was nevertheless by the magical aid of his sister and wife Isis revived and became ruler of the realms of the dead. He was therefore a precedent by which man might expect to defy corruption, but only by the same magic as was employed for the benefit of Osiris himself. Before the funeral the following prayer was recited to the swathed and bandaged mummy: 'O thou who canst not move like unto Osiris, O thou whose limbs cannot move like unto those of Osiris. Let not thy limbs be without movement: let them not suffer corruption; let them not pass away; let them not decay; let them be fashioned for me as if I myself were Osiris';³ and the Rubric says: 'If the deceased know this chapter he shall never suffer corruption in the underworld.' Thus, by being mummified and by undergoing the same magical ceremonies as Osiris the deceased hoped to escape corruption. This was the root idea of the worship of Osiris; but from the very earliest times all sorts of extraneous doctrines got to be associated with it, especially those of the solar cult. Nevertheless, it was this root idea which persisted throughout the whole course of Egyptian religious history and was never displaced. To the Egyptian Osiris was at once his judge and the pledge of his future existence. Other gods and other magic might enable him to overcome the serpents and hostile demons that beset his path to the 'fields of rest'; but in Osiris, 'lord of eternity,' lay his hope of living for ever. In him centred all the ideas connected with the springing up of new life from decay and corruption; he represented the revivifying power in Nature, and especially in man. We bear little or nothing of what good he did for the living; but for the dead he was at once the hope, the protector, and the judge. The great popularity of Isis seems, however, to have grown up in later times chiefly owing to the skill she was thought to possess in magic, which would naturally endear her to the superstitious and the magicians. Isis was the great sorceress, the goddess who had enabled Osiris not so much to overcome his enemy Set, but to overcome the power of death and of bodily decay. Thus in later times her aid was universally invoked, and her great and magnificent temple at Philae saw the celebrations of her mysteries continued right down to the reign of Justinian, long after the *Götterdämmerung* in Egypt. But it was also in her capacity of mother of Harpocrates or the infant Horus⁴ that she found

² The fact that Plutarch had Ammonius as a teacher is no guarantee of his having any special facilities for acquiring Egyptian religious lore, as names of this kind were frequently borne by pure Greeks or persons brought up in an entirely

Hellenic environment.

³ Chapter xlv, *Book of the Dead*, ed. Budge.

 Har-pu-Khrad,
lit. 'Horus, the child.'

worshippers by the thousand. According to Plutarch Osiris became the father of Harpokrates after he had met his death at the hands of Set (§ xix. . . . τὴν δ' Ἰσιν ἐξ Ὀσίριδος μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν συγγενομένου τέκεῖν ἡλιότομον καὶ ἄσθενῇ τοῖς κάτωθεν γυίοις τὸν Ἀρποκράτην)⁶ a form of legend expressive of the renaissance of life from decay and corruption that is typically Egyptian in its concrete materialism. The figure of Isis suckling the infant Horus was very dear to the Egyptians, and thousands of this group had been made in bronze, faience, and terracotta from Saite times onwards. Isis not only had rescued Osiris from bodily corruption, but, after the latter had gone down to the shades to rule as king of the underworld, she brought forth a child-god as a pledge of his continued existence, and a type of rejuvenescence and endless youth. Of Typhon or Set it is difficult to speak with certainty. In the Osiris legend he certainly occupies the rôle of villain of the piece, and appears to have done so from the earliest times. He seems to have represented everything that was hostile to Osiris and to have typified also the terrors of the desert. Nevertheless, under the early dynasties prayers were frequently addressed to him, along with other gods of the dead, in the ordinary manner, for food offerings of thousands of oxen, geese, etc., while several of the great kings of the XIXth Dynasty bore his name and worshipped him with honour.⁷ But it seems clear that, being the enemy of Osiris, he was looked on with dread and even aversion, while the figures found of him are extremely rare as compared to those of other Egyptian deities. But of all the above-mentioned deities Osiris was the most important, the others on the whole playing comparatively subordinate parts in Egyptian mythology. It is true that Isis and Harpokrates⁸ assumed much greater importance in later times, but this came about chiefly owing to their connexion with Osiris.

Let us now turn to Plutarch and his treatise. It may be at once stated that his version of the legend of the fight between Osiris and Typhon or Set, together with the parts played by Isis, Nephthys, and Horus, corresponds very well with all that is known from the Egyptian records and rituals, and there is no doubt that it represents the current Egyptian myth at the middle of the first century. It is in the long elaborate disquisitions and exegeses that Plutarch forsakes the realms of Egyptian theology, although he is at great pains to find an Egyptian basis for each and every of his ideas. According to him, and in harmony with the Platonic system, Osiris and Isis are great powers or *daemons* (§ xxv. Βέλτιον οὖν οἱ τὰ περὶ τὸν Τυφῶνα καὶ Ὀσίριν καὶ Ἰσιν

⁶ The last part of this statement seems to be merely a mistaken Greek idea which arose from the appearance of Harpokrates as defined by Egyptian convention.

⁷ On the coffin and in the tomb of Sety I. the king's name is altered to that of Asary in order not to hurt the susceptibilities of Osiris.

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when the dead king took his place among the gods.

⁸ The divergence between Harpokrates and Haru-ur (Harueris) or Horus the elder became complete in late Ptolemaic times. It is hard to recognize any connexion between the ancient sky-god Horus of Edfu and the Hellenistic figures of Harpokrates.

ιστορούμενα μήτε θεῶν παθήματα μήτ' ἀνθρώπων ἀλλὰ δαιμόνων μεγάλων εἶναι νομίζοντες). Osiris is the male principle in nature, he is moistness, the Nile, the productive Power. Isis, on the other hand, is the female principle, the earth, the receptive Power. Typhon or Set is aridity, emptiness, waste (§ xxxii. οὕτω παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις Νεῖλος εἶναι τὸν Ὅσιριν, Ἰσιδὶ συνόντα τῇ γῇ, Τυφῶνα δὲ τὴν θάλασσαν εἰς ἣν ὁ Νεῖλος ἐμπίπτων ἀφανίζεται καὶ διασπᾶται πλὴν ὅσον ἡ γῆ μέρος ἀναλαμβάνουσα καὶ δεχομένη γίνεται γόνιμος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. § xxxiii. ... ἀλλὰ Ὅσιριν μὲν ἀπλῶς ἅπασαν τὴν ὑγροποιὸν ἀρχὴν καὶ δύναμιν αἰτίαν γενέσεως καὶ σπέρματος οὐσίαν νομίζοντες. § xlii. ὁ γὰρ Ὅσιρις ἀγαθοποιός· καὶ τοῦνομα πολλὰ φράζει, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ κράτος ἐνεργούν· καὶ ἀγαθοποιὸν ὁ λέγουσι. § xxxiii. Τυφῶνα δὲ πᾶν τὸ αὐχμηρὸν καὶ πυρῶδες καὶ ξηραντικὸν ὅλως καὶ πολέμιον τῇ ὑγρότητι). Of Isis he says, § liii. ἡ γὰρ Ἰσίς ἐστὶ μὲν τὸ τῆς φύσεως θῆλυ καὶ δεκτικὸν ἀπάσης γενέσεως, and her relation to the Logos is shown in the phrase following, διὰ τὸ πάσας ὑπὸ τοῦ Λόγου τρεπομένη μορφᾶς δέχεσθαι καὶ ιδέας. These quotations will suffice to show how Plutarch has moulded the Egyptian legends into an entirely Platonic form. Osiris is the beneficent principle, Isis the receptive; but the latter only receives the good and repels the bad forming in her womb Horus ὃν εἰκόνα τοῦ νοητοῦ κόσμου αἰσθητὸν ὄντα γεννᾷ. Before this he says (§ liii.) εἰκὼν γὰρ ἐστὶν οὐσίας ἐν ὅλῃ ἡ γένεσις καὶ μίμημα τοῦ ὄντος τὸ γινόμενον. Having gone thus far he proceeds to elaborate his theory, seeing in the story of the fight of Typhon or Set against Osiris and Isis only another form of the struggle between Ahriman and Auramazda, of evil against good, of ignorance against reason, of sterility against productiveness. In the end Set is not completely destroyed but like Ahriman can always continue to do harm, although finally Good must always triumph over Evil.

It need hardly be said that all this is not in the least Egyptian, yet it is interesting to note how throughout the treatise Plutarch seems thoroughly to believe that his ideas are the same as those held by the educated Egyptian priesthood and that he in common with them is possessed of an esoteric gnosis about the Egyptian deities. The vulgar might indulge in the gross forms of superstition derided by Greeks and Romans alike, but for those initiated into the mysteries of Isis, there was the doctrine on which he dilates in his treatise, of which the polytheism and worship of animals is only the outer form. The question is, is it possible that Plutarch was right? That the spirit of Platonism had penetrated into the Egyptian religion beyond the mere Graeco-Roman cult of Isis?







Looking at the question from the Egyptian side the answer must be in the negative. It may be admitted that in Plutarch's time decay and disintegration had begun to attack the Egyptian religion. The knowledge of hieroglyphs was becoming more and more rare, while those who were able to read and write them, were only acquainted with the Ptolemaic and Roman forms, which are artificial and stilted to a degree. The common people, too, had been much influenced by Hellenism, and the country had begun to be


flooded with those terracotta figures of Isis, Horus, Harpokrates, Bes, and other favourite deities in Hellenized form. Four centuries of Greek government and intermarriage with Greeks could not have failed to modify the life of even so conservative a people as the Egyptians.⁹ But the priesthood, the very class whom Plutarch considered to possess the same key to the wisdom of the ages as himself, and into whose manners and customs he enquires so closely, was the main bulwark against Hellenic influence. All through the Ptolemaic period the priests at the great religious centres such as Denderah, Thebes, Edfu, and Philae had not only carried on the worship of the ancient gods in the manner prescribed in the past, but had gone to great pains to investigate into minutiae of ceremony and ritual, so that everything might be done 'according to the wisdom of Thoth and therefore as set out in the sacred writings.'¹⁰ This clinging to the religious past was to a great extent artificial and had become more so in Roman times. Nevertheless, we know from the temple inscriptions that it was well maintained up to the time of the Antonine emperors, although the knowledge of the priests about things ancient had become much more reduced and circumscribed by absurd traditions, while confusion worse than ever reigned in the arrangement of the vast Egyptian pantheon. But in spite of this, the priests still held themselves aloof from Hellenic influence, and even if they had been capable of understanding the Platonic interpretation of the Osiris and Isis myth, would never have dreamed of adopting it.



We shall find confirmation of this if we turn to Plutarch's treatise itself, although perhaps not so much in the statements made about the Egyptian religion as in the deductions drawn from these statements. In the first place it seems clear that he had no acquaintance with the Egyptian language, or he would never have perpetrated some of the terrible etymologies of which he is so fond.¹¹ He was, therefore, apparently quite without a first hand knowledge of the Egyptian sacred writings, and dependent entirely on what he picked up from priests and from the writings of Herodotus, Manetho, Hecataeus of Abdera, and others who had written in Greek on the subject. Where he quotes Egyptian writings, his quotations have a thoroughly Greek ring; as, for example, when in speaking of the shrine of Neith at Sais he says: τὸ δ' ἐν Σαῖς τῆς Ἀθηναίης,¹²



⁹ See Hall, *P.S.B.A.* xvii. pp. 16, 17.




¹⁰ Dümichen, *Revue*, 38-41.

¹¹ E.g. Ἑλληνικὸς γὰρ ὁ ἱεὺς ἵσται καὶ ἡ τοῦ ὧτος, τολμαῖα τῇ θεῇ καὶ δὲ ἄγνοια καὶ ἀνέτην τετραφωμένης (§ ii.). Τοῦτος was of course quite unknown to the Egyptians; his native name was *Sot*, . . . τῆς δ' ἱστῆς . . . πένθετος στολὴν ἀναλαβεῖν, ἔχου τῇ πόλει μέχρι τοῦ ἔτους Κοπῆ, ἱεροὶ δὲ τὸ ὄνομα σφραῖνετε σφραῖναι σφραῖναι (§ xiv.). Οὐδέτις μάλιστα λόγον δεῖσθαι τῆς τοῦ ὧτος αὐτῶ γὰρ φράζειν τοῦτομα τοῦτομα Ὀσιρίδος (§ xxi.). The Egyptian original of this was probably either          

ἦν καὶ Ἰσιον νομίζουσιν, ἔδος ἐπιγραφὴν εἶχε τοιαύτην, 'ἐγὼ εἰμι πᾶν τὸ γεγονὸς καὶ ὃν καὶ ἐσόμενον, καὶ τὸν ἐμὸν πέπλον οὐδεὶς ποτ' θνητὸς ἀπεκάλυψεν' (§ ix.). No parallel inscription has ever been found on any temple in Egypt, nor is it in the least Egyptian in spirit; on the contrary it is Greek and is dragged in to fit Plutarch's preconceived idea of Isis. On the other hand when he follows Manetho, who was himself an Egyptian, as for example in his interpretation of the word Amen, he is correct: ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν πολλῶν νομιζόντων ἴδιον παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις ὄνομα τοῦ Διὸς εἶναι τὸν Ἀμοῦν Μανεθὸς μὲν ὁ Σεβεννίτης τὸ κεκρυμμένον οἶσται. This, we know, was the correct Egyptian explanation of the name as given by the priests and as shown by the determinative . The symbols of the name

of Osiris himself he has only got partially right. 'Ὅσιριν ὀφθαλμῷ καὶ σκήπτρῳ γράφουσιν' ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ τοῦτομα διερμηνεύουσι πολυόφθαλμον, ὡς τοῦ μὲν ὄς, τὸ πολύν, τοῦ δὲ ἱπὶ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν Αἰγυπτία γλῶττι φράζοντος (§ x.). The ordinary hieroglyphic writing of Osiris is either   or

 . There is an eye but no sceptre, nor can his mistake be justified by the current demotic forms¹³. Again he says ἐν Σαί γοῦν ἐν τῷ προπύλῳ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἦν γεγλυμμένον βρέφος, γέρων, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἱέραξ, ἐφεξῆς δ' ἰχθύς, ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ ἵππος ποτάμιος· ἐδήλου δὲ συμβολικῶς, 'ὅτι γινόμενοι καὶ ἀπογινόμενοι δεοῖν . . . [ἰουνα] γέρων· ἱέρακι δὲ τὸν θεὸν φράζουσιν, ἰχθύϊ δὲ μῖσος, ὥσπερ εἴρηται διὰ τὴν θάλατταν, ἵππῳ ποταμῷ δ' ἀναίδειαν (§ xxii.).¹⁴ Here we have a garbled account of some inscription with just enough about it that is correct for us to realize how hopelessly unintelligible the original must have been to the author. A hawk was certainly the sign for a god, and a babe and an old man may very well be connected with old age and youth, but even συμβολικῶς it is difficult to understand the rest. ἦν γεγλυμμένον too looks as if the whole thing were hearsay, and here, as elsewhere, it gives the impression that Plutarch had never visited the spot at all. In speaking of Thebes he says: ἐν δὲ Θήβαις εἰκόνες ἦσαν ἀνακείμεναι δικαστῶν ἄχειρες, ἥ δὲ τοῦ ἀρχιδικαστοῦ καταμύουσα τοῖς ὀμμασιν, ὡς ἄδωρον ἅμα τὴν δικαιοσύνην καὶ ἠέντευκτον οὔσαν (§ x.). Again the use of the past tense gives the appearance of a quotation, or a hearsay report. This symbolic idea of the incorruptibility of justice would seem to have arisen in the mind of some Greek traveller who had noticed figures of Theban functionaries, either with the hands broken off, or, as is more likely, folded within the robe, a very common attitude in which Egyptian portrait figures were represented. But such symbolism as closed eyes, and lack of hands to express an unbribable

¹³ or is probably the rendering of 'was'  a kind of sceptre, which does not mean 'many.'  is the correct vocalization of , an eye,

however.

¹⁴ Clement of Alexandria has a similar version, perhaps incorrectly copied from Plutarch, *Stromateis* v. 7.

justice was never employed as far as is known by the Egyptians, and was quite foreign to their ideas. It is the same with his conception of the sphinxes, which is entirely coloured by the Greek legend of the Sphinx: παραδελούσιν αὐτοὶ πρὸ τῶν ἱερῶν τὰς σφίγγας ἐπιεικῶς ἱστάντες, ὡς αἰνιγματώδη σοφίαν τῆς θεολογίας αὐτῶν ἔχούσης (§ ix.). The Egyptian sphinx was not a female monster who propounded riddles, but a man-headed lion-couchant, emblem of Harmachis and the might and power of the rising sun.

That side of the Egyptian religion which was most typical of the Egyptian mind is precisely the one that Plutarch understands least. All the gross and materialistic legends about Osiris which had their origin in the primitive epoch of Egyptian history he passes over as unworthy of belief or to be understood symbolically by the initiated (§ xx.). But there is every reason to suppose that outside Alexandria, among the native priests and the peasants, exactly the same beliefs were current in Plutarch's time as had been from time immemorial in Egypt. Again with Plutarch as with all foreigners the animal gods of Egypt were a sore stumbling-block, and he is fain to pass them off as mere symbols or as utilitarian interpretations. He admits that Αἰγυπτίων δὲ οἱ πολλοὶ θεραπεύοντες αὐτὰ τὰ ζῷα καὶ περιέποντες ὡς θεοὺς οὐ γέλωτος μόνον αὐδὲ χλευασμοῦ καταπεπλήκασιν τὰς ἱερουργίας, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο τῆς ἀσελτηρίας ἐλάχιστόν ἐστι κακόν (§ lxxi.), but goes on to explain that the Egyptians worshipped animals in two ways, symbolical and utilitarian. In the latter, the ox, the sheep, and the ichneumon, on account of their usefulness to man; in the former, the asp as being immortal and capable of motion without limbs, the crocodile because it veils its eyes with a thin transparent membrane so as to see without being seen, which is the attribute of the Supreme God, while a still more extraordinary reason is assigned to the weasel, λέγουσι κατὰ τὸ οὗς ὀχευομένην τῷ δὲ στόματι τίκτουσαν, εἰκασμα τῆς τοῦ Λόγου γενέσεως εἶναι (§ lxxiv.). As a matter of fact the Egyptians worshipped their animal deities without assigning any fanciful reason for doing so, as they had always worshipped them from the time that they were the local nome totems in the predynastic period. The fact that in one district the crocodile was venerated, that in another it was hated and hunted, that in one town sheep were eaten and in another considered sacred, and that the people of Oxyrhynchus, who were fish-worshippers, descended one day on the people of Cynopolis, who were having a fish dinner, and sacrificed and ate all the latter's dogs, thereby causing a riot which led to rough usage on the part of the Roman garrison, did not seem to the Egyptians extraordinary or illogical in the least. To Plutarch it is inexplicable and accountable only as the *superstition* of the rabble. But if Plutarch had known Egypt better he would probably have found that the fray at Dogtown was instigated and led by the opposing factions of priests, the very people whom he considers to be possessed of the same great and esoteric gnosis as himself. The priests he looks on as models of asceticism and ceremonial purity, because they largely abstained from eating flesh, shaved their heads, and wore only linen garments. That

ceremonial purity, especially in later times, was connected with these priestly observances is to a certain extent true, but the climate of Egypt naturally bred an abstemious people, while the custom of shaving the head had been universal from time immemorial with all classes, and linen had always been the most suitable and the most easily prepared material provided by the country's natural resources. But the shaven head, the linen robe, and oriental frugality passed into the Graeco-Roman cult of Isis and Osiris as the outward signs of the rigid asceticism demanded by the Platonic idealism which dominated it.

There is a good deal of evidence in favour of Plutarch's theory that Osiris represents the Nile and moisture. In the same way as Isis in later times absorbed the attributes of Hathor and Mut, so Osiris absorbed those of the productive Nature gods, but his association with the Nile is of peculiar interest and serves to show how confused the attributes of the various Egyptian gods became. During the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties the priests of Hapi or Apis, the bull-god of Memphis, anxious that their deity should gain greater prestige, declared that their sacred bull was none other than the incarnate spirit of Osiris. From this arose the identification of Osiris with Hapi under the name of Asar-hapi, or Serapis, as he was called later by the Greeks. Once confused with Hapi of Memphis it is easy to understand how he became identified with Hapi the Nile-god, and how his priests naturally claimed for him the gratitude of all those who profited by the fertilizing and beneficent irrigation caused by the annual inundation. In this way, *in late times*, Osiris became almost an agricultural deity, a fact on which great stress has been laid by Mr. J. G. Fraser,¹⁵ who draws a good many of his conclusions from Plutarch's idea of Osiris being the Nile and Moisture. That this belief was held in Plutarch's time there is no gainsaying, especially as some of the agricultural religious ceremonies, which probably originated in veneration of Hapi and other gods, had become absorbed in those of Osiris. But Osiris was not in reality a corn-god but a dead god who lived again as ruler of the dead. The planting of Osiris beds in the tombs had no agricultural or telluric significance whatever, but was a magical ceremony to produce for the deceased life from death by the sympathetic imagery of seed sprouting from inanimate earth, and the same may be said of the corn and wax figures of the god. Both, also, are *funerary* and not agricultural customs. But in Roman times and to Plutarch's contemporaries, Osiris had absorbed the functions of many other deities including those of Hapi of Memphis and Hapi the Nile-god.

Before leaving the subject of Serapis it may be well to notice the well-known version of Plutarch with regard to the origin of the Alexandrian cult of that deity (§ xxviii.). According to this account, Ptolemy Soter saw the colossus of Pluto at Sinope in Pontus in a vision, who ordered him to bring the statue

¹⁵ *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*. The authorities quoted in this work in support of the theory that Osiris was a corn-god are nearly all Ptolemaic or Roman in period, when the belief about Osiris had diverged considerably from those of early times.

to the newly founded city of Alexandria without delay. After much difficulty Ptolemy had the statue stolen from Sinope and brought to Alexandria, whereupon Timotheus his interpreter and Manetho persuaded him that it was none other than Serapis. When it had been set up in the city, it rapidly got the name that Pluto bears among the Egyptians, i.e. Serapis. This story has always been a mythological puzzle. As we have seen, Serapis had been in existence at Memphis for a thousand years before, and why a Black Sea town should be the place of origin assigned to one of the most popular Egyptian deities is a mystery. In connexion with this, Letronne's shrewd conjecture is well worth recalling. This suggests¹⁶ that the Greeks, who were a people always desirous of ascribing everything to themselves, invented the legend that Serapis came from Sinope, when as a matter of fact he really came from a mountain named Sinopion¹⁷ near Memphis. The close proximity of Memphis to the Serapeum at Sakkara, where the sacred Apis bulls were buried, makes Letronne's theory the most satisfactory yet offered. It is probable, however, that there is some truth in Plutarch's story. There is no doubt that Ptolemy Soter was anxious to find a divinity for Alexandria that could be worshipped alike by Greeks and Egyptians. He must have been informed that the cardinal doctrines of the Egyptian religion centred round the cult of the dead and the god of the dead Osiris who was also incarnate in the Apis bull, and so Serapis was adopted as the most acceptable deity to become supreme god of Alexandria. On the other hand the Greeks might object to a purely Egyptian god being given precedence over the deities of Olympus, and accordingly the story was promulgated either at the time or soon after that, as the new deity was a god of the dead, he was really Pluto, and it is easy to understand how, whether by accident or by design, the confusion between Sinope in Pontus and Sinopion at Memphis was made of his place of origin. It is probably for the same reason, namely, in order not to arouse Greek prejudice, that the Alexandrian type of Serapis is never in the least Egyptian, but compares more with the usual type of Zeus with curly locks and flowing beard, for it is not likely that Greek taste would have sanctioned the worship of a human mummy with a bull's head, which was at that time the usual Egyptian representation of Asar-Hapi.

But to return to Plutarch and his conceptions of Osiris and the Egyptian religion. He is obviously much attracted by the old identification of Osiris and Dionysus. Comparison had long been drawn between Demeter and Isis, and Dionysus and Osiris thus linking up the Egyptian system with the mysteries of Eleusis¹⁸ and this fact would naturally make a great appeal to Plutarch. He compares the garments of the priests at the burial of the Apis bulls with those worn at the Bacchic rites. *Kai γὰρ νεβρίδας*¹⁹ *περικαθάπτονται, καὶ θύσσους φοροῦσι* (§ xxxv.) and states that *ὁμολογεῖ δὲ καὶ*

¹⁶ *Fragments d'Héron d'Alexandrie*, p. 210.

¹⁷ This represents the Egyptian *Se-u-hapi*, 'place of Apis.' The locality is mentioned by Eustathius in *Dionys. Perieg.* v. 255. See also Brugsch, *Geographische Inschriften*, p. 240.

¹⁸ Lafaye, *Culte des Divinités d'Alexandrie hors de l'Égypte*, p. 20.

¹⁹ The leopard skin was the more usual garb of the upper priesthood, but this would agree equally well with Bacchic costume.

τὰ τιτανικά καὶ νύξ τελεία τοῖς λεγομένοις Ὀσίριδος διασπασμοῖς καὶ ταῖς ἀναβιώσεσι καὶ παλιγγενεσίαις, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς ταφάς (§ xxxv.). He even goes so far as to say that the Egyptians call the ivy *χενόσιρις*²⁰ σημαίνοντος τοῦ ὀνόματος, ὥς φασι, φυτὸν Ὀσίριδος. This opens up the whole question of the connexion between the initiated at the Eleusinian mysteries and those possessing the inner doctrines of the Greek Isiac cult. That they were very closely connected is undoubted. Plutarch addresses Klea as a devotee of both Dionysus and Osiris Ὅτι μὲν αὖν ὁ αὐτὸς (i.e. Osiris) ἐστὶ Διονύσῳ, τίνα μᾶλλον ἢ σὲ γινώσκειν, ὦ Κλέα, δὴ προσήκον ἐστίν, ἀρχηγὸν μὲν οὖσαν ἐν Δελφοῖς τῶν θυιάδων, τοῖς δὲ Ὀσιριακοῖς καθωσιωμένην ἱεροῖς ἀπὸ πατρὸς καὶ μητρὸς; (§ xxxv.) and infers that her double initiation must make her well acquainted with the fact that Dionysus and Osiris are one and the same deity. It has even been argued by M. P. Foncart that the Eleusinian mysteries were directly descended from the worship of Osiris which had been spread in Asia and the Greek islands during the fifteenth century B.C. by conquering and travelling Egyptians.²¹ But the author of this theory builds the majority of his arguments on the Osiris doctrines of Plutarch, doctrines which are contorted to suit Platonic theories, and compiled without any real insight into the fundamentals of Egyptian belief. There can be no doubt that the old identification of Osiris with Dionysus was eagerly seized upon by the later syncretists, who hoped to prove thereby an intimate connexion between the Greek mysteries and the Egyptian, but it is probable that if the two were traced back to their native sources they would be found to have nothing whatever to do with one another. To go back to the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties for the origin of the Eleusinian mysteries is a far cry. But apart from the great distance in time involved, we know that the Egyptian domination in Palestine and the sea-board further north left little influence on the peculiar cults of the Semitic inhabitants, and it is still less likely that Egyptian religious ideas should have taken root further afield among the early Greeks. Perhaps when more is known about the Mycenaean religion some connecting links may be made in that direction, but it would seem in any case that Dionysus was of North-Aryan (Thracian) origin.²² He certainly has no equivalent among the Semites.

In spite of the racial barriers that precluded Plutarch from a real understanding of Egyptian beliefs, he has left us many interesting side-lights on the native religion of his time. His account of the actual Osiris and Set legend, of the slaying of Osiris, of the part played by Isis and Nephthys, and

²⁰ Ivy has not been identified among the plants of ancient Egypt. *Χενόσιρις* may be for

 *ἄνευ-ἄνευ*. *ἄνευ* was, however, most probably an onion. Parthey suggests the Coptic **ⲱⲏⲏ**, 'iris.' A third etymology which is within the bounds of possibility is



ἄνευ-ἄνευ, which would mean the 'Acacia of Osiris.'

²¹ *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, vol. cxxv, 1896.

²² See Hall, *Oldest Civilization of Greece*, p. 239. Jane Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, chap. viii.

of the birth of Harpokrates is all thoroughly in accordance with the current native traditions. Most interesting is his brief description of the autumn ceremony, when a gilt ox was covered with black linen, as a token of the fallen Nile, and when, later, on the nineteenth of Athyr, the 'Dressers' and priests brought out a sacred coffer containing a golden ark, into which water was poured from the Nile, and a shout raised by the assistants, as if Osiris had been found; after this earth and spices were kneaded with the water into a little image of the moon, which was then robed and decorated. Here we have a glimpse of a purely native ceremony in connexion with the inundation, in which Osiris certainly seems to have played the part of the Nile-god, and also of some lunar deity, perhaps Khons-Ioh. It would almost seem at first sight a ceremony very closely parallel with the finding of Adonis and the rejoicings celebrating the end of winter; but the celebrations in this case take place in autumn and are entirely connected with the river, while they have little or nothing of agricultural or Nature significance. Unfortunately, Plutarch, whether from ignorance or from fear of revealing mysteries to the gaze of the vulgar, gives us no account of any of the religious ceremonies connected with the passion of Osiris, or with any other of the great deities he mentions, although he discourses on *sistra*, the vestments of Isis, and incense. The ceremonial described in such detail in the texts of Denderah and Edfu seems quite unknown to him: even if he had been acquainted with it, he would have found it very hard to reconcile with his Platonic scheme. Nevertheless, he has gathered many scraps of knowledge which are known to be correct, as when he tells us that Abydos was formerly the chief burying-place of kings and nobles, that many towns claimed to be tombs of Osiris, that Set had the head of an ass,²² that Osiris was usually represented as being black, and so on. Among many horrible travesties of etymology he has a few philological explanations to offer, such as those of Hathor and Mut, which are correct. Throughout he seems always desirous of being thought one who was well acquainted with everything Egyptian. But the fact is, Plutarch saw Egypt through a distorted medium—through the medium of the Alexandrian doctrines about Osiris and Isis. How and when this Alexandrian school grew up it is difficult to say. The causes which led to its establishment were the general syncretism of the age and the mixture of the Greek and native populace. But Greeks and Egyptians or Egypto-Greeks brought up under Hellenic influence desired, like Plutarch himself, to steer a middle course between *Atheism* and *Superstition*, wherefore the grosser side of the Egyptian religion was dropped or treated symbolically, while Osiris, Isis, Anubis, and one or two other deities were picked out and declared not only to be the Egyptian equivalents of some of the greater dwellers on Olympus, but, in accordance with the Platonic feeling of the time, to be world-spirits carrying out the bidding of the *Logos*. As

²² Prof. Breasted has made a daring and quite unwarranted flight into the realms of zoology by declaring that Set bore the head of an *ekapti*.

History of Egypt, p. 56. In XIth Dynasty funerary inscriptions Set is represented unmistakably as an ass.

this cult grew up it must have diverged further and further from the doctrines of the native priests, who can have had little sympathy with it; but its devotees assumed that in their ritual and ceremonial they were preserving the ancient customs and mysteries of the Egyptian religion. These latter, in Plutarch's time, were dying fast, although still maintained intact in the great religious centres away from Alexandria. The ceremonial of the Alexandrians was, however, a mere bastard offspring, that grew less and less like the original as time went on. It was this Alexandrian cult which spread from Egypt to Rome and Italy, to Athens and Greece, to the banks of the Rhine and to the uttermost limits of the Roman empire. Its devotees fondly imagined that they were not only possessed of an esoteric gnosis of the most comforting kind, but were possessed of all the knowledge of the Egyptians;²⁴ yet the visit of a native priest to the temple of Isis at Pompeii would have left him bewildered and amazed, not only at the way in which the great goddess was worshipped, but at the company she found herself in.²⁵ The descendants of great priests like Setne Khaemwaset, whose name in Plutarch's time was a tradition of the might and magical powers of the priesthood in the past, lived to see their beloved religion flourishing in many foreign lands, but changed beyond all recognition.

Plutarch, along with other Greeks and Romans, naturally thought this Alexandrian cult to be the real and true Egyptian one. His treatise on Isis and Osiris shows how deeply interested he was in the whole subject, but he never got far enough to see that the cult of Alexandria had diverged very considerably from the old native beliefs. He naturally looked at the Egyptian religion through the medium of Alexandrian ideas. To him the native religion certainly contained the pure ore, but the pure ore was covered by layers of accretions and superstitions which barriers of race and language prevented him from penetrating, wherefore it was only fit for the uneducated and vulgar; the Alexandrians alone held the key of the true Egyptian faith. This was, of course, a total inversion of the facts. The teeming crowds who flocked to witness the ceremonies at Edfu or Philae were taking part in rituals which had their origin in the first Egyptian Dynasties. The ascetic philosopher of Alexandria who adopted a shaven crown and white linen robes was a member of an artificial esoteric society that was called into being by the intermixture of Greek and Egyptian civilization. But it is to Plutarch we owe our knowledge of this society, and his mistakes and misconceptions show us the distance by which it had become separated from its Egyptian original.

P. D. SCOTT-MONCRIEFF.

²⁴ See Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* xi.

²⁵ Lafaye, *Culte des Divinités d'Alexandrie hors de l'Égypte*. The remarkable tomb excavated at Kom-el-Shingafa, near Alexandria, is

also most typical of the Grecized Egyptian cult of Alexandria.

THASOS.

PART I.—INSCRIPTIONS.

DURING his visit to Thasos, of which an account, with a map of the island, and plans and drawings of the more important sites will appear in a subsequent number of this *Journal*, Mr. J. ff. Baker-Penoyre took copies and squeezes of a number of inscriptions both on the island itself and at Cavalla on the mainland opposite.

The inscriptions of Thasos are collected in *I.G.* xii. 8, which is now in the press and may be expected to appear shortly. Hitherto the most complete collection of them has been that in M. G. Dimitzsa, *Ἡ Μακεδονία*, i. (Athens, 1896), pp. 853-1000, consisting of 481 texts. A bibliography of Thasian epigraphy will be found in *B.C.H.* 1900, 263 f. together with 46 inscriptions previously unpublished. To this must now be added the following articles:

1. *Rev. Ét. Gr.* xvi. (1903), 180 f. T. Reinach.
2. *B.C.H.* xxvii. (1903), 391 ff. G. Mondel. Cf. *ibid.* xxiv. (1900), 560 ff.
3. *Ath. Mitt.* xxviii. (1903), 437 ff. A. Wilhelm.
4. *Jahreshefte* vi. (1903), 180 ff. F. Studniczka.
5. *Rev. Philol.* xxvii. (1903), 215. P. Foucart.
6. *Rev. Ét. Gr.* xx. (1907), 304 ff. W. Deonna.
7. *Rev. Arch.* xi. (1908), 29 ff. Do.
8. *Ath. Mitt.* xxxiii. (1908), 215 ff. C. Fredrich. Cf. *Berl. Sitzb.* 1905, 66 f.

while fresh inscriptions from Cavalla and the neighbourhood have been published by P. Perdrizet, *B.C.H.* xxiv. (1900), 299 ff. and C. Fredrich, *Ath. Mitt.* xxxiii. (1908), 39 ff. A number of Thasian sculptures have been discussed by H. Sitte in *Jahreshefte* xi. (1908), 142 ff.

The inscriptions which follow are still, so far as we know, unpublished. The texts are taken from Mr. Penoyre's copies, which have been revised in nearly every case from photographs or squeezes.

1. Limena.—On a block built into the tower at the south-east angle of the acropolis: the block is 20 feet from the ground and is built in upside down. The inscription measures 56 m. in length: height of letters 0.15 m.

ΜΕΝΕΔΗΜΩΣ ΠΑΤΟΙΩΣ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ

Μενέδημος Πλάθιος ἀνέθηκεν.

The letters are extremely neatly and carefully engraved in the archaic Thasian script: the alphabet is apparently the same as that employed in the cult-regulation *I.G.A.* 379 (Roberts, *Introduction to Gk. Epigraphy*, i. No. 22), though β and ν (ζ , ψ) are here wanting. The inscription may date from the first half, perhaps even from the first two decades, of the fifth century B.C. (cf. Roberts, *op. cit.* p. 62): the perfection of its execution, however, inclines us to attribute it rather to the second half of the century.

A Πλάθις Αἰγυήτης occurs on two inventories of objects in the Athenian Hecatompedon, *I.G.* ii. 652 b, 9 and ii. 652, 39, though in the latter case the name has been obscured by a misreading in Chandler's copy of the stone. The female name Πλατθίς, -ίδας is found in Leonidas of Tarentum 78 (*Anthol. Pal.* vii. 726), and Pape-Benseler refer to the feminine diminutive Πλάτθιον as occurring in an inscription in Hadrian's stoa at Athens.

2. Límna.—From the east wall of the city, on a block of stone now lying on the ground a few yards above the Parmenon-inscription published by Conze (*Reise auf d. Ins. d. thrak. Meeres*, 12 Pl. iv. 14, 15; *I.G.A.* 378; Roberts, *op. cit.* 21) and much the same as the latter in appearance: the block is not, however, now *in situ*. It lies a little way below the tower which projects from the east wall in the steep, straight descent from the steps to the gate at the angle. Dimensions of stone ca. 1.50 × 75 × 80 m.; length of inscription, .55 m.; height of the β , .1 m.



This (β = ν ϵ ρ α , retrograde) is apparently one of the series of builders' marks and names noticed by Conze (*loc. cit.*), in whose list, however, this fragment does not appear.

3. Limena.—On the front of a moulded block, now used as a door-step of the house at the extreme west point of the wall circuit. The letters are clear, but cut in a very poor, thin, affected style.

ΚΛΕΟΝΙΚΗ ΜΕΓΩΝΟΣ ΕΚΑΤΑΙΑ ΑΝΤΙΦΟΝΤΟΣ

Κλεονίκη Μέγωνος, Ἑκαταία Ἀντιφ(ῶ)ντος.

The name *Μέγων* occurs in other Thasian inscriptions, *Rev. Arch.* 1865, xii, pp. 139 ff. Nos. 8, 10, 11, 12, 22 (=Dimitzas, Nos. 1191, 1193, 1194, 1195, 1205). The *Μέγων Ἑκαταίου* who figures in the third of these texts (col. iii. l. 6) may be a member of this family, since the two persons here commemorated are probably related to each other. A *Ἑκαταία* is mentioned in a Thasian inscription (*C.I.G.* 2164) as owning slaves who took part in the gladiatorial shows as *essedarii* and *mirmillones*: the Hecataea of *B.C.H.* 1900, pp. 273 ff. Nos. 17, 18 is presumably the same, as she too owns and emancipates gladiators.

4. Limena.—On a small *cippus* from the same house as No 3, resembling the shaft of a small unfluted column. The letters, which are rough and poor, are inscribed on a depressed surface.

ΖΟΗΒΕΝ

ΑΙΔΟΣ

ΧΑΙΡΕ

Ζὴν Βεν-

(δ)ίδος

χαίρε.

The first letter of l. 2 may be a Δ or an Α: if the latter, it must be an error of the engraver. A Γελλία Ζὴν occurs in an epitaph of Berrhoen (Dimitzas, No. 97, p. 82). For the use of names of deities as human names see Bechtel-Fick, *Griechische Personennamen*, 304 ff.

5. Limena.—From an outhouse of the *metochia* of the monastery of Vatopedi. Letters .023 m. high.

ΤΟΝΚΟΣΜΟΝΠΛΕ

ΝΕΙΚΟΜΗΔΕΩΝΟΠ

ΕΡΜΟΔΩΡΟΣΚΙΜΕΤΛΛ

ΘΕΑΣΟΥΣΚΟΠΙΑΙΣ

τὸν κόσμον - - -

Νεικομηδεων - - -

Ἑρμόδορος κίμε - - -

Θάσου σκοπιαῖς.

The right-hand portion of the stone is much defaced, and the reading of the last letters of ll. 1-3 is very uncertain. The variation in the forms of σ (Σ, Ϛ) and ο (ϙ, Ϝ) is noticeable. *κίμε* is apparently a mis-spelling of *κείμεναι*.

6. Limena.—From the same *metochia*. On a stele bearing a relief of a funerary banquet. A man reclines to l., his r. hand placed behind his head,

ΜΑΝΤΑΡΟΥΣ
ΟΛΥΜΠΙΑΔΙ
ΠΡΟΣΦΙΛΗΣ
ΧΑΙΡΕ

Μανταρούς

Ὀλυμπιάδι

προσφιλέης

χαίρε.

For the first part of the name Μανταρούς cf. Μάντα (*B.C.H.* 1900, p. 306, No. 2 and note; *Mélanges d'Arch. et d'Histoire*, xxv, p. 83, No. 4), Manta in a Latin inscription of Salonica (Dimitzas, No. 599), Μανταδολάδες (No. 11 below), Μαντούς (*Mélanges*, loc. cit.), etc. The termination -ους is found in Ἀρρίθους or Ἀρηίθους (Dimitzas 1197), Βενδούς (*id.* 1379) and Μαντούς just cited.

9. On five blocks belonging to an ancient circular tower, the ruins of which are on the cape, at the north-east extremity of Potamia Bay. Part of the inscription is still *in situ* on the tower, on the west side, about 1·5 m. above the present debris. It occupies the full height of one course of blocks (ca. 2 m.) and was continued over the length of several blocks, from which it would seem that we have not to deal with a collection of stones from other buildings used in the construction of this tower, but with an inscription genuinely *in situ* and therefore probably having some reference to the purpose of the building. The position and size of the tower seem to point to its having served as a lighthouse, and this inference is borne out by the words of the epigram. There are five inscribed blocks, the average thickness of which is about 5 to 6 m., while the height is in each case 2 m. *A* and *B* are now in their original position, *C*, *D* and *E* are lying among the debris to the south-west of the tower.

A. Length ca. 42 m. This was discovered lying to the south-west of the tower. Experiment showed conclusively the exact position in the tower which it originally occupied and when replaced it joined the preceding and succeeding blocks exactly. The former of these has now no letters on it and so far as could be ascertained it has always been uninscribed. This therefore may be taken as the first block of the inscription.

B. Length 95 m. Found *in situ*: it exactly joins block *A*, which lies to its left.

C. Length 40 m. It may have joined *B* on the left and certainly joined *D* on the right. The accompanying figure shows block *C* with the new fracture on the right, where *D* was broken off. A mould which Mr. Penoyre made of this fracture showed that it fitted *D* exactly.

D. Length 30 m. It joined *C*, as just explained.

E. Length 55 m. This block has only one line of inscription, and that the upper. It was therefore in all probability the last block, or one of the last, of the inscription.



The following diagram illustrates the relative position of the blocks as above determined: although the contiguity of *B* to *C* and of *D* to *E* is left uncertain by the present condition of the stones, it is, we think, proved by the inscription.



The surface of the stones is much weather-worn and the text is in places hard to decipher: the photograph shows the most legible block in peculiarly favourable lighting. The letters are about 0.6 m. high and the alphabet used is (so far as it can be gathered from the text) as follows:

Α . . . Δ Ε . Η . Ι Κ Λ Μ Ν . Ω . Ξ Ε Τ Υ Φ . . . Ο

The use of Ω for ο, ου and of Ο for ω in archaic Thasian inscriptions is normal (Roberts, *Introduction to Gk. Epigraphy*, i. p. 61).

We have, apparently, an epigram consisting of three iambic senarii referring to the twofold purpose of the tower, as lighthouse and as memorial of Κηλάτος.

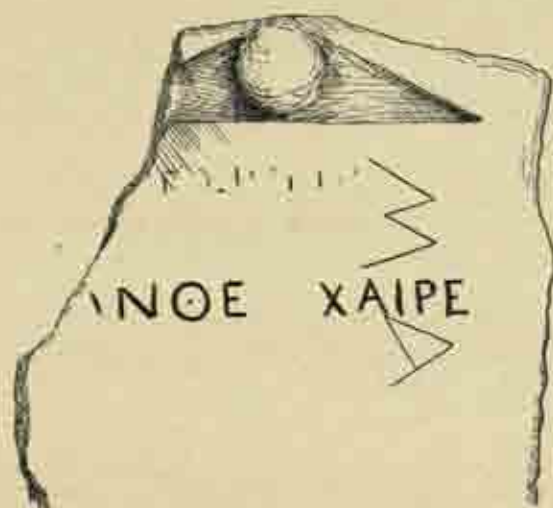
Κηλάτος ε[ἶ]μι μνῆμα τῷ Φ - - ηρίδῳ,
κέμαι δὲ ἐπ' ἄκρο ναυσ[τ]α[θ]μο σωτήριον
νηυσίν τε καὶ ναύτησιν· ἀλλὰ χαιρετέ.

'I am the memorial of Kelatos, son of Ph - - arides, and I lie at the roadstead's utmost point bringing safety to ships and to sailors: so farewell.'

The name Κέλατος does not, so far as we know, occur elsewhere. It may be a Dorian form of Κόλατος, which is found in a late Egyptian inscription (*C.I.G.* iii, 5032). The reading is almost certain, though the third letter is not very clear and was originally read as *p* by Mr. Penoyre. The name of Kelatos' father is in part illegible: between the Φ and the Η stood three, or possibly four, letters, and the Η was followed probably by *κ*.

The alphabet is decidedly more archaic in appearance than that of No. 1 (above), and the inscription may well belong to the latter part of the sixth century B.C. or the opening years of the fifth.¹

10. From a well on the shore north of Potamia Skala. The top line is illegible, only fragmentary letters being distinguishable. At right angles to the main inscription run the letters ΜΑ, very delicately cut. The design at the top may be an *apotropaion* in the shape of a formalized rendering of the evil eye. The relief is lower than the sketch suggests.



[¹Α]νθε χαίρει.

The name *Ἄνθος* is found at Thasos in Dimitrias 1245 (= 1275).

11. Theologo.—Beneath a relief, of which the upper part is broken off, built into the corner of a wall of a house adjoining the soldiers' quarters. The inscribed surface is 38 m. long, 09 m. high. Height of letters 025 m.

¹ We wish to acknowledge the advantage we have derived in this and other inscriptions from Mr. A. M. Woodward's kind collaboration.

Several suggestions are due to Mr. G. F. Hill, to whom we would express our thanks.

ΛΑΝΤΑΔΟΛΑΔΕΣ
ΧΑΙΡΕ

Μανταδολάδες
χαίρε.

12. Built into the exterior long wall of the church of Ἅγιος Νικόλαος, near Theologo, on the road 'στὸ Ποτό, on the r. as one leaves the village. 55 x 10 m. An unsated tablet; part of the lower and right hand edges are preserved. The stone is in very poor condition, but the reading may be regarded as certain:

ΕΙΚΟΣΑΕΤΗΣ ΑΤΑΛΑΝΤΗΝ
ΩΕΛΙΠΟΝ ΣΥΝ ΜΗΤΡΙ ΦΙΛΗ ΜΕΓΑ
ΠΕΝΟΟΣ ΕΠΙ ΓΗΡΩΣ

The epitaph seems to have consisted of two hexameter verses: the first three feet must have formed a line of the inscription which is now lost. In the fifth foot of the second verse there is a superfluous syllable, while *εἰκοσαετής* is scanned as if it were *εἰκοσετής*.

----- εἰκοσαετής Ἀταλάντην
ὦ ἔλιπον σὺν μητρὶ φίλῃ μέγα πένθος ἐπὶ γήρῳ.

13. Theologo.—Built into the l. hand doorpost of a house, on the r. side of the street as one descends. Letters 04 m. high.

ΔΕΚΤΕΥΣΑ
ΥΤΟΥ ΓΙΩΣΚΑ

In l. 1 we have some part of [ἀπο]δεκτέυσα[ς], for which cf. *C.I.G.* 2163b (= Dimitsas, 1131) Αἰρ. Ἡρόδοτος] Παραμόνον δι[ς] ἄρξα[ς] ἐκ] ἀποδέκ[ας]; κτλ. and *Ath. Mitt.* xxxiii. 219 Σωτᾶς Εὐπόρου ἀποδεκτέυσας ἐπισκεύασεν τὸν πύργον κτλ. For the functions of the ἀποδέκται see J. Oehler *op. Pauly-Wissowa* s.v.

14. Theologo.—In a house opposite that on the doorpost of which the last inscription stands. Below a sepulchral relief found in a field near the village: height 47 m., breadth 47 m. The relief represents a male figure reclining, leaning on his left arm, with a woman seated (l.) looking to r.: in front of the couch stands a table with fruits, behind is a ledge on which rests a helmet (?). Apiculated letters, 025 m. high.



ΑΥΡ·ΠΡΟΚΛΟΣ ΧΑΙΡΕ

Αὐρ(ήλιος) Πρόκλος χαίρε.

15. Sotero Kalyvia, half way between Sotero and Sotero Skala.—On a large rectilinear block 2·40 m. long, .5 wide, .25 thick. The stone was abandoned here in an attempt to remove it from Sotero Skala to Sotero: a similar block was successfully transported the whole way, and is now in the church at Sotero. The letters (height .035 m.) are carelessly scrawled and are now all but illegible on the stone, but come out clearly on the squeeze.

ΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ


ΕΝΘΑ ΔΕ

ΚΑΤΟΙΚΕΙ

Ἡρακ(λ)ῆς | ἐν(θ)αδε | κατοικεί.

The words must be a jest, but apparently an ancient one since the letters are too faint and worn to have been cut in modern times, and other reasons make it practically impossible that the words can have been cut by a modern inhabitant of the island. The size and proportions of the blocks suggest that they may have formed part of the entry of a tomb or temple, less probably of a dwelling-house. The well cut marble surface has apparently been defaced by some light-hearted youthful Thasian, perhaps of the 4th or 3rd century B.C., unless indeed some one of the few archaeologists who have visited Thasos

will plead guilty to this *jeu d'esprit*. We are indebted to M. Basileiades of Hamâdiah for informing us of the existence and locality of this stone.

16. Kazaviti.—From the wall of the school (?) adjoining the church: height, .45 m.; breadth, .35 m. Above, relief of a horseman wearing a *himation*, riding to r. to an object which may be a tomb. 

ΜΕΣΤΟΣΗΡΩΔΩ
ΤΟΥΧΛΙΡΕ

Μέστος Ἡρ(ο)δ(ω)|τον χαίρει.

The name *Μέστος* is found in Thasos in Dimitsas 1182, 1307; for its form see P. Penrizet, *Corolla Numismatica*, p. 220. *Ἡρόδοτος* is one of the commonest names on the island.

17. Kazaviti.—From the wall of the same building, complete on l. and below. Height, .24 m.; breadth, .25 m. Above, a relief; a figure on l. *en face* with some object in his or her hands, standing with his side to the back of a throne on which is seated to r. a figure on a much larger scale.

ΖΩΣΙΜ ΧΑΙΡΕ

Ζώσιμ[ος] χαίρει.

The relief strongly resembles the left hand fragment of that figured in Conze, *Reise auf d. Ins. d. thrak. Meeres*, p. 22 and Pl. VI (=Dimitsas, p. 846 and Plate). The names *Ζώσιμος* and *Ζωσίμη* are very common in Thasos.

18-21. The originals of the following four inscriptions are in Mr. Penoyre's possession. Three of them are stamps on Thasian amphora-handles (cf. *Rev. Arch.* 1861, lii. 283 ff., 1875, xxix. 374 ff.; Dimitsas, p. 973 ff.), the fourth is on the back of a small grotesque mask.

18.



Θασίων

Ἀπολλόδωρος.

19.



Θασίων

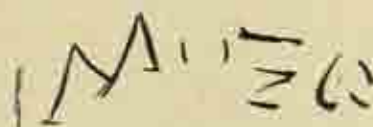
Μαλίνο[ς]

20.



[Θ]ασιον

21.



[Ο]μοίω^(?), a suggestion made by M. Christides of Panagia. Neither the little head, however, nor the lettering is above suspicion.

The following inscriptions copied by Mr. Penoyre have already been published:

22. Limena.—*J.H.S.* viii. 417 f. No. 19 (= Dimitzas, 1387): 'from Thasos; but the locality is not specified. Perhaps from the temple at Alki.' The inscription, on a slab measuring 1.9 × 3 × 3 m. is at Limena, lying in the debris of the sea wall between the *metochia* of Vatopedi and the north-east promontory, two or three hundred yards from the *metochia*. At the top is a simple moulding above a relief which has been purposely obliterated but probably represented a single standing figure. Beneath is the inscription and below this a metre of plain surface uninscribed.

23. Limena.—*Ath. Mitt.* xxxiii. 219 (in minuscules only). Approx. dimensions, 32 × 9 m.

24. Limena.—Archaic inscription published by G. Mendel, *B.C.H.* xxvii. 391 ff. and more correctly by W. Deonna, *Rev. Arch.* xi. 29 ff. Cf. *Ath. Mitt.* xxxiii. 221. Owing to the interest of this, one of the oldest extant Thasian inscriptions, we reproduce it here from a squeeze taken by Mr. Penoyre. The original forms a single line 2.44 m. long, but for convenience of reproduction it is here divided into four sections:

Ι Η Ν Θ Γ Ε Α Ι Ε Μ Ε Ι Μ Κ Α Ι
 Α Α Κ Μ Η Μ Η Ι Τ Α Μ Ν Δ Ε Π Ε Ω
 Ε Σ Τ Ο Γ Ι Μ Π Α Ι Δ Ε Σ Τ Η Σ Δ Ε
 Ρ Ο Ρ Ε Ο Σ Φ Υ Ρ Α Φ Ω Ι

25. From the lintel of a house at Kinira Skala. *J.H.S.* viii. 427, No. 34 (= Dimitzas, 1414). Large and carefully engraved letters with slight apices.

1.17 x .15 m. L. 3 has now perished. This stone has been brought from Aliki, where it was seen by Bent.

26. Aliki.—*J.H.S.* viii. 413, No. 9 (= Dimitzas, 1377). Length, 1.45 m.; height, .5 m.; height of letters, .12-.15 m.

27. Hamadiech.—In the exterior wall of the church of Evangelismos. *B.C.H.* xvii. 126, No. 4. Inscribed portion, .26 x .07 m. Above, a relief of a reclining figure facing with legs to l., in l. hand a kantharos, in r. uncertain object. In front, table with fruits; behind, lightly incised design on wall.

28. Kazaviti.—*B.C.H.* xvii. 126, No. 2. In l. 2 de Ridder takes $\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{Z}}$ as 5½; 'la sigle $\overline{\text{Z}}$ signifie, je crois, la moitié.' It is simpler to take it as $\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{Z}}$, which, owing to its shortness, is written in full instead of being denoted by a numeral sign. In l. 4 de Ridder reads $\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{Z}}$ (= 17); the squeeze seems to show that $\overline{\text{Z}}$ (= 60) is the true reading.

29. Bulgaro.—*Ath. Mitt.* xxxiii. 238.

30. In the possession of M. Bix at Cavalla.—*B.C.H.* xxiv. 313 f. We give a reproduction of this inscription as an interesting example of ligatured script not easily represented in type.

ΑΡΧΕΔΗΜΟΣ
 ΠΑΜΑΕΥΤΗΛ
 ΒΑΒΙΟΥΜΑΝΟΥ
 ΕΑΥΤΩΕΤΕΛΕΝ
 ΒΛΕΠΕΝΙΑΡΧΕ
 ΕΝΟΙΤΕΛΑΜΕΝ
 ΕΡΟΝΙΤΩΜΕΑΤΑ
 ΘΗΤΕΛΕΠΡΟΤΙ
 ΜΟΥΗΠΟΛΙΣΑΦ
 ΚΕΔΗΛΑΤΟΡΙ*

MARCUS N. TOD.
 J. ff. BAKER-PENNYRE.

HISCHYLOS.

[PLATES VIII-XII.]

SINCE the publication of Hartwig's epoch-making book there has been something of a lull in the study of Greek vase-painting of the best periods; at all events few further attempts have been made to deal with individual artists or schools, and their relation to the history of the subject in general. The time has perhaps come for a revival of our interest; and though it is not claimed for the present paper that it has such ambitious aims, it may yet serve to direct attention to a class of vases not treated by Hartwig, in fact hitherto largely neglected. In dealing with the work of the artist Hischylos, I cannot claim to rehabilitate him, as Hartwig has done with Phintias, Onesimos, and other artists, chiefly owing to the fact that, whatever the interest of the vases signed with his name, we have no certain ground for crediting him with the decoration of any single specimen. There is indeed no definite evidence that he was a vase-painter at all, and he cannot therefore aspire to be an Euphronios, a Douris, or even an Epiktetos. He invariably signs *ἐποίησεν*, which on the older theory was usually held to imply that the same man both made and painted the vase, where no other name with *ἐγγραφέν* accompanies it. But according to the now generally accepted view that *ἐποίησεν* denotes the owner of the pottery or master of a school of artists, we can no longer admit the comprehensive sense of the word; the master stated the fact that the vase was made under his supervision, and permitted his subordinates to advertise their names as painters where their work merited such distinction.¹ It will be seen that this has some bearing on the question of Hischylos' work in particular.

But at all events we may with Klein² regard him as having developed the form of the kylix. The fact that six out of his eleven vases bear the name of other painters shows that he was pre-eminently a potter, and only in the second degree a painter. The cups of this time exhibit the first appearance of tectonic unity; in the earlier B-F. kylix the bowl is distinct from the stem as if it rested on a stand, but now the two are structurally one, and as Klein observes, the profile of the cup begins to recall the Doric capital.

¹ On this question generally see Pottier, *Cat. des Vases du Louvre*, iii. pp. 699 ff.

² *Euphronios*, p. 42.

The vases associated with the name of Hischylos are also of considerable interest in connexion with the development of Athenian cup-painting, inasmuch as they are essentially transitional in character. Like Andokides and Nikosthenes, Hischylos stands on the threshold of the new red-figure style, and not only produced both black-figured and red-figured vases, but also others in which the two styles are combined. But it cannot be said that they afford any assistance towards the solution of the old problem of the origin of the red-figure style. It is indeed probable that a satisfactory solution will never be arrived at; the change in the technique was so absolute and complete that any transition is, strictly speaking, impossible. We must seek rather for a reason for the change than for an explanation of the process involved. Meanwhile it may be noted that the transitional vases are of two kinds, one variety represented by the work of Andokides, the other by the kylikes of the Epiktetan cycle. In the former's 'bilingual' vases the principle obtains that the same subject is repeated in both methods, but the colours are exactly reversed, as in the amphora from the Forman collection,¹ now at Boston, and the Palermo cup² with its 'counterchanged' exterior (to use a heraldic expression). In the latter the subjects are different, and the interior design is usually black-figured, the exterior red-figured; in a few instances the contrary is the case.

Whether, therefore, we look to Andokides or to the school of Epiktetos as the innovator, the change appears to be due simply to artistic causes at work at this time in Greek art, which found their reflection in the vases. There had been going on throughout the course of early art a tendency (to which B.-F. vase-painting is an exception) in favour of representing figures in light tone against a dark background. It may be observed in the stele of Lyseas,³ and in the Clazomenae sarcophagi,⁴ and in sculpture the growing preference for high relief may be regarded as a parallel development. Even in the B.-F. vases the tendency is suggested by the attempts at lightening the figures by polychromy, and still more by the practice of covering as much as possible of the surface of the vase with the black varnish, leaving only a small panel for the B.-F. design. This was in effect a preparation for the next step, to bring the black varnish close up to the design as a background for figures in light tone. Something of the same kind had already been attempted in shield-devices, while the variety of treatment of the Gorgoneion in late B.-F. vases illustrates the experimenting for colour effects which is characteristic of the time.⁵ Further, the use of accessory colours was tending to fall into disfavour, and the simple contrast of black and red was becoming more marked. It would not therefore require a great exertion of the imagination to try the effect of leaving the figures red, in place of the very small amount

¹ C. Smith, *Cat. of Forman Coll.* No. 395.

² *Jahrb.* 1889, Pl. 10.

³ *Sou. Att. Mitt.* iv, p. 41, where this stele is suggested as having given birth to the idea of B.-F. vase-painting.

⁴ See Zahn in *op. cit.* 1898, p. 75, 1908,

p. 178. His views as to the influence of Clazomenae on the new style seem to require some modification.

⁵ See generally *Amer. Journ. of Arch.* 1902, pp. 337 ff.; *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 1894, p. 112; Walters, *Ancient Pottery*, i, p. 401.

of background which remained, and allowing the latter to become absorbed in the larger background of the original black varnish. This may also explain why the painters of the earlier R-F. amphorae and hydriae still 'thought' as has been said, 'in the black-figure style,' and preserved the old system of panels with borders of B-F. ornament, although the figures within them were now no longer black, but red.

If we turn to the earlier R-F. kylikes we shall see that the circumstances are similar. The later B-F. cups had for some time limited the exterior decoration to one or two figures each side, filling in the space with a pair of large eyes, the pupil black, with a purple ring for the iris, the cornea being usually white. When the ground became black, it was a simple matter to omit the white and purple and the black varnish over which they were laid, and to leave the ground of this part red (cf. Plate VIII.). The interiors, as already noted, retained the old process in the majority of cases, which is perhaps the more remarkable as interior designs had never been popular with the painters of B-F. kylikes, and in many of the later examples they are wanting, or nothing more elaborate than a Gorgon's head is attempted (cf. Table I.).*

We are then left with the result that the earliest R-F. kylikes preserve in their exterior decoration the exact scheme of the later B-F. vases of this form, while the interior subject, which once more springs into favour, preserves the older method. The reason for this is not at first sight obvious, but on the other hand the revival of the interior subject is probably due to the change in the form of the cup, which had become flatter and shallower, leaving a level surface in the centre with obvious opportunities for decoration.

A list of the cups of the transitional period or 'Epiktetan cycle' was drawn up some twenty years ago by Klein, and probably requires little amendment at the present time. It is reproduced with a few additions and corrections (Klein's numeration being followed so far it goes) in Tables I-III. He divides them into three classes: B-F., 'mixed,' and R-F. Among the twelve B-F. cups he reckons six signed by Nikosthenes, four signed by Pamphaios, one signed by Hischylos, and one signed by Hischylos as potter with Sakonides as painter. To these twelve may be added four plates or 'Teller' of similar style, and three cups (also in Klein's list) with white-ground designs on the exterior and a Gorgoneion in the interior, all evidently of late B-F. work. The 'mixed' examples in Klein's list amount to twenty-two, which number I have increased to thirty-three by sundry additions; these include three cups signed by Hischylos with Epiktetes as painter, and two others with the former name alone. Others are signed by Pamphaios, Nikosthenes, Chelis, Psiax, and Andokides. Of the earlier R-F. kylikes with the large eyes on the exterior, there are thirteen in Klein's list, to which three others have been added; one is signed by Hischylos and Pheidippos.

* Klein's theory that this Gorgoneion by its method of painting suggested the R-F. technique has of course long been rejected.

one by Pamphaios and Epiktetos, and others by Pamphaios and Chelis. With these may be grouped four others without the large eyes but probably of the same early date, of which two certainly, and perhaps the other two also, came from the workshop of Hischylos.

In all we have eleven vases with the signature of Hischylos and two others where the signature is imperfect, representing all three classes of technique. These are again grouped by themselves in Table IV. In the three classes he appears to have employed successively as painters Sakonides, Epiktetos, and Pheidippos; of the first and last of these we know nothing more. Epiktetos on the other hand was destined for a long and successful career, and evidently learned his craft in the workshop of Hischylos. I now propose to take these groups of vases successively, in order to show what light they throw on the school of this artist and his position as a representative of the 'transitional' period.

TABLE I.—BLACK-FIGURED VASES.

(a) KYLIKES.				
		<i>Int.</i>	<i>Ext.</i>	
1. —	Nikosthenes (Klein 60)	Gorgoneion	—	
2. —	Pamphaios (Klein 3)	do.	—	
3. Louvre F 121	Nikosthenes (Klein 62)	do.	Eyes: Herakles: Dionysos and Hermes	
4. Louvre	Pamphaios (Klein 4)	do.	do. Dionysos and Ariadne	
5. Mus. Greg. II. 66, 4	do. (Klein 5)	do.	do. Herakles and Kyknos: quadriga	
6. —	Nikosthenes (Klein 63)	do.	do. Athena and Enkelados: Theseus and Minotaur	
7. Louvre F 122	do. (Klein 64)	do.	do. Aeneas and Anchises: Combat	
8. Cook Coll.	do. (Klein 67)	do.	— Quadrigas	
9. Würzburg <i>(Arch. Zeit. 1885, Pl. 16)</i>	do. (Klein 61)	do.	— Dionysos: quadriga	
10. Bourguignon Coll. <i>(Arch. Zeit. 1884, Pl. 16)</i>	Pamphaios (Klein 6)	Rider	— Panthers	
11. Berlin 2109	Hischylos (Klein 2)	Man with cup	— —	
12. Cambridge 60	Hischylos } Sakonides }	(Klein 3)	Eyes: Herakles and lion: stage	
(b) PLATES.				
13. Berlin 2099	—	Warrior	—	
14. Brit. Mus. B 589	—	Dionysos	—	
15. do. B 590	—	Warrior (trumpet)	—	
16. do. B 391	—	Archer (trumpet)	—	
(c) WHITE-GROUND CUPS.				
17. Brit. Mus. B 679	—	Gorgoneion: ship	Eyes: banquets	
18. do. B 680	—	Gorgoneion	do. Artemis, Apollo, Leto; Sirens	
19. Berlin 2060	—	Gorgoneion	do. Daidalos; Herakles	

I.—*Black-figured Vases.*

There is only one complete kylix with purely B.-F. designs bearing the name of Hischylos, and this is at Cambridge.⁹ It is the one signed by Sakonides as painter, and is a typical late B.-F. kylix with the large eyes and figures between on the exterior, but no interior design. The absence of the latter argues for a comparatively early date (artistically if not chronologically). I cannot trace a similarity to the work of Sakonides in any of the 'transitional' cups, and he must therefore be regarded as belonging to a time before the innovation was thought of. But we may with more profit turn to the other B.-F. cup signed by Hischylos, the kylix in Berlin (Cat. 2100), which was published some years ago by Fränkel,¹⁰ and of which, thanks to the kindness of Dr. Zahn, I am here enabled to offer an improved and revised reproduction (Plate IX).

The interior design of this cup was originally published by Fränkel in a restored and consequently somewhat misleading form. The new photograph shews clearly the parts which are missing, and it is more necessary to call attention to these, as Fränkel's account of them in his accompanying text is inaccurate and deficient. They include the greater part of the right arm, the right leg and all of the left as far as the top of the boot, portions of the chlamys and the left hand with part of the cup it holds. The chief interest of the figure lies in the curious head-dress, which is essentially feminine,¹¹ and its form seems to indicate a knot of hair at the back of the head under the coil. The drawing is slightly careless, but the general treatment of the figure is good and betrays more freedom than is usually associated with B.-F. drawing. It is in fact easier, as noted subsequently, to find parallels in R.-F. vases than in the earlier style. Of the signature there remain only the letters >+V >ΞΕΡΟΙΕ, but this is quite sufficient evidence for the restoration *Ισχύλο[ς] ἐποίησεν, which Fränkel propounded.

The Berlin Museum contains another vase (No. 2099), which is a genuine plate or 'Teller,' and with this may be associated at least three others of similar form and style. They evidently belong to the end of the B.-F. period, and as their designs suggest a comparison with the interiors of the Hischylos school I have thought them worth publishing here, with the suggestion that they are closely allied to, if not the actual work of that school. The other three examples are in the British Museum (Cat. B 589-591). By the kindness of Dr. Zahn I am enabled to give a reproduction of the Berlin plate, hitherto unpublished; of the three London examples B 591 has

⁹ Gardner, *Cat. of Fitzwilliam Museum Vases*, No. 60.

¹⁰ *Jahrb.* I. (1886), pl. 12. In the Catalogue (1885) it is described as a 'Teller'; but Dr. Zahn tells me it is certainly a kylix restored in that form, the interior design with the stem and foot alone being preserved.

¹¹ M. Pottier does not accept the view that

this is an imitation of feminine headgear. He says it is 'given to men of a certain age and analogous to our night-cap.' But the subject of the Berlin vase has hardly reached the 'certain age' which he would suggest. See *Cat. des Vases du Louvre*, iii. p. 885, a propos of the vase *Œ 4 bis*, described below (p. 117), and *Dar.-Sagl. Diet. s.v. Kokryphalos*.

already been published,¹² and B 589-590 are here given (Plate XI). It is possible that similar examples are to be found in other collections, but so far I have not been able to trace any. The four under discussion all have single figures in B-F. technique, the red ground being extended to cover the rim of the plate as well as the interior space, and the drawing in each case is of sufficient merit to admit of the supposition that they are the work of well-known artists.

The subject of the Berlin plate (Plate X.) is that of a warrior who, to quote Furtwaengler's description, is represented 'making long strides to the left, the right heel drawn up backwards, brandishing his lance for a throw. Purple greaves, short chiton with many folds and small white stars, as also on the shoulder where visible under the cuirass; sword, Boeotian shield with incised scales and in the centre an incised mask of Medusa without beard or serpents; bearded; Attic helmet with low crest, the cheek-piece in the form of a lion's head; all details incised. Drawing of great excellence, restraint and carefulness, yet life-like.' It is in truth as good a specimen of B-F. drawing and painting as exists, worthy to compare with the best work of Exekias or Andokides. Yet the archaic type of eye, the tapering limbs, and the minute treatment of the armour and drapery are all purely B-F. characteristics, and there is little of the freedom of the Epiktetan cycle. The artist has inherited the traditions of the 'miniature' painters of the middle of the sixth century and is unaffected by the coming revolution. Therefore the plate must, like the Sakonides cup, be dissociated from the transitional group and probably also from the school of Hischylos. It might be permissible to hazard the suggestion that it was painted by Sakonides; but we cannot judge sufficiently of that artist's style by the one remaining specimen of his work. It must also be remembered that the painters of the B-F. period were always more or less conventional; they show few traces of individuality, and the fact that so few sign their vases with *εὑρησεν* helps to increase the difficulty of differentiating and classifying their work.

Of the three British Museum plates B 591 represents an archer, in the usual Oriental dress of leather elaborately ornamented, blowing a trumpet through a mouthpiece (*φopσela*) formed by a piece of leather placed over the mouth.¹³ The subject of B 590 (Plate XI) is somewhat similar, but the style is less elaborate. Here the figure is in ordinary soldier's equipment, with helmet, cuirass, and greaves. These two designs will be seen to be quite in keeping with the typical kylix-interiors of the transitional stage (see below, pp. 111 f.), and the variations of the warrior motive are numerous. But the other plate (B 589, Plate XI) has a mythological subject in the form of Dionysos, seated on a folding-stool with kantharos in hand. The composition is more typical of B-F. than of R-F. vases,¹⁴ where Dionysos, if represented as a single figure, is usually depicted in some more active movement.

¹² *Mionch, Noxia*, Pl. 100, Fig. 4.

¹⁴ Cf. B. M. B. 893 and see Walters' *Ancient Pottery*, II. p. 55.

¹³ See Smith's *Dict. of Antiqu.*, s.v. Capistrum.

From the careful though not mannered drawing, the general restraint and sobriety of the compositions, and the sparing use of accessory colours, it would be reasonable to suppose that these three plates belong to the later stages of B-F vase-painting, when the *genre* movement was spreading and the tendency to reduce the number of figures in a scene was becoming rapidly more marked. There is not sufficient evidence for assigning any of them to a particular painter, but they may be fairly associated with the school of Hischylos and his brother-artists. In this connexion one point is certainly worth noting, namely that the circular plate was a favourite form with Epiktetos, though rarely employed by any other artist at any period. Klein enumerates no less than ten examples from his hand (signed 'Επίκτητος ἔγραψεν'), all of course being in R-F. style. It is therefore not impossible that he also tried his hand on the same type of vase in his earlier days; but we have only one absolutely certain instance of his work in the B-F. technique (Table III. No. 10). It is true that among the 'mixed' vases discussed in the next section there are three others signed by him as painter, but it might be possible to argue that he was in these cases only responsible for the outside designs. There is only a presumption in favour of these B-F. interiors being from his hand; but if this antecedent probability is accepted, it is perhaps possible to venture on a theory, which if it does not solve the question of the artist of the four plates, may at least give a clue to the authorship of the Berlin kylix.

It may be accepted without much doubt that Epiktetos in his younger days worked for Hischylos, as he also did for Nikosthenes, and accordingly we turn to see what evidence is yielded by the B-F. interiors of the four cups to which allusion has just been made (see Table II. Nos. 2, 8, 10, 12). Of these, No. 2, which only has a deer for its interior design, may be disregarded; but the other three subjects are worth attention:

No. 8. Brit. Mus. E3 (Plate XII.)	Young Horseman.	Potter Hischylos.
No. 10. Würzburg (ii. 358)	Youth wreathed, wearing chlamys and holding skyphos.	Potter Nikosthenes ¹⁰ .
No. 12. Petersburg (Academy)	Youth running, with staff and wine-skin; chlamys sprinkled with stars.	Potter Hischylos.

All three illustrate the Epiktetan fondness for *genre* subjects; and the second and third are evidently closely allied in style and subject to the Berlin vase.¹¹ Unfortunately neither has been published; but Wernicke has noted¹² that No. 2 is a virtual replica of a R-F. vase-painting by Epiktetos.¹³ The same close resemblance of subject exists between the Berlin cup and a R-F. interior in the Louvre (G 4 bis) which, as will be seen hereafter (p. 117), is nearly allied to the Hischylos group of the Epiktetan cycle. It appears therefore to be within the bounds of probability that the Berlin cup, if not

¹⁰ As in this case both the signatures appear on the exterior, there is no doubt that all the decoration is by Epiktetos.

¹¹ Helbig (*Bull. A. L.* 1885, p. 78) in describ-

ing the Petersburg cup considers that the drawing shows signs of archaistic tendencies.

¹² *Arch. Zeit.* 1885, p. 253.

¹³ Klein, *Meisters.* p. 104, No. 11.

actually Epiktetos' work, is to be grouped with those which he painted in the earlier part of his career. If the interior design was not painted by Epiktetos, it can be only from the hand of Hischylos himself.

Dr. Hartwig has already called attention to the absence of satisfactory reproductions of vases by Epiktetos.¹⁰ This important artist has certainly been hitherto unduly neglected; but it is to be hoped that the German critic will some day fill in the gap, and do for Epiktetos what he has already achieved for many of that artist's successors.

TABLE II.—KYLIKES OF "MIXED" STYLE

(a) Interior black-figured; exterior red-figured.			
		<i>Int.</i>	<i>Ext. (with eyes)</i>
1. —	Hischylos (Klein 6)	Deer	Juniper
2. Orvieto (Faina)	Hischylos } Epiktetos } (Klein, Epiktetos 4)	Deer	Runner
3. Brit. Mus. E 4	—	Deer	
4. Mus. Thorw. (Copenhagen) 95	—	Deer	Nose
5. Munich 1232	—	Minotaur	Warrior Man
6. Louvre F 127 (3)	Pamphalos (Klein 7)	Warrior	Minotaur Basin
7. Louvre F 126	—	Archier	Diskos-throwers
8. Brit. Mus. E 3	Hischylos } Epiktetos } (Klein, Epiktetos 2)	Horseman	Seller
9. Munich 111	Mikros kallos	Horseman	Youth Nose
10. Würzburg iii. 358	Nikosthenes } Epiktetos } (Klein, Niko-athletes 74)	Ephesos	Sellenos Horse
11. Mus. Greg. ii. 62, 4	Pamphalos (Klein 8)	Youth (club)	Youth Youth
12. Petersburg	Hischylos } Epiktetos } (Klein, Epiktetos 3)	Youth (wine-skin)	Mule Man
13. Mus. Thorw. 92	—	Youth (rhym)	Youth Warrior
14. Bull. d. L. 1881, p. 246	—	Youth running	Youth Youth
15. Munich 1023	—	Youth (rhym)	Wounded man Deer
16. Würzburg iii. 357	Hischylos (Klein 7)	Youth	Warrior Disk-thrower
17. Louvre F 125	Nikosthenes (Klein 73)	Man running	Youth Ram
18. Bibl. Nat. 335	Chalm (Klein 1)	Sellenos	Youth Plant
19. Munich 1246 (<i>Ann. J. of Arch. 1895, p. 487, Pl. 22</i>)	Paisx	Sellenos	Warrior Nose
20. Munich 1031	Mikros kallos	Sellenos	Mule Nose
21. N. des Vergues, Sale Cat. 102	do.	Pamphalos	Constant-player
22. Louvre F 128	—	Pamphalos	Hutaklee Sellenos and lion and horse (No eyes)
23. Louvre F 127	—	Warrior	Sirens
24. Alenbourg	—	Pamphalos	Nose Youth
25. Bicketts - Shannon Coll. 1896	Hischylos	Warrior	Nose Nose
26. Brit. Mus. 6-21	Mikros kallos	Singer	Mule Leaf (nose)
27. Klein, <i>Liedl.</i> p. 55, 5 (<i>Branteghem Coll. 55</i>)	do.	Warrior	Disk-thrower Youth
28. <i>Ibid.</i> p. 55, 6	do.	Warrior	—

¹⁰ *Metastrophien*, p. 12.

(b) *Interior red-figured, exterior black-figured (without eyes).*

29. Louvre F 129	Ἑρ/κλῆος καλός	Youth with amphora	Herakles Kyknos
30. Palermo (Hartwig, p. 88)	—	Sellenos	Winged figures
31. <i>Bull. d. L.</i> 1879, p. 54	—	Two youths ²⁰	Selleni

(c) *Interior black- and red-figured.*

Brit. Mus. E 2	—	Youth with amphora (R-F.) Ships in frieze (R-F.)	Youths and diotai
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(d) *Exterior black- and red-figured.*

Palermo	Andokides (Klein 6)	—	Eyes; Warriors (con- terchanged R-F. and R-F.)
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II.—Vases of 'Mixed' Technique.

I pass now to the second group of vases, those of the transitional or mixed style. It will be seen by reference to the list given above that the majority of these follow the same type: B-F. interior with single figure; R-F. exterior with eyes and single figures. To Klein's twenty-two examples I have been enabled to add six, one of which, with the signature of Hischylos, I am here able to publish by the kindness of its owners, Mr. Charles Ricketts and Mrs. C. H. Shannon. This I propose to describe before dealing with the group in detail.

This kylix (Plate VIII.) measures 12 inches (35 cm.) in diameter, or 15 inches (42.5 cm.) including the handles, and the height is 5 inches



FIG. 1.

(13 cm.). The bowl has been broken into fragments and put together, only the foot and handles being intact; it has also been slightly restored and repainted in parts, but little of importance is missing except part of the serpent in the interior design. It is covered with a fine lustrous black varnish, which becomes thinner on the handles, turning to red, and the inner edges of the handles and the rim of the foot are left in the red clay of the vase. It was bought at a sale in London, but unfortunately no details of its previous history have survived. When acquired by its present owners it was completely painted over, and the signature (Fig. 1) only came to light after cleaning.

²⁰ According to Von Duhn (*loc. cit.*) the interior design here is of quite advanced style.

In the interior, within a circle of $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches (09 cm.) diameter surrounded by a thin ring of black pigment, is a warrior turned to the right; he stands with knees bent and heels raised, as if suddenly checked in his course by the sight of a serpent which rears its body in coils behind him. He turns his head in some alarm, but is sufficiently on the alert to prepare²⁶ to strike at it with his drawn sword. The raised and bent right arm and the sword are drawn in engraved lines against the background of the body, the upper part of the arm being visible behind the helmet across which the fore-arm passes. His armour is of the usual type: helmet with plain crest, tight-fitting metal cuirass, greaves bordered with purple stripes, and a Boeotian shield on the left arm. Round his neck is a chlamys or scarf embroidered with small stars and fringed with a pattern of Z-shaped zigzags, the ends of which are tied at the throat and fall in a bunch of folds in front. He also wears a short tight-fitting chiton, falling in narrow crinkly folds over the thighs, and picked out with purple, which colour also appears on the edges of the chlamys. Of the serpent the upper part is wanting, including the head.

As to the subject, I think there can be little doubt that it has no mythological significance. Such would be quite contrary to the practice of the painters of the time, with their tendency to simplicity, which in the new and unfamiliar method was doubtless natural, but which they appear to have adhered to from choice even when retaining the old method. At all events they were at this time confining themselves to single figures for interiors, with the object, apparently, of learning how best to fill the circular space. 'An instinct' says A. S. Murray,²⁷ 'derived from older art dictated that this circular space must be broken up and taken full possession of by the figure within it. The figure must assume an attitude of stooping, kneeling, or running, such as would adapt it to the purpose.' So also Klein says:²⁸ 'Here we have carrying, lifting, hurrying, running, stooping, dancing, springing . . . and all for the sole purpose of obtaining those movements of the human body which the space of the vase demanded.' This studied attempt to maintain simplicity results then in the limitation of themes for the interiors to three or four stock types: ephebi, warriors, or Satyrs; the variation is in the action of the figures, not in their character.

Hischylos has signed another vase of this class, in which the interior design is of the same type, though vastly inferior from the artistic point of view. It is moreover in very bad condition. The cup in question is in the Museum of the University at Würzburg (iii. 357), and I am indebted to the kindness of Dr. Bulle for a photograph, reproduced in Fig. 2. The drawing, it will be seen, is poor and careless even to decadence, and one is not surprised that the painter has remained anonymous. But as in the Ricketts-Shannon cup there is the same desire to obtain variety by adopting a new motive for an ordinary single figure. The man seems to be feeling his way forward as if intent on some attack or capture of a playful kind. An even closer parallel may be found in a kylix of later date, with the *καλός*-name

²⁶ *Designs on Greek Vases*, p. 3.

²⁷ *Euphronios*, p. 29.

of Lysis, in the Münzkabinet at Vienna, published by Hartwig.²⁹ A youth is drawing himself suddenly back, as if, according to Klein, he was about to spring forwards to grasp some object. Hartwig with more plausibility sees in the movement a shrinking back from some object (not indicated) at his



FIG. 2.—INTERIOR OF KYLIX AT WÜRZBURG.

feet; this is implied by the direction of the glance. In this connexion he aptly quotes the well-known lines from *Iliad* iii. 33

ὥς δ' ὅτε τίς τε δράκοντα ἰδὼν παλινὸρσος ἀπέστη
οὔρεος ἐν βήσσει, ὑπὸ τε τρόμος ἔλλαβε γυῖα,
ἃψ τ' ἀνεχώρησεν, ὄχρος τέ μιν εἶλε παρειάς.

a reminiscence of which may, he thinks, have been floating through the painter's mind. But we must not now-a-days regard vase-artists as illustrators of Homer. In any case the Ricketts-Shannon cup, where the serpent is present affords a striking support of Hartwig's suggestion as to the missing object, though in this case the wayfarer, being an armed man, is able to cope with the emergency better than the hero of Homer's simile.

²⁹ *Münsterhagen*, Pl. 70, 1, p. 642.

On the exterior of our kylix we have R.-F. designs of the usual simple type, consisting of a pair of large eyes, with a vertical object between, ending in a trefoil termination, and doubtless intended for a conventional representation of a nose. Similar conventions occur on five other examples of this class (Table II., Nos. 4, 9, 19, 20, 24), but only here on both sides of the vase. The cornea of the eyes and the eyebrows are left in red, the pupil being painted in black and the iris indicated by rings of purple and white: the latter pigment has almost entirely faded away, except in one instance. A small point in the centre of the pupil shows that the rings were engraved with the aid of a compass. On either side of these designs, attached by stalks to the handles, are large upright palmettes of twenty-five leaves, the base being coloured purple with double tendrils below it. On the foot underneath are scratched various characters of no special interest. The signature $\text{HIS} + \text{VV}\Omega\text{S} : \text{EP}[\text{O}] \text{IESEN}$ is engraved at the base of one of the handles (see Plate VIII.); and this naturally leads to the question: who was the painter of the decoration of this kylix? But this must be reserved for later consideration, along with other vases bearing Hischylos' signature.

Of the other 'mixed' vases by Hischylos, one worth noting is the kylix in the British Museum E3, of which I reproduce on Plate XII the hitherto unpublished interior design. It *may* serve as a further illustration of Epiktetos' black-figure work, even if it does not help us to make any further attributions to this painter. But inasmuch as Hischylos' signature appears *on the interior design*, the possibility that this figure is his work must not be ignored. The subject is a young Athenian horseman, probably about to set forth for the chase, as he is equipped with the chlamys and two spears which indicate peaceful rather than military pursuits. Round his head is a wreath, and under the chlamys is a short chiton reaching half-way down the thighs. The chlamys has a border of Z-shaped zigzag markings between pairs of lines, which we have already noted as occurring on the Ricketts-Shannon vase; it is covered with patches of white and there is an inner embattled border in the same colour, but this has now almost entirely faded away. Purple is employed for the wreath and the horse's mane, but the rest of the design is all in black silhouette, except for the use of incised lines. The horse is spirited and life-like, his action betokening impatience to start, with the raised head and open mouth, the fore-feet pawing the ground. In the upper part of the field is the signature $\text{HIS} + \text{VV}\Omega\text{S} : \text{EP}\text{OIESEN}$.

The exterior R.-F. designs represent two Seileni, one with a drinking-horn and pelta, the other with an oinochoe, blowing a trumpet. Some idea of burlesque seems to be implied by these incongruous combinations, as in the warrior-Satyr of the Brit. Mus. vase E377 and two similar designs on vases in the Louvre (G 73, G 89). M. Pottier²² suggests that such figures are taken from a composition of Dionysos setting forth to join in the Gigantomachia. The Louvre vase G 73 also bears the signature of Epiktetos, which on the one under discussion, as already noted, appears above the exterior scenes, in the form $\text{EP}\text{IKTETOS} \text{EAPAS}\Theta\text{EN}$.

²² *Cat. des Vases du Louvre*, III, p. 523.

Another group of the mixed vases to which it is worth while calling attention is that represented by Nos. 9, 20, 21, 26, together with Nos. 14-16 in Table III, all bearing the well-known *καλός*-name of Memnon. Among the twenty-nine cups with this name two bear the signature of Kachryllion and one (No. 10 in Table III) that of Chelis: most of them are of fairly developed R-F. style, and apparently of later date than the four in this group. But as the duration of a single *καλός*-name cannot have been at the outside more than ten years,²⁵ the difference amounts to little, and additional evidence is afforded for the supposition that these 'mixed' vases are survivals, not anterior to, but contemporary with, the earliest red-figured. This is more or less what we should expect from the style and the artists' names which occur on them. One of the four (No. 26) was acquired by the British Museum in 1896²⁶; its interior design is unfortunately in too shattered a condition for satisfactory reproduction. Three of the four (Nos. 9, 20, 26) have on the exterior the same conventional 'nose' which we have seen on the Ricketts-Shannon cup. One may, however, hazard the guess that they came from the workshop of Chelis, who signed a 'mixed' cup in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris (Cat. 335 = Table II No. 18).²⁷

A few words may be added with reference to No. 23 in Table II, the Louvre cup F 127, of the interior design of which M. Pottier has kindly sent me a photograph. The subject, a warrior with shield and spear, running to the right and looking round, I had thought likely to afford a comparison with the subject of the Ricketts-Shannon cup. But it proved to be, as M. Pottier writes, a very ordinary figure, and not worth reproducing. The R-F. exterior designs, he says, are much finer and more careful: 'I cannot solve the question whether the vase was made in the workshop of Hischylos, because I have not at hand the material for comparison. . . . But I would readily admit that in the workshop of this painter the B-F. decoration of the Louvre cup was assigned to a less skilful artist.'

Of the six vases in this group with the signature of Hischylos, some have already been discussed above. The only one to which I am in a position to give proper consideration is the Ricketts-Shannon cup, the rest being unpublished or unillustrated. In this case it is important to notice that the signature is *incised*, and not placed in any part of the design, from which we may infer that it was added after the vase was completed, and that the maker of the vase was not in this case responsible for its decoration, but entrusted it to an anonymous craftsman. Excellent piece of work as it is, the kylix must therefore remain unattributed; we can only surmise that Hischylos employed other painters besides the three who have left their names on his vases, adding our regrets that in this case he should not have thought fit to give his subordinate the credit he had undoubtedly earned.

²⁵ Cf. Hartwig, *Monetisch*, p. 7.

²⁶ See Klein, *Liebingsstücke*, p. 54, No. 2. This vase is obviously identical with the one given by K. as No. 4 in his list of 'Rotfigurige Schalen mit Augen' (*Euphronios*, p. 297). He

corrects his error in the later work.

²⁷ See on the group generally Klein, *Euphronios*, p. 22, who considers them mostly the work of Chelis.

It is certainly impossible to trace any exact parallel in style, and the most that can be said is that it has the general characteristics of the transitional cups, among which it is entitled to a high place from the interest and artistic merit of its subject. With regard to the other two here published, the Würzburg cup is too inferior in execution for any profitable discussion, while the interior design of the British Museum cup E 3 is on the whole most likely to be a specimen of Epiktetos' B-F. work. It is at all events quite worthy of his reputation.

TABLE III.—EARLY RED-FIGURED KYLIXES.

(a) <i>With eyes.</i>				
		<i>Ext.</i>	<i>Ext. (with eyes).</i>	
1. —	Pamphaios (Klein 3)	—	Gout	Shield
2. Louvre	—	—	Heads	Seileni
3. Louvre	—	—	Nude men	—
4. See Table II. No. 20	—	—	—	—
5. Würzburg 432	—	Warrior	Jumpers	—
6. Brit. Mus. E 6	Hischylos } (Klein, Phaidippos 1) Phaidippos }	Archer	Warrior	Athletes
7. Munich 1245	—	Ephobos	Man	Youth
8. Brit. Mus. E 5	—	Jumper	Jumper	Meta (?)
9. Louvre G 8	Pamphaios } Epiktetos }	(Obscene)	Archer	Warrior
10. Naples 2615	Okella (Klein 2; <i>Ménar sañós</i>)	Seilenos	Maenad	Seilenos
11. Munich 1316	—	Seilenos	Youth	Seilenos
12. Louvre	—	Seilenos and Maenad	Masks and combats	—
13. Mus. Greg. II. 75, 3	—	Dionysos	Warrior	Trumpeter
14. Louvre G 19	<i>Ménar sañós</i>	Youth	Riders	—
15. Boston	do.	Warrior	Javelin-thrower	Armed runner
16. Klein, <i>Licht</i> p. 55, No. 9	do.	Runner	Maenad	Gout
(b) <i>Without eyes.</i>				
17. Mus. Ber. 1115	Hischylos } (Klein, Epiktetos 3) Epiktetos }	(Obscene)	Heraclous and Centaurs	Dionysos and Seileni
18. Munich 1160	Hischylos (Klein 10)	Youth with Axe	Horsemen	Youths arming
19. Louvre G 4	Pamphaios } (Klein 16) or Hischylos }	(Modern)	Greeks	Amazons
20. Louvre G 4 bis	Hischylos }	Lyre-player	Riders	Amazons

III.—(a) *Red-figured cups with eyes.*

This list is a short one and need not detain us long. Only one is from the workshop of Hischylos, and here the painting is the work of an otherwise unknown artist, Phaidippos (Brit. Mus. E 6). The interior subject, an archer in Oriental costume,²⁸ gives little or no information as to the character of

²⁸ Cf. P 126 in the Louvre (Table II. No. 7).

Pheidippos' work, and the exterior design is also of so simple a character that it would not be possible to deduce therefrom any further identifications. The possibility, however, suggests itself that the interior design may be by Hischylos himself, and the exterior only by Pheidippos. This question, in connexion with the other Hischylos signatures, might be worth further consideration. As regards the decoration it will be seen that all the fifteen cups in Table III are of similar character, except that the first three have no interior design. Four of them (Nos. 10, 14-16) have the *καλός*-name of Memnon, and one of these is signed by Chelis.

(b) *Red-figured cups without eyes.*

Though the employment of the large eyes is undoubtedly a distinguishing characteristic of the earliest R-F. cups, there are two or three from which they are absent, but which we may probably assume to be contemporaneous, although the R-F. exterior designs are more advanced in composition than those of the preceding groups. Two of these are the work of Hischylos, and one (Munich 1160) has an interior design quite in the style of his school,²⁰ a nude youth wearing a wreath and wielding a pickaxe. M. Pottier points out to me that one of the exterior designs, a youth with a horse, appears on a contemporary R-F. kylix in the Louvre (G 4 bis), closely associated in style and decoration with another (G 4). On these two cups he has kindly sent me some interesting notes which I here repeat:—'The interior of the cup G 4 bis is ornamented with a figure of a man playing the lyre, the head covered with a *κεκρύφαλος*, which offers some resemblance in style and subject to the Hischylos plate in Berlin. But the inscription in the field round the figure is only confused and without sense: . . . ΛΟΣ ΝΣΗΟΣΕ (*retrograde*). In this one might see the intention of an illiterate craftsman to form the signature *Ηισχύλος ἐποίησε*. In this case the Louvre cup G 4, which Klein attributes to Πάνφαι[ος] might be assigned to *Ηισχύλος*, as these two cups are closely related. I note that in the cups there is an isolated ivy-leaf placed under one of the handles, and that in G 4 bis the reverse is ornamented below with a garland of leaves in black. These details may enable you to recognise whether they are found in other Hischylos vases.' It certainly seems as if M. Pottier was right in his supposition that the 'signature' on G 4 bis is a bungled version of *Ηισχύλος ἐποίησεν*. On G 4 the letters -ος of the artist's name alone remain, and here again the evidence certainly points to Hischylos rather than to Pamphaios.

²⁰ Jahn describes the drawing of the Munich vase as 'sehr sauber und fein; noch streng aber unmutig.'

TABLE IV.—VASES SIGNED BY HISCHYLOS.

(a) BLACK-FIGURED.						
					Position of Signature.	
					Potter.	Painter.
(1)=Table I. 12	Cambridge 60	Klein, Sakonides 3	Sakonides	Foot (painted)	Foot (painted)	
(2) " I. 11	Berlin 2199	Klein, Hischylos 2	—	Interior design	—	
(b) R.F. INT., R.F. EXT.						
(3)=Table II. 8	Brit. Mus. E 3	Klein, Epiktetos 2	Epiktetos	Interior design	Exterior design	
(4) " II. 12	Petersburg	Klein, Epiktetos 3	Epiktetos	do.	do.	
(5) " II. 2	Oxyeto (Faina Coll.)	Klein, Epiktetos 4	Epiktetos	do.	do.	
(6) " II. 1	—	Klein, Hischylos 6	—	do.	—	
(7) " II. 16	Würzburg III. 357	Klein, Hischylos 7	—	do.	—	
(8) " II. 22	J.H.S. xxix, Pl. 8	—	—	Exterior (incised)	—	
(c) RED-FIGURED.						
(9)=Table III. 17	Mus. Str. 1115	Klein, Epiktetos 5	Epiktetos	Exterior design	Interior design	
(10) " III. 6	Brit. Mus. E 6	Klein, Phaidippos 1	Phaidippos	Interior design	Exterior design	
(11) " III. 18	Munich 1160	Klein, Hischylos 10	—	do.	—	
Doubtful:						
(12)=Table III. 12	Louvre G 4	Klein, Pamphaios 16	—	Foot (painted)	—	
(13) " III. 20	Louvre G 4 bis	—	—	Interior design	—	

The accompanying Table IV. collects together all the vases with Hischylos' signature which have been given in the three preceding tables and for the most part already discussed individually. It may, however, be worth while to make some attempt to sum up the general results, if any there be, of the preceding investigation. One point which may perhaps have some bearing on the subject is the position of the signatures on the vases in each instance, as noted in Table IV. The evidence derived therefrom is, however, negative rather than positive, so far as Hischylos' artistic qualities are concerned.

To take these signatures in detail, in No. 1, as already shown, it is clear that Sakonides alone was responsible for the decoration. No. 2 being incomplete affords no evidence apart from questions of style. No. 8 must be by an anonymous painter; and No. 12, though probably from the workshop of Hischylos, is not certainly signed by him. Nos. 3-5, 9, 10 are fully accounted for by the presence of the painter's signature (in all cases but one, Epiktetos); unless we may suppose that the *ἐγγραψε* only refers to the part of the design where it occurs, i.e. the exterior of 3-5, 10 and the interior of 9. There remains the possibility that in Nos. 6, 7, 11, and 13, where no painter's name occurs, and Hischylos' signature appears in the design, the decoration may be from his hand. Unfortunately where it is possible to compare these designs with each other or with the others just mentioned, the style affords no special points of similarity on which to establish a theory as to Hischylos' own work.

The maximum amount of decoration attributable to him is as follows: Nos. 3-7, interiors (B-F.), 9, exterior (R-F.), 10, 11, 13, interior (R-F.). But inasmuch as the presumption is against his having painted any part of the vases where others have signed *ἐργαΐε*, we are left with four interior designs (6 and 7 B-F., 11 and 13 R-F.), at present unattributed. The absence of any possibility of a complete publication of the Hischylos group and the great variety of style running through all the known examples prohibit us from reaching any more definite conclusion than the following.

Hischylos employed other artists to decorate the vases which he made himself or superintended in the making. We gather that in this way he successively employed Sakonides, Epiktetos, and Pheidippos. The remarkable variety of style, not only in the Hischylos group but in all the cups of kindred character, increases the difficulty of sorting out; though it is curious that here it is the B-F. not the R-F. designs, to which we look for evidence. The latter as yet are mainly too conventional or too simple for criteria of style; and this is perhaps another argument against limiting the *ἐργαΐε* formula to one part of a cup. We are then compelled to assume that other painters worked for Hischylos besides those already named, and that to these artists we must assign the majority of the hitherto unattributed works, which, in addition to the thirteen with his name, must also be included among the products of the workshop of Hischylos.

H. B. WALTERS.

MUTASIM'S MARCH THROUGH CAPPADOCIA IN A.D. 838.

IN the warfare between the Eastern Empire and the Caliphate in the ninth century, one of the most famous passages is the expedition of Mutasim, which was signalised by the siege and capture of Amorion, in A.D. 838. The best, in fact the only full, narrative of the campaign is preserved in the Chronicle of Tabari (A. H. 223).¹ His account of the opening operations of the invading armies is beset with certain geographical difficulties which I propose to consider in this paper, with the help of material supplied in the writings of Professor Ramsay, and in the hope that he may be able to throw further light on the subject.

The Caliph² invaded Asia Minor with three armies. His objective was in the first instance Ancyra. His general, Afshin, in command of what we may call the Eastern army, crossed the Taurus by the pass of Hadath (Adana),³ and presumably his route was by Arabissos, Tzamandos, and Sebastea.⁴ The two divisions of the Western army, under the Caliph himself and Ashnas, started from Cilicia and crossed by the Cilician gates. The plan was that the armies should meet in the neighbourhood of Ancyra, and as the Saracens were well acquainted with the roads of central Asia Minor, they were able to calculate the distances and arrange the times of starting for the Eastern and Western armies respectively,⁵ so that they could hope to arrive at the same time at Ancyra, if nothing untoward occurred.

Ashnas set out from Cilicia on June 19, and was directed to await the arrival of the Caliph's army at Lulon, the great fortress which commanded

¹ De Goeje, iii. 1236 *seq.* I have used the Russian translation of Vasil'ev, *Vizantiia i Araby*, i. Prilozhenie, 30 *seq.* and my references are to it. So far as I know, Vasil'ev is the only modern critic who has worked up the relation of Tabari.

² He left Samarra early in April, Yakub, in *Vas. Pril.* 3; *cp.* Masudi, *Golden Meadows*, 45. 68 (*Barbar de Meynard*, vii. 155).

³ He started from Samarra (Tabari 31) = Surgi.

⁴ The most direct route to Ancyra was by Cassara. But that Afshin marched by Sebastea

must be inferred from the fact that his battle with the army of Theophilus was fought in the neighbourhood of Dazimon (Tokat). Vasil'ev is probably right in supposing (*op. cit.* 121) that it was part of the plan that Afshin should join another army, from Armenia and Melitens (perhaps *πίε δὲ Ἀρμενίας στρατός* of Genesis 07). The westward roads from Melitens and Armenia met at Sebastea. The fertile plain of Dazimon (Kaz-ova) lay on the right (north) of the route Sebastea—Sebastopolis—Ancyra. *Cp.* Anderson's map of Asia Minor (1903).

⁵ Tabari, *ib.*

the northern approach of the Pass of Podandos or Cilician Gates.⁶ Lulon was at this time in the possession of the Moslems; it had been captured by a general of Mamun in the autumn of A.D. 832.⁷ In the meantime Mutasim himself had encamped in Western Cilicia near the river Lamos, which was the boundary between Roman and Saracen territory. For what reason he went to the Lamos is not stated, and I mention the fact only because it has a bearing on the subsequent narrative of Tabari. Mutasim set out two days after Ashnas (June 21) and crossed the Taurus by the Pass of Podandos, in his footsteps.⁸

In a manner very common in the Arabic chronicles, Tabari, without referring to the arranged meeting at Lulon, leaps abruptly to a further stage of the march of the invaders.

The two armies have again separated. Ashnas, evidently in advance, is at Marj-uskuf, and Mutasim in Matamir. Mutasim sends Ashnas a letter of which the tenor, as reproduced by Tabari, is unintelligible. 'The Emperor is in front of you and intends to throw his army across the Lamos. Remain where you are, at Marj-uskuf.'

Now we know the general locality of Matamir, a name which frequently occurs in the Arabic chronicles. It was a district in southern Cappadocia, north of Tyana, marked by *subterranean strongholds*, which are described by Ramsay.⁹ This is the meaning of the word Matamir. The road from Tyana to Soandos, by Sasima and Malakopaia, traverses this district. Now the route which, we may suppose, the Caliph would naturally have chosen, in order to reach Aneyra, would have been by Soandos (Nev Sheher), Parnassos, and



⁶ Lulon and al-Sahaf are names for the same fortress as Ramay has shown. For the identification of the fortress and a full description of the Pass, see Ramsay, *Geographical Journal*, Oct. 1903.

⁷ Yakubi, in *Vas. Pril.* 3; Tabari, *ib.* 25.

⁸ Tabari says that Mutasim sent the advance guard of his own army in the steps of Ashnas, and started himself on June 21. Masudi (*ib.* 68) says that Mutasim marched by the Pass

of Podandos (Dar al-Salam), Aghin by the Pass of Hadath, and other armies by other routes. The last words must refer not to Ashnas, but to the forces from Melitene and Armenia.

⁹ *Historical Geography*, 293, 356 ('the plain of Venassa, about Sasima and Malakopaia; great underground residences are a special and peculiar feature of this plain, which lies on the direct road north from the Gates').

Akharbūs. Thus the first part of his march would have been through the region of Matamir.

As Ashnas was in advance of Mutasim, who was in Matamir, it seems to follow that Marj-uskuf must be sought north of Sasima. This place is mentioned in a route from Podandos to Dorylaion, described by Ibn Khurdadhbah¹⁰ and Idrisi,¹¹ and discussed by Ramsay in his article on Lycaonia.¹² The first stations are Podandos—al-Karm—an-Nawba—al-Kanais—Wafn—Balisa—Marj al-Uskuf.¹³ Ramsay thinks that this route (in which Lulon and Tyana do not occur) corresponds, in its first part, to 'the modern horse-road from Podandos by Takhta-Keupren and Pashmakji to Nigde,' and that thence it proceeded 'through Hassa-Keni and Nenizi (Nazianzos) to Ak-Serai (Archelais)'. This view certainly seems best to suit the data. Nigde lies north of Tyana on the main road from Tyana to Sasima. But may it not be that the ninth-century road from Podandos to Sasima lay further to the east than the present horse-road, and joined the Tyana-Sasima road not at Nigde, but at Andabalis? However this may be, we may, I suggest, identify Ibn Khurdadhbah's an-Nawba with Andabalis. As Sasima (Hassa-Keni) could not well be omitted in the itinerary, it is an obvious conjecture that it should be sought in the next station al-Kanais ('the churches').¹⁴ This place is described by Ibn Khurdadhbah 'on the right of Kawkab'. It seems possible that Kawkab means Malakopaia, and if so, the description 'to the south of Malakopaia' would exactly apply to Sasima. The next important station on the route to Dorylaion, via Archelais, would be Nazianzos, and I propose to identify Nazianzos with Ibn Khurdadhbah's Marj al-Uskuf. I may point out that Nazianzos, rendered illustrious by its famous bishop Gregory, presents a motif for the name Marj al-Uskuf, 'bishop's meadow.'

We may now return to the message of the Caliph to his general. They are in southern Cappadocia, marching to Ancyra, and Ashnas is warned of the imminent danger of an attack from a Roman army which the Emperor Theophilus is ready to throw across the river—Lamos. If the Emperor were on the banks of the Lamos, he was no more dangerous to the northward march of the Saracens than if he had been on the banks of a river in Europe. In few places could he have been more safely out of the way than in the kleisurarchy of Selencia. It is obvious that the Lamos has no relation to the military situation, and is simply an error of Tabari. The Emperor could not have been near the Lamos, for a few days later he fought a battle

¹⁰ Translated by De Goeje, *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.* vii. It is probable that the routes given by Ibn Khurdadhbah were derived from the work of Al-Qarni, who wrote books on the history and geography of the Roman Empire. He had been a captive among the Romans and was released on the occasion of the exchange of prisoners in A.D. 845. We know from Maamili that he wrote about the roads (transl. by Casar de Vaux, 257), and we know that Ibn Khur-

dadbah made use of his works elsewhere (De Goeje, 17).

¹¹ Translation by Jaubert.

¹² *Jahreshefte des österreichischen archäologischen Institutes*, vii, 122-125 (1904).

¹³ Some of Idrisi's stations are different, but both lists agree in Marj al-Uskuf.

¹⁴ This station is given by Idrisi as well as Ibn Khurdadhbah.

in the north-east of Asia Minor, in the neighbourhood of Tokat. The tenor of the narrative and the circumstances of the situation enable us without difficulty to correct the error. *The Lamos is a mistake for the Halys.* Tabari did not realise the map of Asia Minor, and we may conjecture that the error arose from his having mentioned the Lamos at the beginning of the narrative (see above). Arabic chroniclers were familiar with the name of the Lamos, because the exchanges of captives were generally carried out on its banks.

We can now understand the position. The Emperor, aware of the Caliph's designs on Ancyra, had assembled his forces east of the Halys. Calculating that the enemy would march by the Soandos-Parnassos road, which runs not far from the river, he intended to intercept it, crossing the river either near Parnassos, or at Zoropassos (north of Soandos), according to circumstances. The Caliph had received information that the Emperor was somewhere on the right of the Halys and he judged it imprudent to continue the march until the precise whereabouts and movements of the Romans were discovered. Three days later Ashnas received another despatch from Mutasim, commanding him to send an officer with a squadron of horse to search for and capture a Greek, who could give information about the Emperor and his army. Ashnas sent two hundred horsemen under Amr al-Fargani, who set out at night and rode to the fortress of Kurra, hoping to find in its environs some one who could tell them what they wanted to know. They did not succeed, and the commandant of Kurra laid an ambush for them 'in the mountains which are between Kurra and Durra.' 'This is a large mountain,' and it is in the district known as the district of Kurra. The Saracen captain, knowing of the ambush, went towards Durra and lay concealed till break of day. Then he divided his force into three bands and sent them in different directions to find a well-informed Greek, appointing a place of rendezvous. Amr caught one man, who belonged to the garrison of Kurra. He said that the Emperor was near at hand, 'behind the Lamos,' at a distance of four parasangs.¹⁰

Kurra often meets us in the Arabic chronicles. It is the fortress of Koron which Ramsay has identified with Viran Sheher, not far to the south-east of Archelais, and in the outskirts of Mt. Argaos (Hassan Dagh).¹¹ (As Koron was the residence of the kleisurarch of Cappadocia, it was natural for Ashnas to calculate that the position of the Emperor would be known to the garrison.) Argaos is evidently the mountain meant by Tabari, and Durra must have lain on another side of this mountain. The conjecture of Vasil'ev that Doara is meant does not suit the data, since Ramsay seems to be right in placing Doara at Haji Bektash, which lies beyond the Halys, considerably to the north of Soandos. Durra must be sought within an easy ride of Viran Sheher, somewhere in the skirts of Hassan Dagh. I conjecture that it may

¹⁰ Tabari, 31-2. Tabari seems to mean four parasangs from the place where Amr captured the Greek. This is impossible, as Hassan Dagh is much further from the nearest point on the

Halys. I will return to this point further on.

¹¹ *Historical Geog.* 325, *Lycosia* 127. The second beacon station from Lajon was, as Ramsay has shown, on this Mt. Argaos.

be the same as Nora which seems to have been in this region and is placed in Mr. Anderson's map at Halvadere on the north-west side of Hassan Dagh.¹⁷

The data supplied (so far) by Tabari are not inconsistent with the hypothesis that Marj al-Uskuf is Nazianzos. The argument may be stated as follows:

(1) Marj al-Uskuf was a station on a route from Podandos to Dorylaion, which Ramsay, on independent grounds identified as passing by Sasima, Nazianzos, and Archelais.

(2) It was north of some locality in Matamir, and was on the way to Ancyra.

(3) It was not very far from Koron.

(4) It was at such a distance from the Halys that a day's march might bring an army advancing northward within striking distance of an army encamped on the other side of the river.

There is, however, another possibility. The name Marj al-Uskuf may have had two meanings, a wider and a narrower. It may have not only designated a place (e.g. Nazianzos), as it certainly does in the itinerary of Ibn Khurdadhibah; it may also have described a district (like Matamir). Such a signification is suggested by another passage in which the name occurs, namely in Tabari's account of the perplexing campaign of A.D. 863. This campaign has been discussed by Ramsay, but he has not cleared up the difficulties.¹⁸

The two longest accounts, that of Genesisios and that of the Continuer of Theophanes, are independent. They both agree that the Saracen general Omar captured Amisos, and both relate the anecdote that like Xerxes he lashed the waters of the Euxine because they hindered him from advancing further north. Neither the Logothete nor the Arabic chroniclers say anything about Amisos. The Logothete, however, records that Omar advanced plundering as far as Sinope, but he records this march as if it belonged to a different expedition and to a previous year.¹⁹ Neither Genesisios nor the Continuer mentions Sinope.

¹⁷ Following Ramsay's conjecture, *Hist. Geog.* 308. Cp. Strabo, 12. 2. 5, ἡ ἐκ' Ἀργεῶν ἱερὰ ἐστὶν ἐκείνη πρὸς τῇ Ταύρῳ καὶ τῇ Νόρῳ ἡ εἰς ἐκείνην Νηρηονίδα, ἐν ᾗ Ἐλευθεῖς νομισμοὶ καὶ ἀργεῖαι πολλὰς χεῖρας. He adds that Sisinus kept his treasures in it. This passage shows that Nora was a fort, and suggests that it was not far from Argos. Argos, as Ramsay says (353), must be associated with Mt. Argaios.

¹⁸ *Hist. Geography* 77 (He is mistaken in the date which he gives as A.D. 860). The authorities are: (1) Ambic, Yakubī (11); Tabari, 62 (cp. Abu'l-Fida, *Annals*, ed. Rieu, ii. 208); (2) Greek, the Logothete (= George Mon., ed.

Bonn 325, ed. Muralt, 733-4; Theodosios Mel. 167, Leo Gramm. 238; cp. Pseudo-Symeon, 609); Genesisios, 21-7; Cont. Th. 179-83. Skylitzes (Codexes 163-4) abbreviates from Cont. Th. (but 165, he adds ἐπὶ Μελανέμῃ as the goal of the Emir's son, perhaps *suo-marie*; and he interchanges the names of the river and the meadow). Zonaras, xvi. 8, 16-29 (ed. Baitner-Wobst, 396-7) depends on Skylitzes.

¹⁹ George Mon. ed. Bonn, 224, c. 16. The notice is separated from the account of the battle of Lalakaon by a notice of Michael's expedition against the Bulgarians.

According to the narrative of Genesios, Omar was at Amisos when he heard that Petronas had been appointed commander of the Imperial forces and was about to take the field. He immediately left Amisos and marched 'about 500 miles' to a place called Poson, in the district of Abysianon 'on the borders of the Armeniac theme and Paphlagonia' and encamped on the side of a hill. Petronas was on the other side of this hill. Both commanders sent detachments to occupy the summit of the hill; a struggle ensued, and the Romans were successful. Subsequently there was a battle in which Omar was defeated and slain. His son and a hundred followers escaped and crossed the Halys, but their flight was cut off in the Charsian province by Machairas, the merarch of that province.

According to the Continuer, Petronas found Omar encamped at a place called Poson which was naturally defensible (*διὰ πετρῶν καὶ κρημάτων*), near a river named Lalakakon, which flows from north to south, along a meadow called Gyrin (*ἀγροτικὴ φωνή*).²⁰ It was the object of Petronas to prevent him from escaping. He accordingly ordered the Generals of the Armenians, the Buellarians, Kolonea, and Paphlagonia to close round on the north; those of the Anatolians, the Opsikians, and Cappadocia, with the kleisurarchs of Selencia and Charsianon, to gather on the south; while he, with his own Thracians, the Thracian and Macedonian themes, and the Imperial tagmata, closed in on the west. The east is not mentioned; but the river Halys was in itself an obstacle on that side, and the Koloneans at the extremity of the northern, and the Charsians at the extremity of the southern ring, sufficiently provided against escape in that direction. This passage is evidently derived from a good source, but it is followed by matter of different order, the anecdote of Omar's augury of disaster. When Omar heard that he was surrounded by the enemy, like a wild beast in a trap, he decided to take an augury, and sending for one of his captives he inquired the names of the place and the river and the meadow. The prisoner gave the name of the place as Ptōson (*μικρὸν παραγραμματίζων Πτώσοντα ἔφησεν ἀπὲρ Πόσσοντα*), whence Omar inferred his own fall (*πτῶσιν*).²¹ From the name of the river Lalakakon, he augured the defeat of his army (*λαοῦ κάκωσιν*), and from that of the meadow (*Γύριν*) that the Moslems would be heavily routed (*γυρισθῆναι*) by the Romans. It is evident that Greek punning on the local names *post eventum* gave rise to the anecdote. Omar then first sought to break through the enemy on the north, but was deterred by their strength and the difficulty of the ground. Finding it equally impracticable to escape by the south, he finally attacked Petronas, who was

²⁰ Poson is the only one of the local names mentioned by both Genesios and the Continuer. Lalakakon (*εἰς τὴν Λαλακάκων*) is mentioned by the Logothetes. None of the names are found, so far as I know, in other contexts. Ramsay refers to a correspondent of Photios, *θεοδότος ἀπὸ τοῦ Λαλακάκων* (Ep. 63, ed. Valartas, p. 367). This means that Theodotos belonged

to the Lalakan family, members of which we meet elsewhere in history (e.g. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De adm. imp.*, c. 45, p. 109; Nicetas, *Vita Ignatii*, in Harduin, *Circ.* v, p. 964). Of course a local connexion of the name is possible.

²¹ This pun shows that *Πτώσον* is the correct form of the name, not *Πόσσον* as it is written in the text of Genesios.

encamped on the western side of his position. From the brief description of the battle which follows, it appears that after the Saracens had been repelled by the army of Petronas, the northern and southern armies rushed in, and almost annihilated them. Omar's son and a small band escaped, but were captured and slain by the kleisurarch of Charsianon.

It is clear that the accounts of Genesios and the Continuer are derived from different sources. They are both embroidered with anecdotes, which I have not, with two exceptions, reproduced, but these anecdotes, saving the scourging of the sea, are not the same. Hirsch says that the description of the battle in Genesios is completely different (*vollständig abweicht*) from that in the Continuer;²² but there does not seem to be any inconsistency. The occupation of the hill, recorded by Genesios, may have been achieved days before the battle. Genesios does not mention the principal feature of the situation, the fact that Omar was surrounded, but his brief account does not imply anything inconsistent with this fact. The trustworthiness of the general narrative of the Continuer in regard to the position in which Omar's army was placed is borne out by the Arabic writers, Yakubi and Tabari, both of whom say that Omar was 'surrounded.'

For determining the locality of the battle the Greek sources furnish the following indications:

- (1) Omar marched about 500 miles from Amisos (Genesios);
- (2) the district was near the borders of the Armeniac and Paphlagonian themes (Genesios);
- (3) the place was west of the Halys, near the borders of the Charsian theme (Genesios), and
- (4) close to a river flowing from north to south (Continuer);
- (5) there was a hill to the west of Omar's position at Poson (Genesios), and
- (6) there was rough and difficult ground to the north of his position (Continuer).

With the last three of these indications, I am unable to deal; but it may be possible from the other data to determine, within limits, the region in which the scene of the battle is to be sought. Ramsay adds another condition. He says that the battle was fought 'on the road that leads south from Sinope.' But the sources do not warrant this inference. Genesios expressly states that Omar marched from Amisos²³; and the sole reference to Sinope is the notice (mentioned above) in the Logothete's chronicle. The only way of combining that notice with the other data is to suppose that having taken Amisos, Omar proceeded along the coast as far as Sinope and then returned to Amisos. We are not justified in introducing Sinope into the conditions of the problem.

²² *Byzantinische Studien*, 157.

²³ *Κολωνία ἐκ τῆς Ἀνατολῆς*.

Ramsay at once dismisses (1), merely saying that it 'is so absurd as to suggest a doubt about the text' of Genesios. But taken by itself, why is it absurd? Of course a march of 500 Roman miles southward from Amisus as the crow flies would have plunged Omar's army in the waves of the Mediterranean. But a march of 500 miles by the roads need do nothing of the kind. The distance is only absurd when compared with other data, and therefore it is not permissible to dismiss it until the inconsistent data are shown to be true or probable. Genesios may have been mistaken in locating the scene of operations near the borders of the Armeniac and Paphlagonian themes. Accepting this datum and assuming that Omar marched from Sinope, Ramsay says: 'There are only two localities which can suit this description, one where the road from Sinope descends to Boianhol and the Halys, the other further south, where it again descends towards Andrapa and the Halys.' (Andrapa here is the Paphlagonian town of that name = Neoclaudiopolis.) The second hypothesis suits the proximity of the Charsian theme, and Ramsay decides in its favour. He marks the places in one of his maps conjecturally,²² and says 'accurate exploration might probably determine the very spot where the battle was fought.'

Before proceeding further, it will be well to examine the objects of the contending parties. The Continuer brings out quite clearly that the arrangements of Petronas were designed to intercept and surround the Saracen army. What was the object of Omar? Genesios, in Herodotean style, has a conversation to relate, which passed between Omar and his officers when they received the news at Amisus that Petronas had been appointed commander and was preparing to take the field. The advice of the officers was that they should immediately retreat *by the road by which they had come*. 'If Petronas pursues and overtakes us, then we shall fight; if not, we shall reach home safely.' Omar however refused to take this advice. 'I will not let him accuse me of cowardice,' he said, 'I will go to meet him.' An anecdote of this kind cannot count for much, and it is not consistent with the account of the battle in the Continuer, where Omar appears anxious, not for a battle but to get away. The Logothete's chronicle furnishes the clue. The Roman generals waylaid the Saracen *on his retreat*²³ (λοχνησάμενος τὴν τῆς ἐπιστροφῆς αὐτοῦ). We may therefore infer that Omar, having marched into Roman territory by the eastern road from Melitene, instead of returning by the same way and so eluding Petronas, decided on—what probably was his original plan—marching home by the Pass of Podandos and the Cilician Gates, thus taking the risk of meeting the Roman army. To do this he had to cross the Halys, and several routes were open to him.

No indication of the route is given in the authorities, and his choice of course depended on military considerations which are unknown to us. The most direct road to Tyana would have been by Caesarea, but Omar may have planned originally to plunder the districts to the west of the Halys and

²² *Hist. Geog.* Map between pp. 196 and 197.

²³ *George Mon.* ed. Bonn, 825.

determined to adhere to his programme. Supposing that he marched via Amasea—Euchaïta—Tavium—Kuruk Kale (crossing of the Halys)—Ancyra—Parnassos, he would have traversed on reaching Soandos, a good deal more than 450 Roman miles.²⁵ This shows that the distance given by Genesios 'about 500 miles' is not in itself absurd, though inconsistent with another part of his statement. The question therefore must be asked: are we to reject his distance or his assertion that the district was on the borders of the Armeniac and Paphlagonian themes? If we had no other information, we might conclude (with Ramsay) that the distance was more likely to be erroneous. But we have other information.

Tabari states that the battle in which Omar was killed, was fought at -rz, in Marj al-Uskuf. The initial letter of the place is *aleph*.²⁶

It is clear that in this passage Marj al-Uskuf is the name, not of a place but of a district. Naturally it was a district in proximity to the place Marj al-Uskuf; hence it follows by our previous results that it was a district lying north of Matamir. It was therefore a region through which Omar's route to the Cilician pass, if he marched west of the Halys, would necessarily lie. Its limits of course we cannot tell; but if it stretched to the north of a line drawn from Nazianzos by Venasa to Soandos, a locality in this region would be reconcilable with the distance from Amisos given by Genesios.

The independent evidence of Tabari leads me to conclude that the location of Poson and the stream of Lalakaon on the borders of the Paphlagonian and Armeniac themes is the mistake committed by Genesios, and that Omar, when Petronas found him, had advanced much further on his homeward route, and was in the region south of Nyssa. From the account of the Continuer we may infer that he was close to the Halys, and not near a crossing, for he is not said to have made an attempt to escape on that side. I would ask travellers in this part of Cappadocia to search for the site of the battle in the region between Nyssa and the crossing of Zoropassos.

This discussion of the campaign of A.D. 863 was necessary to elucidate the passage in Tabari, which proves that Marj al-Uskuf meant a district as well as a place. I now go on to show that in Tabari's narrative of the campaign of A.D. 838, it also probably denotes the district.

The information furnished to Amr by the Greek captive, that the Emperor's army was 'near him, beyond the Halys, at a distance of four parasangs,'²⁷ must obviously signify the distance of the Emperor from the camp of Ashnas, not from the place where Amr caught the captive, in the vicinity

²⁵ I measured on Anderson's map of Asia Minor. The distance comes to 450 Roman miles, but if we allow for twistings of the roads and gradients, it must be considerably more.

²⁶ Baron Rosen (Tabari, ed. De Goeje iii. 1509) thought that the three letters may be read k, r, n; and Vasil'ev suggests (202, n. 5) that the name may correspond to *Figar*.—We are unable to say how Petronas reached the scene of the battle. No doubt, he set out

from his own Thracian Theme (the anecdote in Cont. Ta. 180 makes him visit Mt. Latros just before he started), and the most direct way to intercept Omar would have been by Archelaia. The Thracian, Macedonian, and tagmatic troops, marching by Dorylaion and Amorion, might have joined him, e.g. at Tyrimion or Laodicea Kekaumeni.

²⁷ Tabari, 32, and confirmed, 35.

of Keron and Hassan Dagh. For Keron was at least twelve parasangs from the Halys. This is confirmed by the words with which Tabari records the return of Amr to the general's camp. He and his party proceeded 'to Ashnas, to the Lamos,' i.e. the Halys. This shows that the camp was near the river. We may suppose that it was somewhere north of Soandos on the road to Parnassos and Ancyra, which runs near the Halys. The Emperor, encamped on the other side, could cross at Zeropassos.

Before he returned to the camp, Amr captured some other Greeks who belonged to the Emperor's army. From them it was ascertained that the Emperor had been waiting for thirty days beyond the Halys, to intercept Mutasim's army; but when he had learned, a short time ago, that Afshin was advancing from the east, he marched with part of his forces to oppose him, leaving his cousin in command on the Halys. Soon after this, both Mutasim and Ashnas resumed their progress to Ancyra. There was a day's march between them.²⁸ Nothing is said of any attempt of the Emperor's cousin to attack them; and we discover afterwards the curious fact that after the Emperor's departure, the army broke up: the soldiers left the Emperor's kinsman whom he named commander of the army in his own stead.²⁹

I do not propose to follow the campaign further. Tabari throws no light on the geographical problems connected with the battle in which Theophilus was defeated by Afshin in the region of Amasea.³⁰ I have tried to show that Marj al-Uskuf in the Arabic writers has two meanings—a place and a district: that the place is probably Nazianzos, and that the district extended north of the district known as Matamir, from Nazianzos, to the Halys, perhaps as far north as Nyssa.

J. B. BURY.

P. 8.—P. 122. The suggestion of another road from Podandos to Andabalis not passing Nigde is negatived by Sir W. M. Ramsay, who has pointed out to me that the Ala Dagh, a ridge 10,000 feet high, stretches N. and S. on the east of the road to Nigde. In regard to the identification I propose of Al-Kauis with Sasima or Hassa Keul, he reminds me that this place has still some ecclesiastical importance as the refuge of St. Macrina.

P. 123, note 16. It may be well to caution the reader more explicitly against confounding Mt. Argaios near Archelais with the great Mt. Argaios near Caesarea.

P. 126, at foot. I should have added that the words of the Chronicle (cp. George Mon. 824 ed. Bonn), *ἐπεστρέψε πρὸς κορυφῆν αὐτῆς* &c., implying that Omar returned from Sinepe to Sarmeen territory, are against the connexion of this expedition with that of A.D. 863.

J. B. B.

²⁸ If we may assume that there had been about the same distance between the camps, then, if we suppose that Mutasim was encamped somewhere near Malakopais, in Matamir, Ash-

nas would have been in the neighbourhood of Soandos.

²⁹ Tabari, 36.

³⁰ Cp. Ramsay, *Hist. Geog.* 329-36.

AN INSCRIPTION FROM SIDE.

[J.H.S. VOL. XXVIII. P. 195.]

THE Editors have received the following note from R. P. Hugues Vincent, of the École biblique et archéologique St. Étienne, Jerusalem :—

L'inscription grecque de Side est du plus haut intérêt archéologique ; cela n'a pas échappé à M. v. Buren. Son commentaire très concis appellerait beaucoup de développements et peut-être ici ou là une réserve—par exemple dans l'équivalence *φροντιστής* = *ἀρχισυνάγωγος*. Ce n'est pas le lieu d'aborder cela ici. Je veux seulement vous signaler une hypothèse séduisante pour restituer le début du texte qui sera ainsi tout à fait complet. Malgré l'autorité de M. H[ogarth], p. 196. n. 6, qui suppose un numéral : *δεκάκις* par ex. ou *πολλάκις*, M. v. Buren a raison de supposer plutôt un nom. Les analogies épigraphiques l'exigent et il serait peut-être difficile au contraire de justifier *ex.g.* *δεκάκις φροντιστής*. Or le nom juif *Ίσάκις* = *Ίσάκιος* = *Ίσαάκ(ιος)* est connu par des textes épigraphiques grecs. Il me revient en mémoire au moins une épitaphe de juif Cappadocien, dans la nécropole de Jaffa, et dont vous pouvez voir le fac-similé dans le 'Palestine Explor. Fund Quart. Statement,' 1900, p. 118. Ce cas suffit pour le moment. Il fournit exactement les deux lettres nécessaires pour la justification des lignes d'après ce qui est attesté par exemple par [YX]os à la l. 3.

HUGUES VINCENT.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

A History of Classical Scholarship. By Dr. J. E. SANDYS. Vols. II. and III.
Pp. xxx+498 and xiv+523. 62 Plates. Cambridge: University Press, 1908.
8s. 6d. net each.

These two volumes complete the enterprise of which the first volume appeared in 1903, and which (as Dr. Sandys now informs us) was first taken in hand on New Year's Day in 1900. Vol. II. takes up the tale at the revival of learning in Italy under the auspices of Petrarch and Boccaccio, and carries it to the end of the eighteenth century, save that the account of German scholarship during that century is reserved for Vol. III., where it forms the prelude to the history of the hegemony of Germany in the nineteenth century. The whole narrative falls into four principal periods: the Italian revival, from about 1320 to about 1500, ending with Erasmus; the French period, marked by the names of the Scaligers, Casaubon, and Salmonius, from about 1550 to 1700; the English and Dutch supremacy in the eighteenth century; and the German supremacy in the nineteenth century. Dr. Sandys, as a rule, deals with each country in a separate chapter; and in the final book he includes general surveys of the progress of scholarship in the less prominent countries, such as Scandinavia, Greece, Russia, and Hungary.

The mass of information contained in these two handy volumes is simply prodigious. In many cases Dr. Sandys had to find his materials as well as arrange them; for much of the ground has been covered by no previous historian. Naturally, no very large space can be assigned to any single writer: Erasmus has six pages, Casaubon the same, Mabillon four, Bentley nine, Porson four and a half, Wolf ten, Boeckh five, Lachmann four, Mommsen one; but ample references are given throughout, and the book will serve as a directory of scholars, as well as a history of scholarship. It is also adorned by portraits of fifty-nine scholars, from Petrarch to Jebb. Dr. Sandys deserves the thanks and congratulations of scholars for the completion of a work of enormous labour and assured authority.

The Oxyrhynchus Papyri. Part VI. By B. P. GRENFELL and A. S. HUNT. Pp. xiv+381. 6 Plates. Oxford: University Press, 1908. 25s.

The main interest of this volume for classical scholars lies in the papyrus of Euripides' *Hippolytus*. About 240 lines are preserved (not continuously) in approximate completeness, equally divided between lyrics and iambs; but besides these there are very many fragments, scattered over the whole course of the play, and furnishing glimpses of the management of the plot. They are sufficient to refute the restoration of Hartung, which was based on the narrative of Statius, but some points remain obscure, notably the exact method in which the death of the child Archemorus was made known, and the share taken in the play by Euneos and Thoas, the sons of Hippolytus. A full introduction and commentary are provided, to which Wilamowitz, Murray, and Bury have made considerable contributions.

The other literary texts include nineteen columns of a commentary on Thucydides, relating to Book ii: 1-45; a scrap of Archilochus; about twenty lines of a comedy, in which a slave is apparently on the point of being burnt; some scholia on Aristophanes' *Acharnians*; part of a rhetorical exercise; and small portions of extant works of Hesiod, Apollonius Rhodius, Sophocles, Euripides, Thucydides, Plato, and Demosthenes, and (by way of a novelty) a page of the *Catiline* of Sallust. There are also four scraps of Greek Biblical MSS., and three of apocryphal books, and over a hundred non-literary texts of various periods. These are edited with the skill and adequacy with which all readers of Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt's volumes are familiar. Six collotype plates are given, containing facsimiles of eleven MSS. (all but one being literary texts).

Der neue Menander: Bemerkungen zur Rekonstruktion der Stücke nebst dem Text in der Seitenverteilung der Handschrift. By C. ROBERT.
Pp. 146. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1908. 4 m. 50 pf.

This is an attempt to reconstruct both the action of the three principal plays in the Cairo papyrus and the arrangement of the leaves of the papyrus itself. The text is printed in the pages of the original (Lefebvre's order being departed from in the case of some of the smaller fragments, and the *Supra* being placed before the *Enripneutes* and *Hephepistes*), while twenty pages of introduction are devoted to the discussion of the plots. Prof. Robert makes careful use of the smallest indications as evidence for the reconstruction of the lost scenes, and his results in themselves are plausible; but he tries at times to see further through a brick wall than is humanly possible, and it is to be feared that the recovery of the missing leaves would necessitate considerable alterations in his conclusions. It is instructive to compare Prof. Capps' discussion of the plot of the *Enripneutes* in the *American Journal of Philology*, xxix. 440, in which, by utilising the Uspensky vellum fragment published by Zernstedt in 1891, he arrives at quite different results in the arrangement of the papyrus, and consequently in the reconstruction of the plot. Prof. Robert has also not been able to use the new leaf of the *Hephepistes* now at Berlin, nor the results of Körte's collation of the Cairo papyrus. The forthcoming Teubner text should go nearer towards giving us a standard text to work on; but a considerable margin must remain for hypothetical restoration, and Prof. Robert and Prof. Capps do useful service in developing and working out the various possibilities.

The Characters of Theophrastus: an English Translation from a Revised Text, with Introduction and Notes by R. C. JENN. New edition by J. E. SANDYS, Litt.D.
Pp. xvi+223. 8vo. London: Macmillan and Co., 1909. 7s. 6d. net.

A new edition of Sir R. Jebb's *Theophrastus* has long been desired, and will be gladly welcomed by scholars. It would have been still more welcome if both its size and its price had not been materially increased, and that although Dr. Sandys has rightly kept his editorial additions within moderate compass. The revision has been done with great care, and notice is duly taken of all the essential additions to knowledge in the last forty years which bear upon the text or interpretation of Theophrastus. Jebb's own work is very little altered, but the necessary additions have been briefly made, and properly distinguished from the original matter. They are perhaps relatively most frequent in the Critical Appendix. The commentary is now printed below the text and translation, which is an improvement.

The Erasmian Pronunciation of Greek and its Precursors. By I. BYWATER. Pp. 27. H. Frowde: Oxford University Press, 1908. 1s.

Professor Bywater's last published lecture as Professor of Greek at Oxford is a vindication of Erasmus from the charge of having written his *Dialogus de pronuntiatio* hastily, in order to secure for himself the credit of discovering a new pronunciation, which he had been told (as a hoax) had been brought by some Greeks to Paris. The *Dialogus* cannot have been written in haste, nor does Erasmus claim its conclusions as his own discovery. Others had been in the field before him; and to these predecessors—Jerome Alexander in France, Aldus Manutius in Italy, and, first and most notable, Antonio de Lebrija in Spain—the greater part of the lecture is devoted. The lecture is historical, not controversial; and probably no living scholar has a wider knowledge of the literature of scholarship than Professor Bywater. The merits of the Erasmian pronunciation are not discussed.

The Ancient Greek Historians. By J. B. BURY. [Harvard Lectures.] London: Macmillan & Co., 1909. 7s. 6d. net.

In these lectures Dr. Bury gives a survey of Greek historical writing down to the first century B.C. Though the lecture-form necessarily imposes certain limitations upon the author, he contrives to throw out much that is interesting and suggestive. Such is the passage dealing with the new historian, whom he believes to be Cratippus; or that which touches upon the rise of specialism under the influence of the Peripatetics. Naturally he devotes considerable space to Thucydides. Here he rightly rejects a recent attempt to prove that Thucydides misunderstood the causes of the Peloponnesian War, and presented the war in the guise of a tragedy. Thucydides was far too clear-sighted and practical to do either the one or the other. It is, however, extremely doubtful whether Dr. Bury is right in explaining Thucydides' famous comment on the death of Nicias as a piece of malicious sarcasm. He probably had an honest admiration for his conscientiousness and piety, and considered that on this account he deserved a less tragic doom. The more reconciliant interpretation seems due to the tendency to read in modern ideas as to the unpardonable sin of incompetency. The book closes with an interesting contrast of the ancient and modern views of the function of history. It is true that the modern view is a more scientific one—that it regards each period as a link in the great chain of progress—whereas to the ancient historian his own particular epoch was more or less an isolated whole. Yet one cannot but feel a passing regret that the modern historian is compelled to become a mere part of a great machine for the production of scientific history. This is destructive of all freshness and individuality, qualities which so distinguish a Herodotus or a Livy. Not all the advantages which science can bestow will quite compensate for such a loss.

Anthropology and the Classics. Six Lectures at Oxford. By ARTHUR J. EVANS, ANDREW LANG, GILBERT MURRAY, F. B. JEVONS, J. L. MYRES, and W. WARDE FOWLER. Edited by R. R. MARRETT. Pp. 101. Clarendon Press, 1908.

Without implying the slightest disparagement of these brilliant discourses, delivered by most distinguished scholars, we may say that, grouped together in a book under a not wholly appropriate catch-title, they make rather a 'scratch lot.' The note of apology in the editor's preface argues him to be somewhat of our way of thinking. We should imagine (it is hard to avoid when a number of original and independent thinkers are asked to contribute to a lecture course) that the conception of the editor was not equally accepted or realized by all the lecturers. That conception we should take to have been the demonstration of the value of the classical authors as subject for and illustration

of anthropological study. Two of the lecturers, Mr. Andrew Lang and Professor Gilbert Murray, have done their part faithfully to realize such an idea. The one takes Homer, and though obliged to admit that he is somewhat empty of anthropological matter, indicates briefly what the *Epics* do contain for the use and study of the anthropologist. The other, refraining from controverting Mr. Lang on Homer, deals chiefly with Hesiod, and devotes especial attention to two anthropological questions, to which that poet supplies illustrations, Secret Societies, and the Divine, or 'Medicine' King. Professor Myres takes Herodotus, and in what, if it be not invidious to say so, seems to us distinctly the most brilliant as well as most elaborate of the contributions, essays to show both that there was much crude anthropological science in the Greek world before Herodotus, and that the latter had arrived at a conscious anthropological method. The only criticism we venture to pass is that it is rather ethnological science than anthropological (as usually understood) of which Professor Myres adduces Herodotean evidence. The two lectures by Principal Jerons and Mr. Ward Fowler, which deal with Latin literature, seem both designed rather to illustrate the classics from anthropology than anthropology from the classics. The one deals with Magic, and the other with the particular purificatory ceremonial called *Lustratio*. These lectures have less novelty about their method than the three Greek ones. They follow very much the type of Dictionary of Antiquities articles, while being exceedingly learned, instructive, and up to date. The remaining lecture, placed first, must have been very difficult for the editor to reconcile with the title of the volume. It certainly has hardly the remotest connexion with the classics, and is only anthropological if pre-historic archaeology is a part of anthropology. It shows how pictography has been practised from palaeolithic times, and explains very lucidly the vital distinction between it and any hieroglyphic writing into which the phonetic element enters. It is most interesting; but it strikes us that it would be more in place in the introductory matter of its author's much desired *Scripta Minoea* than in a volume entitled *Anthropology and the Classics*. For the novel points of view, however, set forth in most of the lectures, and the mystery with which the subjects are treated, the volume, under whatever title, is most remarkable. It will stimulate fresh interest in old books.

Ionian and the East. Six Lectures delivered before the University of London.
By D. G. HOGARTH. Oxford, 1909.

Mr. Hogarth's King's College lectures are a notable contribution to archaeological history. As he says, some fresh light, but at the same time not a little fresh darkness, have been shed on the question of the origins of Greek civilization by recent archaeological discoveries. In those lectures he has himself considerably increased the light and has also dissipated something of the darkness which has hitherto shrouded the matter of the beginnings of Ionian culture. The importance of this matter has always been recognized. If we solve the question of the origin of Ionian art we have solved the question of the origin of later Greek art generally. We say 'later Greek art' advisedly, with Mr. Hogarth: as he shows (though of course he is not the first to do so), Ionian art, and later Greek art generally, owe their inspiration more or less directly to the prehistoric art of Greece, which we call 'Minoan' and 'Mycenaean.' For Mr. Hogarth Ionian art is a combination of that of Greeks, who came from the north bearing the art instincts of the ancient Danubian Bronze Age culture, with the now decadent art of the Aegeans, strongly influenced by the Assyrianizing art of North Syria, and to a less degree by that of Egypt. The Phoenicians, it will be noticed, do not appear. Mr. Hogarth denies that Phoenician art can have had any appreciable influence on the nascent art of Ionia. And he is unquestionably right if with him we confine Phoenician art to that dry, formal, eclectic art, combining dull copies of Egyptian and Assyrian motives, which we know from the orientализing objects discovered in the Italian tombs of the VIIIth-VIth century. The art of Kameiros, he shows, is not Phoenician.

The imitations of Egyptian faience found there were made at Naukratis, not in Phoenicia. And now Mr. Hogarth's discoveries at Ephesus, which have revealed the earliest stratum of Ionian art (at the end of the eighth century) seem to show that the well-known Nimrud ivories, formerly claimed as the work of Phoenician craftsmen, are probably not Phoenician, but bear a close relation to early Ionian carved work. So near is this relation that Mr. Cecil Smith was strongly disposed to regard the Nimrud ivories as themselves of Ionian workmanship. Mr. Hogarth does not go thus far. Certain indications in the North-Syrian archaeological territory dispose him to consider, rather, that the Nimrud ivories are the product of North-Syrian craftsmen, and that the Ephesus ivories show the unmistakable traces of the influence of this North-Syrian art.

It might be thought that there was very little difference between a Phoenician and a North-Syrian, and that Mr. Hogarth is merely repeating the old belief in other words. We would, however, reinforce Mr. Hogarth by pointing out that whereas the Phoenician was almost a pure Semite, a North-Syrian had quite as much non-Semitic (Anatolian and Iranian) blood in him as Semitic, and this mixed blood may well have contributed to make him more original than the Phoenician. At any rate, Mr. Hogarth is justified in saying that no trace of this art of the Nimrud ivories has been found in Phoenicia, and that it is probably not Phoenician. But the possibility that it may be native Assyrian should not be left out of account. Mr. Hogarth does not take this into consideration, but if the Assyrian sculptor could produce the lion-hunt reliefs of Ashurbanipal's palace, why should not the Nimrud ivories have been made in Ninevite workshops?

Before finally relegating the Phoenicians to limbo, Mr. Hogarth points out that their supposed influence on Cypriot art is really a reversal of the fact: it was the Cypriotes who influenced the Phoenicians, who cannot fail to have been affected by the Minoan culture of the island. In pressing this thesis, however, Mr. Hogarth has erred in the matter of the antiquity of Phoenician settlements in Cyprus. He thinks it possible (p. 86) that the establishment of Basmoleh as king of Kition by Xerxes in 479 was possibly 'the beginning of Phoenician dominance in any part of the island whatsoever.' He forgets the Assyrian evidence that puts the Semite Dammî, king of Kartikhadesti, among the Cyprian dynasts who submitted to Esarhaddon in 673. We can hardly doubt that this Cyprian Carthage (we know of no Greek Neapolis in the island) was a Phoenician settlement. There is a danger that the new anti-Phoenician fashion may be pressed too far, though we are prepared to admit that there were no Phoenicians in Cyprus before the end of its Minoan culture, perhaps in the eleventh or tenth century. Mr. Hogarth, arguing that the resemblances between the late Minoan culture of Cyprus and the early Ionian at Ephesus, discovered by him, mean connexion between the two, would apparently bring the end of the Bronze Age in Cyprus down somewhat later, though not so late as he was inclined to do in his publication of 'Ephesus' two years ago.

An important contribution to probable history is Mr. Hogarth's explanation of the puzzling fact that the Minoan civilization never gained an appreciable footing on the Asiatic shore of the Aegean. He shows that it is very probable that this was due to the fact that Asia Minor was from some date before 2000 B.C. to the twelfth century dominated by the inland power of the Khatti, Hittites, or 'White Syrians,' with their centre at Boghaz Kyoï, often identified with the Herodotean Pieria. The Hittite sculptures on the rocks of Sipylos and Tmolos are monuments of the victories of the kings whose records have recently been discovered by Dr. Winckler at Boghaz Kyoï, and it may well be that the strength of their dominion was such as to prevent any extension of Aegean power and culture to the coast of Asia Minor. It was thus in land that had previously hardly known the ancient civilization of Greece that the Ionian culture, which was based on that civilization, grew up.

We notice the misprints 'Bisalt' for Busolt, and 'Aquinasha' for Aquinasha: one speaks of Achæans, not Aquæans!

Ist das Etruskische eine hettitische Sprache? I. Ueber das *-d-* Suffix im Etruskischen und Griechischen. Von A. KANNENGIESSER. Wissensch. Beitrag zum Jhre. des Gymnasiums zu Gelsenkirchen. Pp. 31. 1908.

It is difficult to form an opinion as to the value of Prof. Kannengiesser's brochure until the second part of it has appeared. The first is a mere repetition and amplification of the evidence as to the occurrence of the peculiar and apparently 'vorindogermanisch' *-d-* suffix in place- and proper-names in Greece and Italy, which is already well known from the works of Kretschmer and Fick. Prof. Kannengiesser points out that Etruscan is universally regarded as 'vorindogermanisch,' and his argument will probably be developed in the direction of proving that the Etruscans belonged to the pre-Aryan population which preceded the Greeks in Greece and was probably connected closely with the Anatolians, of whom the 'Hittites' were the most important division. No doubt the author will bring the Etruscan from Asia Minor, as others have done before him. In any case his thesis will reinforce the contention of those who, chiefly in England and Italy, believe the early Aegeans, including the 'Minasians,' to have been of non-Aryan race and speech. On this point the German philologists seem to disagree with the archaeologists, the latter seemingly being unable to conceive of European civilisation as being of other than 'Indo-German' origin.

Αἱ προϊστορικαὶ ἀποικολαί Διμητρίου καὶ Σέσκελου, ἐπὶ Χρήστου Τσουάντα. Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς ἐν Ἀθῆναις ἀρχαιολογικῆς ἐταιρείας. Pp. 216. 47 Plates and 312 figures. Athens: Sakellarios, 1908.

The publication in *extenso* of the results of the excavations near Volo is worthy of M. Tsountas and of the Archaeological Society of Athens. It is a fine book, well got up and well illustrated, and suffers only from its want of any proper binding. Even for a paper book it is singularly incohesive, and a week's use is quite sufficient to reduce it to a mass of fragments. A heavy volume like this ought to be bound more firmly.

The very interesting finds of pottery, flint implements, etc., from the Neolithic settlements at Dimini and Sesklo are described at great—almost at too great—length. M. Tsountas has evidently said all that could possibly be said about them. The plates give reproductions, very good in colour, of the polychrome ware of the Neolithic period, which is the most important discovery made at these sites. In Crete the pottery of the Neolithic age never got beyond the stage of black ware with incised decoration, whereas in Boeotia and Thessaly we find that parallel with the rough incised ware there was developed a whole series of polychrome types, which, as we know from the excavations of Messrs. Wace and Droop for the British School at Zerelia in Phthiotis, were still in use when the fully-developed Late Minoan style was in full vogue in Crete. In his final *εἰσαγωγή*, M. Tsountas, however, brings the Neolithic age at Dimini and Sesklo to an end at a much earlier period. For him the Neolithic culture of Northern Greece, including that of Phokis and Boeotia, revealed by the excavations of M. Sotiriadis (*Ath. Mit.* 1908, pp. 120 ff.), is earlier than, and independent of, the insular culture, and is closely related to the Neolithic culture of Galicia and Southern Russia, which produced remarkable polychrome pottery.

The theory of independent origin may be debated: it is uncertain whether the Neolithic culture, not only of Thessaly, but of Serrai, Galicia, and South Russia too, came from the South rather than from the North, and is ultimately to be traced to the same beginnings as the Neolithic culture of Crete and Southern Italy. But the idea that the whole Neolithic culture of Northern Greece, with its evidently long history, is to be placed before the development of the Aegean Bronze Age culture, merely because it is Neolithic, seems to us, in view of the discovery at Zerelia, a very hazardous one. It seems far more probable that whereas in Crete the Neolithic culture had been brought to an end while its pottery was still very primitive by the introduction of metal,

in Northern Greece the Neolithic culture still persisted till a comparatively late period, and developed a polychrome pottery under the influence of the polychrome wares of 'Middle Minoan' Crete. M. Sotiriadis's results from Boeotia point in the same direction.

But M. Tsountas works under the influence of the German rather than the Anglo-Italian school of archaeologists, and looks to the North and 'Greeks' for the beginnings of his Thessalian civilization rather than to the South and 'Mediterraneans'. He grudgingly admits that the earliest Thessalians, the oldest Neolithic people, may have belonged to the 'so-called' Mediterranean race, but the later Neolithic people, who conquered the others, were Έλληνες. Why? It is quite as probable that the first Hellenes were iron-users who entered Greece from Illyria towards the close of the Bronze Age. However, for M. Tsountas the oldest Neolithic people were Pelasgi and Thracians, the later Neolithic people true Greeks, who developed the 'Northern Greek' culture which ultimately overthrew the alien 'Mediterranean' civilization of the islands. Thus he agrees with Dörpfeld's Achaian-Carian theory, which has been damagingly criticized by Dr. Mackenzie. Nevertheless, he quite admits the cogency of Dr. Mackenzie's argument that the waist-cloth is a proof of southern origin, even as far north as Scythia.

In one thing, however, M. Tsountas seems to be incontrovertibly right, and to have made an important discovery. He shows that the Homeric megaron, with its predecessor the Mycenaean and Tirynthian hall, is finally descended from the hall of the Neolithic chiefs of Thessaly, which has *prodomos*, central hearth, and so forth, of quite Hellenic type. According to him the Mycenaean megaron has become more complicated under Cretan influence. This seems very probable, and the discovery of a Neolithic 'Homeric House' in Northern Greece is a shrewd blow to Dr. Mackenzie's ingenious theory which makes the Northern megaron really, in spite of appearances, of Cretan origin. We seem to have in fact, two different types of 'palace' building, a simple Northern one, and a complicated Southern one, in prehistoric Greece. And this difference may well point to a distinction of race. But that the Neolithic Northerners came from the North, and not from the South, is not yet apparent; that they were 'Greeks' cannot be proved; that they developed their civilization before the Southerners did is *a priori* very improbable and seems to be rendered quite unlikely by the discovery at Zerelin.

The Decorative Art of Crete in the Bronze Age. A Dissertation Presented to the Faculty of Bryn Mawr College. By ELEANOR H. HALL. Pp. 48. With 3 Plates. Philadelphia: Winston, 1907.

Miss E. H. Hall, who is already known as an archaeologist from her work with Mrs. Boyd Hawes at Gournia, has written as her dissertation for the degree of Ph.D. a most admirable sketch of the history of decorative art in Crete during the Bronze Age. Miss Hall bases her description on Dr. Arthur Evans's scheme of nine successive 'Minoan' periods, recognizing, as all who have actually excavated or studied in Crete do, that his scheme is no mere theory, but a plain statement of facts, the result of long and careful study of the archaeological evidence. That the scheme is called by a fanciful name does not affect its validity. It has been adopted without reserve by the Italian, American, and Greek archaeologists; only the Germans, who have not worked in Crete, seem as yet slow to recognize in Dr. Evans's scheme an indispensable key to the chronological arrangement of Greek pre-history.

For American and British students Miss Hall's *résumé* of the evidence will be very useful. The long folding table at the end of the book, giving a full classification of Cretan Bronze Age design, with provenience, publication, non-Cretan parallels, and so forth, is most commendable. We might conceivably disagree with one or two attributions, such as that of the Vaphio cups to Late Minoan II, whereas they are certainly Late Minoan I, although the tomb itself dates to the second period (probably only a

century later). And in the references to publications we find W. M. Müller's *Egyptological Researches* Plates 5 and 6 quoted for the wall-paintings of Keftiu in the tomb of Semut, ignoring *B.S.A.*, x. In his publication of Semut Müller has come considerably 'after the fair.' His supposed *Neue Darstellungen* of Keftiu ambassadors (from the tomb of Seny), reproduced in Lagrange's *Œuvre Ancienne*, Fig. 92, are, in the opinion of Prof. Maspero and other authorities (now, we believe, shared by Dr. Müller himself), not representatives of Minoans or Aegeans at all. We still await the publication of Mr. Howard Carter's painting of the Semut fresco.

We regret that Miss Hall, in referring to the date of the Middle Minoan period, quotes Prof. Eduard Meyer's date for the contemporary XIIIth Dynasty, 2000-1788 B.C. (for which she gives the authority of Prof. Breasted, not that of Meyer), without any question mark. The matter is still, however, *sub judice*. Prof. Meyer has ably argued in favour of his view, which is adopted by Breasted, but it is not yet universally accepted. The Cretan evidence, however, works out generally in its favour, while Prof. Petrie's early date is shown to be impossible by this Cretan evidence alone, apart from Egyptian considerations. But to say that the XIIIth Dynasty 'extended from 2000 to 1788 B.C., with a margin of error of only four years,' on Prof. Breasted's authority, is hazardous. If we say that the XIIIth Dynasty and 'Middle Minoan II' date to about 2000 B.C. that is as near as we can go at present.

Die Insel Malta in Alterthum. By ALBERT MAYR. Pp. 555, 1 map, 36 figures in text. Beck: Munich, 1909. 10 m.

It might certainly have been expected that Malta would have received more attention from British scholars than it has done hitherto. A visit paid to the island by Dr. Arthur Evans and Prof. J. L. Myres in 1897 led to some valuable remarks by the former in his article on *Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult* (*J.H.S.* xxi. [1901] 196 *sqq.*) in which he points out that the great prehistoric sanctuaries of Malta and Gozo show evidences of bacchic worship, and that they were in origin used as places of burial, in which a hero cult grew up—a conclusion accepted by Mayr, who had previously maintained that they were exclusively temples. But it is to Dr. Mayr that we owe the only full and scientific accounts that we have, not only of these, but of the other prehistoric buildings of these islands, and several other valuable monographs on the remains of the pre-Christian and early Christian period there. These have now been summarized and collected in the work before us, for which our gratitude is certainly due. We must recognize that his strictures on the lack of care in the conduct of excavations and on the neglect to register casual discoveries in the past are only too well merited: but we may now join with him in paying a well-deserved tribute to the present administration. The recently appointed curator of the museum, Dr. Zammit, though not an archaeologist by profession, has brought the trained faculties of a man of science to bear on the arrangement of the museum and the recording of new finds, whether made casually or by intentional excavation, for which a sum is now yearly set aside in the budget of the colony. The co-operation of the British School at Rome in the supervision of the work has been cordially welcomed. The most important discovery of recent years has been that of the hypogeum of Hal-Saffni, the prehistoric pottery of which will shortly be fully described by Prof. N. Tagliaferro.

A Century of Archaeological Discoveries. By A. MICHAELIS. Translated by BERTHA KAHNWEILER; with a preface by PERCY GARDNER. Pp. xxii + 366, 26 Plates. London: John Murray, 1908. 12s. net.

This admirable book is welcome in an English edition. Prof. Michaelis says he offers hardly anything new to archaeologists by profession; but they, as well as the wider circle

of readers whom he addresses, will be glad to have such a concise account as this of the progress of their study. It is characterized by great breadth of view and an excellent sense of proportion; and now that archaeology has a recognized place among academic studies, it is interesting as well as instructive to note the stages of development through which it has passed in its various pursuits of collection and acquisition, of exploration and record, of organization and systematic study, and also the contributions of various nations and individuals to this result. The author's intimate association with many of those who have borne a large share in the development, and his own conspicuous part in it, make him peculiarly fitted to treat it in a comprehensive and sympathetic spirit. The opinions expressed as to certain theories and methods necessarily leave scope for some differences of opinion; but it is doubtful if any other archaeologist could have given us a survey so free from prejudice or exaggeration. The translation reads well, and the illustrations are well reproduced.

The Acropolis of Athens. By MARTIN L. D'OOGE. Pp. xx + 408 + v. 9 Plates, 7 Plans, and 134 Figures in text. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1908. 17s. net.

Professor D'Ooge's account of the Acropolis has been announced for some time as one of Macmillan's series of Handbooks. Now it has appeared in a larger size, uniform with Prof. E. A. Gardner's *Ancient Athens*. This size gives an opportunity for more adequate illustration, and is also justified by the inclusion of a great deal of matter; but a smaller and more concise account of the recent discoveries on the Acropolis would also have been useful. Prof. D'Ooge's work is a careful compilation; he has the advantage of being able to give the more recent developments of theory or discovery, such as Prof. Dörpfeld's new dating of the substructure of the Parthenon to the sixth century, and the views of Wiegand and Schröder as to the early temples and their sculpture. His illustrations are mostly repeated from other books; but they are well chosen, and give considerable help in following the various and complicated discussions. In Appendix II is a summary of Prof. J. W. White's article on the Pelsagicon, and in III. a discussion of the old temple on the Acropolis. The plan of the Acropolis is that of Mühlstein in the supplementary papers of this journal. It might have been preferable to use Kawerau's official plan; but this probably was not published in time.

Athen. Von EGGER PETERSEN. Pp. viii. + 255. 122 Illustrations. Leipzig: E. A. Seemann, 1909. 4 m.

This little volume, which forms Vol. 41 of the series on 'Berthente Kunststätten,' is evidently intended to be carried in the pocket as a substitute for a more practical guide-book. It serves this purpose excellently; at the same time its historical and descriptive character, helped out by its numerous illustrations, makes it useful to any student who wishes for a compact account of Athens. Its size precludes any detailed discussion of controversial matters; but Prof. Petersen speaks with authority, and even advanced students will be glad to have a summary of his mature opinion upon many of the questions to the elucidation of which his work has already contributed, for example, the early temples and statues on the Acropolis, or the interpretation of the sculptures of the Parthenon.

Pausanias als Schriftsteller. Studien und Beobachtungen von CARL ROBERT. Pp. 348. 2 Plans and 7 Sketch-plans in text. Berlin: Weidmann, 1909.

There has been much discussion as to the sources from which Pausanias derived his information, and as to how far his descriptions are based on personal observation. Prof. Robert here investigates the use of the material after it had been accumulated, the principles that governed the composition, and the rhetorical character of the style. He rightly emphasizes the misleading character of a modern analogy, such as one sees in the expression 'an ancient Baedeker,' and points out that we have anything but a systematic guide-book to deal with, and that the 'periplus' is to a great extent a mere peg on which to hang historical, mythological, geographical, and other disquisitions. It follows that the order is by no means strictly topographical, but is constantly modified by rhetorical considerations: to Prof. Robert such a problem as the 'Fameakromos episode' offers no difficulty—for, although he accepts Dorpfeld's identification of the fountain near the Pnyx, his restriction of the area of the Agora leaves the topographical inconsistency as great as ever. Prof. Robert's investigation of the various systems of description adopted for various sites, and his application of them to the interpretation of the topographical evidence, will have to be considered by future students of Pausanias. The work is one which it is by no means easy to appreciate and criticize: it must be tested by degrees in relation to the numerous problems with which it is concerned. But it is always a good thing for modern students to be reminded that, in order to understand any ancient writer, it is necessary to consider the aims with which he wrote and the literary conditions of his age, and not to apply without consideration the same standards which would be suitable to a modern author.

Cybele: Étude sur les transformations plastiques d'un type divin. Par GEORGES RADET. Pp. 130. Bordeaux: Furet et Fils, 1909.

On the text of a stamped brick, found probably (but not certainly) at Sardes, M. Radet develops a theory that the winged 'Persian Artemis' type, often called the *korwa figure*, was of West Asian origin, and probably an Ionian adaptation of the type of a wingless divine figure between heraldically opposed beasts or birds, long in use in Aegean art. In the actual goddess on the brick he sees the *Ἐπιγαστή θεὸς Κεβέση* of Herodotus, and in the archer who follows her on the frieze a Heracles. He inclines to think that Cybele is the original divinity for whom this artistic differentiation of the Earth Goddess, as tamer of beasts, came into existence, and that it was this divinity whom the Ionian Greeks and Graecized Lydians knew as Kore. Further, he adduces evidence that there was a very important shrine of the Earth Goddess at Sardes, which is that at which Crontas swore fealty to the younger Cyrus; and that the patroness of this same shrine was called by diverse names—Kybele, Artemis, Anahita, and Kore—at different epochs and by different nationalities. He brings together a great number of representations of the type on vases, reliefs, coins, etc., and defends the variations by comparing the changes noted in goddess figures at Ephesus. There is nothing very novel in this study, except perhaps the importance claimed for the Sardian shrine; but it brings together a great number of interesting cult-representations and is eminently readable.

Le Rappresentanze figurate delle Provincie Romane. Da MICHELE JATTA. Pp. 86. With four plates and twelve blocks. Roma: Loescher, 1908. 8 lire.

Signor Jatta provides a careful enumeration of the monuments known to him representing Provinces, and discusses the relation of the types employed to similar representations in Greek art. He comes to the sound conclusion that, as regards the artistic conception

and the methods of representation, the Romans owed everything to their predecessors; but that the political and economic ideas which these representations embody lend a peculiarly Roman character to the old elements. The list of monuments is practically complete, and consists for the most part of coins. The representations of Alamanna, Francia, and Sarmatia on coins of the Constantinian period might have been included, and the author may be interested to know that there is in the British Museum a bronze coin of Domitian, of uncertain mint, which bears on its reverse a figure of Dacia, kneeling, with hands bound behind back, and the inscription $\Sigma\theta\alpha\gamma\rho\alpha\varsigma$ $\Delta\alpha\kappa\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\varsigma$ $\epsilon\delta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\upsilon$ ($\Delta\alpha\kappa\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\varsigma$) $\tau\epsilon\tau\alpha\rho\iota\varsigma$. The illustrations of Signor Jatta's useful book are on the whole judiciously chosen and well executed.

Greek Dress. A Study of the Costumes Worn in Ancient Greece from pre-Hellenic Times to the Hellenistic Age. By ETHEL B. ABRAHAM. Pp. 134. With Illustrations. London: John Murray, 1908. 6s.

The sub-title of this book, which is based on a thesis approved for the London M.A. degree, gives a very accurate idea of its scope and object. After a chapter on the dress of the pre-Hellenic inhabitants, founded mainly on a study of the finds in Crete and the writings of Messrs. Evans and Myres, Miss Abraham discusses the type of dress described in the Homeric poems, and comes to the conclusion that in all essentials it did not differ from the draped type with which classical monuments have made us familiar. Of this draped type she traces the continuous development under its two accepted divisions of Dorian and Ionian, and, incidentally, propounds a novel theory as to the make of one form of the archaic Ionian himation. The text is very fully illustrated by diagrams and by a carefully selected series of excellent illustrations (taken mainly from vase paintings) of the various garments described. There are also useful chapters on cognate matters, such as materials, head-dresses, foot-gear and the toilet.

Numismatique Constantinienne. Iconographie et Chronologie. Description historique des émissions monétaires. Par JULES MAURICE. Tome I. Pp. cxxxix + 507. With twenty-three Plates. Paris: Leroux, 1908.

Among all periods in the history of coinage there is none so confusing as that of Constantine the Great, from 305 to 337 A.D. Apart from the number of emperors—Augusti, Cæsars, and female members of the Imperial families—who figure on the coins, no less than nineteen different mints, from London in the West to Antioch and Alexandria in the East, were in operation at various times. M. Jules Maurice has for many years been occupied with the study of the immensely complicated numismatic material, and scholars are familiar with his articles on the various mints in the French, German, English, and Italian numismatic periodicals, as well as in the *Mémoires* of the French Society of Antiquaries. Having thus worked out all the mints separately, he has had the happy idea of collecting these essays, and prefixing to them certain preliminary studies from which the non-numismatic scholar can obtain some idea of the importance of his results. The preliminary studies fall into two parts: first the introduction, which deals with the administration of the mint, the 'anatomy' of the coins, the denominations, genealogical tables, and—most important to the historian—a chronology of the period controlled and rectified by the evidence of the coins; the second part deals with the iconography of the emperors. The remainder of the volume describes in detail the issues of the five mints of Rome, Ostia, Aquileia, Carthage, and Tyres. The second volume will contain the remaining mints, and complete the work. The iconographic section is of extraordinary importance, concerned as it is with the somewhat bewildering fact that coins were constantly struck with the name of a reigning emperor inscribed round the portrait of

another ruler, his co-regent and ally. Naturally all iconographers who have hitherto attempted to identify portraits with the help of coins of this period, without understanding this peculiarity, have come to grief. The arrangement was due to the organization of the Empire as established by Diocletian; emperors who regarded each other as colleagues issued coins in the names of their colleagues as well as in their own names; but there was no central administration, therefore the mints in those portions of the empire which were under one emperor did not possess the portraits of the other emperor. Thus, when on April 1, 285, Maximianus Hercules became Emperor of the Western provinces, the Eastern mints, which were still under Diocletian, continued to use Diocletian's head for coins and medallions struck in his colleague's name. Sometimes mistakes of a careless kind were made. Thus, at Cyzicus a coin struck in the name of Galerius Augustus shows the portrait of Maximinus Daza, the Caesar adopted by him. As the administrations of these two rulers would naturally be in communication, and would exchange portraits, the Cyzicene mint possessed portraits of both rulers; and occasionally used them indiscriminately. The admirable plates of M. Maurice's work must henceforward serve as the standard guide to the imperial iconography of this period.

Priester und Tempel im Hellenistischen Ägypten. Von WALTER OTTO.
Two vols. Pp. xiv+418 and vi+417. Leipzig and Berlin. B. G. Teubner, 1905.
1908. 14 m. (sewn), 17 m. (bound), each volume.

This exhaustive work on the religious organization of Egypt under Greek and Roman rule, of which the first volume was published in 1905 and the second last year, took its origin in a 'Doktorarbeit' of the author's. It is an admirably thorough treatment of its subject—indeed its thoroughness and the numerous footnotes which this entails make it far from easy reading: a difficulty which the cumbersome style does nothing to lighten. The author, in his preface, explains the limits he has set himself. He rules out, very naturally, the Christian and Jewish Churches, and he has made no systematic attempt to discuss the religious ideas upon which the organization rested. Within the limits set himself he has made a careful investigation of all the available material. The circumstances under which the book was composed, the long interval between the publication of the two volumes, and the constant additions made to the available material, have necessitated a considerable number of additions and corrections, a list of which is given in each volume. Even at the end the evidence on many points is very scanty, and the author is frequently compelled to base his theories on somewhat uncertain foundations or even to forswear the attempt to arrive at any conclusions at all; but he shows an exemplary caution in distinguishing between theory and fact, and is careful in every case to collect all the evidence there is. The constant increase in our knowledge of the whole period covered will doubtless render much of the book obsolete in course of time, but for the present it will be an indispensable book of reference for matters connected with the subjects of which it treats.

There are eight chapters in the complete work. In the first the author discusses briefly the gods of Hellenistic Egypt. In the second he treats of the organization of the priesthood, and in three valuable appendices gives lists of all the *ἀρχιερείς* *Ἀλεξανδρείας* and *Αἰγύπτου* *ἐπίσκοποι*, eponymous priests, and *ἐπίσκοποι* *Μουσείου* known up to the present. These lists require to be supplemented by certain additions and corrections given at the end of each volume. The third chapter deals with the various stages of the priestly career, the fourth with the revenues of the temples, and the fifth with their expenditure. In the sixth the author discusses the administration of the temples and their property, and in the last two, the most generally interesting of all, the social and economic position of the priests and the relations between 'Church and State.' The second volume concludes with full indices of subjects, Greek words, gods and temples, priests, and sources.

State and Family in Early Rome. By C. W. L. LAUNSPACH. George Bell and Sons. 1908. Pp. xx+288.

The central idea of this treatise, which deals with the period from the beginning of Rome to the outbreak of the first Punic War, is 'that the early Roman State was a conscious imitation of the ancient Gens or ancient Family, that its theory of Government was founded upon the relations existing between kinsmen, and that these again were determined by religious notions which later became transformed through developments within the city and external influences.' The book, thus limiting itself to internal, domestic, and constitutional history, begins with a discussion of the origin of the Romans, the religious basis of their society, and the constitution and function of the Gentes. There follows an account of constitutional development in the period, worked out from the starting-point of the central hypothesis. The three concluding chapters, which occupy almost half the book, are concerned with marriage, patria potestas, and succession, tracing the intricacies of private law from their origins and relating them to social and constitutional development. The book presupposes a considerable knowledge of Roman history and some knowledge of Roman private law. To the reader adequately equipped in this respect it should prove an interesting study.

The Greatness and Decline of Rome. Vol. III. The Fall of an Aristocracy. Vol. IV. Rome and Egypt. By GIULIELMO FERRERO; translated by Rev. H. J. CHAYTOR. Pp. 342 and 291. William Heinemann. 1908.

The third and fourth volumes of Signor Ferrero's work traverse twenty-two eventful years. Opening with the scene on the Capitol after the assassination of Julius Caesar (a scene depicted with rare insight and power) the narrative proceeds to the completion of the constitutional settlement in B.C. 22. The two volumes fully uphold the promise of their predecessors. Those pictures of the social and financial condition of Italy, which formed so striking a feature of the earlier chapters, though now more compressed, are no less incisive and vivid than before. The author's point of view is essentially modern; he never loses sight of the vast multitude of the inarticulate poor of whom ancient historians deigned to mention nothing but their turbulence.

The portraits of the leading actors in the later civil wars are splendidly robust. The third volume witnesses the last years of Cicero, whose life is treated throughout with sympathy and judgment. The characters of Fulvia and Octavia, very vividly drawn, make a fine study in contrasts. As for Antony, Cleopatra, and Augustus, the protagonists, their personalities pervade the book, but they are not quite the old personalities. For Signor Ferrero is not bound by the judgment of earlier historians. He discards the time-honoured tradition of the Cleopatra love-story, and acknowledges only a marriage effected lawlessly and prosaically enough at Antioch, a marriage dictated on Cleopatra's side by fear of palace intrigues, and on Antony's by need of the treasure of the Ptolemies for the prosecution of the Persian War. The whole history of Antony's last years is strangely changed in Signor Ferrero's hands; neither is it very easy to believe that the deep-rooted legend sprang from no stranger seed than the scandalous report of political opponents. Moreover Signor Ferrero places a new interpretation on the career of Augustus. His constitutional settlement was intended to restore not the form, but the essence of the Republic; not to hide monarchial under republican forms, but to remove a weight of responsibility which Augustus shunned and feared. 'A general conviction arose that he (Augustus) was the long-expected figure, called, as Virgil will soon express it, *conditor novae saculae*, to realise all the vague hopes which then possessed men's minds. One citizen of the Empire, however, declined to believe the legend, mistrusted, and indeed almost feared it, and this man was Augustus himself. For fifty years historians have incessantly repeated that Augustus had secretly

worked with unswerving persistency throughout his life to concentrate this power in his own hands, like Caesar, and to use the old republican forms to which his contemporaries were accustomed, as a vesture for the new monarchy which he was secretly and powerfully fashioning. The legend is ridiculous." (IV, p. 140.) Signor Ferrero works out his theory with great acuteness in his account of the eight years which followed Actium.

Wide knowledge and deep insight, picturesque description and vigorous style are happily united in these volumes, which never lack interest and at times rise almost to the excitement of romance.

Social Life at Rome in the Age of Cicero. By W. WARDE FOWLER, M.A.
Pp. xvi + 362. Macmillan & Co. 10s. net.

After a preliminary topographical survey of Rome in the last years of the Republic, Mr. Ward Fowler approaches first the life of the lower population, and has collected from scanty sources a good deal which is interesting regarding their dwellings, their habits, and their occupations. There follows a striking essay on the business community—the *societates publicanorum* and the *negotatores*—with many sidelights on the money and credit system and the distribution and use of capital. A chapter on the governing aristocracy, on which there is little that is new to be written, is succeeded by one on Roman marriage and Roman women, enlivened by portraits from Cicero's correspondence, and enriched by a full account of the charming inscription known as the *Laudatio Turiae*, which is thus for the first time made readily accessible to English readers. A graphic chapter on the slaves, coming between essays on Roman education and the houses of the wealthy (the latter containing a delightful description of Cicero's villas, constitutes a forcible—almost dramatic—reminder of the real basis of Roman society. The concluding chapters deal with the daily life of the well-to-do, the holidays and amusements (with an excellent account of the Roman stage), and the state of religion.

Mr. Ward Fowler probes far into the life not only of the aristocrats, but of the great rank and file, and it is well that he does so. His book, which is written with his well-known charm of style, is at once scholarly and human. For the student of the classics it will illumine the Ciceronian age more than many text-books: for the student of humanity it will reveal the vast disparities of human fortune in the ancient world.

The Latins in the Levant. By WILLIAM MILLER. Pp. xx + 676. With 4 Maps.
8vo. London: John Murray. Price 21s. net.

A subsidiary title explains the scope of this work as 'a history of Frankish Greece, 1204-1566,' and we are, in fact, presented with a full history of the Principality of Achaia, the Duchy of Athens, and the Despotat of Epirus. An account is also furnished of Cephalonia and Euboea, while Corfu and the Ionian Islands (chiefly possessions of the Venetians) and the Duchy of the Archipelago are dealt with in three chapters at the end of the book. Cyprus is not included; but, of the nearer Levant, Crete alone is omitted from the wide survey of the author, who declares, with his usual great conscientiousness, that the Venetian history of the island cannot be written 'till the eighty-seven volumes of the *Diua di Candia* documents at Venice are published. (Alas!)

Mr. Miller's special qualifications for undertaking a history of this nature are already well known and are evident on every page of the present most welcome and valuable work, which is written throughout with a very full and critical knowledge of the sources, both literary and archaeological. He has a quiet, cultivated style, yet brings out all the points of interest with sufficient warmth and emphasis. The general scheme of arrangement is good, but there was one considerable difficulty to be overcome in the shape of a great mass of detail relating to genealogies and marriage-alliances. These details—so

important in feudal history—cannot be omitted, but we think that in a second edition Mr. Miller would do well to relegate many of them to the footnotes. He would thus considerably quicken the flow of his narrative and enable it to be followed without strain or distraction. Inset marginal headings would also, we think, be a serviceable addition.

The Frankish conquest of Constantinople in 1204 is the starting-point of the book, which opens with a singularly interesting picture of Greece at this period—a land half classic and Hellenic, half mediæval and non-Hellenic; a country of Wallachs and Slavs, of Tzatzones (perhaps ancient Lacomans), Jews, and Venetians. In the two following chapters the main outlines of the conquest of the Morea and Northern Greece are sketched, and the general character of its organization described. The conquerors transplanted the feudal system, practically unmodified, to their new dominions. The country (as, for instance, in Achaia) was held down by the usual system of military service; the native Greek population became *serfs*; castles were built and legal tribunals established. The case of the Barony of Akova, described on p. 143, is a delightful specimen of feudal litigation, with its pedantic and by no means ultra-chivalrous aspects.) The Salic law did not prevail in Achaia, and women, therefore, could—and did—succeed to baronies and even princedoms. This was an obvious source of weakness in a purely military constitution, though one (as Mr. Miller remarks) sometimes productive of romance. Frankish rule was at its zenith from 1214 till 1262. In Achaia the prosperous reign of Geoffrey II. de Villehardouin is followed by that of Prince William, whose court was a school of chivalry. Mr. Miller brings forward some little evidence that shows that at this time 'Franks of position sometimes spent the long winter evenings in the Achaian castles with books of history and romance.' But a much more noticeable characteristic of the period is anything but intellectual, namely the prevalence of piracy, which was so lucrative and so little in ill-repute that it was even adopted as a hereditary profession.

On the death of Prince William of Achaia (A.D. 1278) the influence of the House of Anjou becomes prominent in Greece (chap. vi.). In the early years of the fourteenth century the rough mercenaries of the Catalan Grand Company are 'let loose' upon the rulers of the Levant, and two good chapters (vii. and viii.) describe their fortunes, first as the vanquishers of the united chivalry of Greece at the battle of Kephissos (1311), next (in succession to the fallen Dukes of Athens) as masters of Attica, Boeotia, and part of Thessaly. The Catalan domination comes to an end with the taking of Athens by Nerio Acciajuoli, of the family of rich Florentine bankers (chaps. ix. x.). The spectacle (as the author remarks) of 'chivalry enthroned in the home of classical literature' is a fascinating one, but the union was unnatural and barren. French society never took root in the land; Franks and Greeks never amalgamated, and there was to be no Greek England blended of Norman and native Saxon.

The main features of the later part of the story unfolded in this volume are the growing power of Venice (from 1388) by the purchase of Argos, Nauplia, and Lepanto (Naupaktos); the Greek, i.e. Byzantine, reconquest of Achaia (1415-1441), and then the fatal conquest by the Turks. In the earlier period of the conquest (1441-1460), though Continental Greece and the Morea are annexed by the Turks, Venice holds her own; in the later period from 1462-1540 (chap. xv.), Venice finally loses to them all her Greek possessions. It is worth while to add that the classical reader will be specially interested in an account of the travels of Cyriac of Ancona given in chap. xiii. and also in various contemporary accounts of Athens and Greece to which Mr. Miller has given prominence.

Rhodes of the Knights. By BARON F. DE BELABRE. With Frontispiece and 188 Illustrations in the text. Pp. 195. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908. 31s. 6d.

This book is excellently turned out by the Oxford Press; the fine coloured plate which forms the frontispiece represents the fresco of St. George and the Dragon from the English

Chapel of St. George. The author, who spent six years as consul in Rhodes, enjoyed the exceptional privilege of seeing and photographing the military buildings and fortifications in detail, and penetrating to many places forbidden to visitors. The numerous photographs which he reproduces are therefore of considerable interest. To these he has added a number of drawings, chiefly of coats of arms, which, as he says, are of historical value as indicating the date of the erection or repair of the walls that they adorn. Unfortunately the inaccuracy which he deplors in the accounts of his predecessors has, we have reason to suspect, occasionally infected his own pencil. Thus he gives the date 1405 on a slab on the facade of the Auberge de France, which is intimately connected with, if not by the same hand as, another slab with the shield of Pierre d'Aubusson as cardinal (therefore dating between 1489 and 1505). Again he gives 1407 in the inscription of the Grand Prior Gay de Blanchefort (who became Grand Master in 1512); and 1415 on a coat on St. Catherine's Hospital which not only is grouped with the shield of Fabrizio del Carretto (1513-1521) but reappears in another place with the date 1517, as given by the author himself on the next page but one. It seems fairly obvious—and the forms of numerals used confirm the suspicion—that the dates in question should be 1495, 1497, and 1515 respectively, and are either wrongly read by the author, or wrongly restored on the originals; in the latter case they should not be used as historical evidence. The text is intended primarily to describe the extant monuments, and their connexion with the life of their builders, not to give a new history of the Order. In spite of deficiencies of the kind indicated, the book is indispensable to anyone interested in the mediæval history of the island.

Guide to the Cairo Museum. By G. MASPERO. Translated by J. E. and A. A. QUIBELL. Fourth ed. Pp. viii + 551, 122 illustrations. Cairo: French Inst. of Oriental Archaeology, 1908. 4s.

The latest edition of Prof. Maspero's admirable general guide to the Cairo collections has been very carefully brought up to date; even the new group of Amenhotep II. under the protection of the serpent-goddess Mersegit, found at Karnak in August 1908, being included (Fig. 38, p. 143). This is a counterpart to the group of the same king under the protection of the cow-goddess Hathor, found at Deir el-Bahari, the temple on the opposite bank of the Nile, by Saville in 1906. This well-known group is also illustrated on p. 133 (Fig. 33), as it is now exhibited, with its chapel, in the Museum. Other new and comparatively new additions to the list of illustrations to the Guide, which give the reader a good idea of the great possibilities of Egyptian art when intelligently directed, are: Fig. 25, the head of the bronze statue of Pepi I. (VIth Dynasty) found at Hierakonpolis; Fig. 37, the squatting figure of the sage Amenhotep, son of Hapai, prime-minister of Amenhotep III., and deified with his master in Ptolemaic times (Fig. 37); and the wonderful portrait-head of the young Thutmose III., found by Legrain at Karnak (Fig. 32). The descriptions and illustrations of jewellery and treasure in the famous 'Jewel-Room' of the Museum (pp. 422 ff.) are interesting and important: Fig. 100, representing bracelets with the cartouche of Ramesses II., from the treasure found near Zagazig (Bubastis) in 1906, being especially noteworthy. It goes without saying that the wonderful discoveries of Mr. Theodore M. Davis in the Tombs of the Kings are described at length, with illustrations. M. Maspero's book is a work of literary finish and far more than a mere 'guide': he uses his well-known power of interesting his readers in what he is describing, with great effect, and his work has been faultlessly translated by Mr. and Mrs. Quibell. Being a guide, however, its price seems to me excessive, when compared with the British Museum Departmental guides at less than half the price. It may be granted that it contains much more matter than these, but on the other hand it has fewer illustrations than any one of the British Museum guides.

A Short Grammar of the Greek New Testament. By A. T. ROBERTSON. Pp. xxx+240. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1908. 6s. net.

This work aims at providing 'a New Testament Grammar not so elementary as Huddleston, Green, or Harper and Weidner, and yet not so minute and exhaustive as Winter, Blass, or Moulton.' The author, who gives a rather full bibliography, has evidently read widely, and makes use of the latest researches. He follows Deissmann in insisting on the connexion between the Greek of the New Testament and the general *usage* of the East, a connexion which, like Deissmann, he is perhaps inclined to exaggerate a little. His tendency to introduce irrelevant matter somewhat defeats the purpose of the volume. The jerky and disconnected style may be attributed to his desire for brevity; but if compression was his aim, it is difficult to see why he has introduced so much discussion of Sanskrit forms and general grammatical questions, in some cases of a rather elementary kind.

The Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of the Hunterian Museum in the University of Glasgow, by J. YOUNG and P. H. ARTHUR (pp. xi+566, Glasgow, Maclehose, 1908), besides several Latin translations of Greek classics by scholars of the Renaissance, contains a fair number of Greek MSS. These consist chiefly of service-books or grammatical and lexicographical works, but the following are to be noted:—46, Olympiodorus's Commentary on the *Phædo*, eighteenth century; 220, works on military engineering (Athenæus, Biton, Heron, Apollodorus, Philon Byzantius), sixteenth century; 293, Hesiod, fifteenth to sixteenth century; 324, Sophocles, Ajax and Electra, sixteenth century; 424, Plutarch's lives, A.D. 1348; and 45, a collation by an unknown author of a MS. of Julius Pollux's Vocabulary.

The following works have also been received:—

The Discoveries in Crete. By R. M. BURROWS. Third Edition. Pp. xviii+252. With 4 Plates. London: Murray, 1908. [This reprint, with additions dealing with the work up to September 1907, apparently does not differ materially from the edition of 1907.]

Dares-Studien. Von O. SCHÜSSEL VON FLESCHENBERG. Pp. cii+171. Halle a. S.: Max Niemeyer, 1908. 5 m. [The author endeavours to prove that the Greek Dares has been freely edited in the extant Latin version, which is not an epitome, but a redaction, not merely altered in details, but considerably enlarged.]

Die Rahmenerzählung in den ephesischen Geschichten des Xenophon von Ephesos. By O. SCHÜSSEL VON FLESCHENBERG. Pp. 66. Innsbruck: Wagner. 1 m. [The argument tends to prove that in L. I-II. 1 and V. 14-15 a narrative framework is contained, into which chronologically arranged stories are set, fitting into it with the help of the fact that one of the chief characters in each is identical with one of the characters in the framework.]

The Works of Aristotle translated into English. Ed. by W. D. ROSS and J. A. SUTRU. Vol. VIII. *Metaphysica*. Translated by W. D. ROSS. Pp. xv+from 980 to 1083. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908. [This is the largest instalment hitherto published of the invaluable Jowett Memorial translation of Aristotle, of which we have already noticed previous parts. The present translation takes the text of W. Christ as a basis, with occasional divergencies. Notes and Index.]

- The Fragments of Empedocles** translated into English. By W. E. LEONARD. Pp. vii+92. London: Kegan Paul, 1908. [The fragments arranged in the original Greek, each followed by blank verse translation. Introduction, bibliography, and notes.]
- Kaiser Julians Philosophische Werke.** Pp. viii+222. [Vol. 116 of R. Asmus' *Philosophische Bibliothek*.] Leipzig: Dietrich, 1908. [A useful translation, with very brief introduction and notes to each letter or speech.]
- The Judgment of Paris.** By the Hon. E. M. PLUNKETT. Pp. 199. With 14 Plates. London: Murray, 1908. 7s. 6d. net. [A study and explanation of the myth from an astronomical standpoint, which, it is to be feared, will be resigned by the mythologists to the astronomers and by the astronomers to the mythologists.]
- Baedeker's Greece.** Pp. cxvii+447. With 16 Maps, 30 Plans, 2 Diagrams, and 1 Panorama. Leipzig: Baedeker, 1909. 8 m. [Apparently translated direct from the German Edition of 1908, and without correction of the defects noted in *J.H.S.* Vol. XXVIII, p. 346.]
- La Dynamis et les Trois Ames.** Essai de Psychologie néo-Aristotélicienne. Par J. PAUL MILLIET. Pp. xiii+382. Paris: Sirey, 1908. [The connexion of this work with Hellenic Studies is remote, since it is mainly a discussion of modern theories in physics, biology, etc.]
- Hesiod: the Poems and Fragments done into English Prose, with Introduction and Appendices.** By A. W. MAIR. Pp. xivvi+174. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908. [A useful little volume by the Professor of Greek at Edinburgh University: the introduction deals with the Hesiodic Epos, Life of Hesiod, Poems ascribed to him; the Addenda with the Calendar and Agricultural Implements.]
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- MÉLANGES D'HISTOIRE ANCIENNE. [Bibliothèque de la Fac. d. Lettres de l'Univ. de Paris, XXV.] Paris: Alcan, 1909. 12 fr. 50.
- MUSÉES IMPÉRIALES OTTOMANES. Catalogue des figurines grecques de terre cuite. [Par G. Mendel.] Constantinople: Ahmed Ihsan, 1908. 15 l.
- OFFICIEN D'APAMÉE. *La Chasse.* Ed. P. Boudreaux. Paris: Champion, 1908.
- PETTAZZONI (R.). *Le origini dei Kabiri nelle Isole del Mar Tracio.* Rome [Accad. dei Lincei], 1909.
- PLATO. *Euthyphro*, ed. by St. George Stock. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1909. 2s. 6d.
- PLATO. *Staat. Darstellung des Inhaltes*, von C. Ritter. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1909. 4 M. 50.
- ROIRON (F. X. M. J.). *Étude sur l'Imagination auditive de Vergile.* Paris: Leroux, 1908.
- . *Κατὰ καὶ Ἐξηγητικὰ περὶ τριῶν Οἰεργαλίων στίχων.* Paris: Leroux, 1908.
- WALDSTEIN (C.) and SHOOKRIDGE (L.). *Herculaneum.* London: Macmillan, 1908. 21s.

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SOME RECENT ACQUISITIONS OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

THE objects described in this article have for the most part been acquired by the Trustees of the British Museum in the course of the last four years through Sir Cecil Smith, late Keeper of the Department of



FIG. 1.—MARBLE HEAD OF A YOUTH.

Greek and Roman Antiquities. Sir Cecil Smith has kindly given his assent to their publication, and Mr. Arthur Smith, the present Keeper, has added his permission.

I.—*Marble.*

1. **Head of a Youth**, turned slightly to his r. (Fig. 1, *a* and *b*). The head, which has been broken from a statue, was put together in two pieces. The upper portion, which was fastened obliquely to the lower by means of

two dowels, is wanting.¹ Small portions have been broken away from the middle of the nose, the part below the r. eye, and the under lip. Ht. 20 cm. From Apollonia in Illyricum.

The head is distinctly Polykleitan in character, especially in its square and massive proportions. It corresponds in almost every detail to the head of the 'Westmacott' youth,² a statue almost certainly to be connected with the Polykleitan school of athletic sculpture. There can be no doubt that both this and the 'Westmacott' head are copies of the same original, which was almost certainly a work of Polykleitos. Other heads which may be compared with the present are the Philip Nelson head (*J.H.S.* xviii. Pl. XI. p. 141; Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler*, 544) and that of the Dresden Diadumenos (Furtwängler, *Meisternwerke*, Pl. XXV.). The head may be



FIG. 2.—MARBLE CAPITAL OF A PILASTER.

dated to the closing years of the fifth century B.C., and, if this dating is correct, is practically a contemporary copy. The 'Westmacott' statue is probably a later and rather an inferior copy.

2. **Capital of a Pilaster** (Fig. 2).—Ht. 34.3 cm.; width, 43 cm.; greatest thickness, 9 cm.

In the middle is a sculptured group of Leda and the swan. Leda, seen from behind, moves to r., at the same time raising her r. hand to throw a stone at the swan, which has seized her drapery. Her head is turned right back to her l., and with her l. hand she tries to repel the swan.

¹ Cf. the head figured in *Bonn. Mit.* cxii. Pl. V. VI.

² *B. M. Cat. of Sculpture*, III. 1754; Brunn-

Bruckmann, *Denkmäler*, 40. This close correspondence was first pointed out by Mr. Arthur Smith.

A coin of Severus Alexander, struck at Nicomedia, has on the reverse a design (Fig. 3),^a which shows that this unusual representation of Leda and the swan must have been copied from a sculptured group in the round. The same group is seen on the coin, but viewed from the front instead of the back. The capital is probably of much the same date as the coin (early third century A.D.). There can be little doubt that the original sculptured group was set up at Nicomedia.



FIG. 3.—COIN
OF SEVERUS
ALEXANDER.

3. **Disk** (Fig. 4), bevelled at the edge on both sides. Slightly damaged in one place near the edge, otherwise intact. Diam. 27 cm.; greatest thickness, ca. 3.5 cm. From Athens.

Near the edge of the disk runs an inscription in Attic characters, arranged in the form of a spiral:

Γνάθωνος : τόδε σῆμα : βέτο δ' αὐτόν : ἀδελφῇ : ἡλίθιον : νοσηλεύσα : σα.
'This is the tomb of Gnathon. His sister laid him to rest, having nursed him in vain.'



FIG. 4.—MARBLE INSCRIBED DISK.

An attempt has been made to write in hexameter verse, but the first line is a foot short. The form *ἡλίθιον* for *ἡλίθιοι* is noteworthy.

A marble disk of a similar character has been published in *Jahrb. d. arch. Inst.* xii. Pl. I. (Fig. 5).^a It was found at the Peiræus, and is of exactly the

^a See *Arch. Zeit.* 1869, Pl. XXIII. No. 14. The figure given above is drawn from a cast kindly supplied by Herr Begling.

^a See also *L.G.* i. Suppl. p. 163, 422¹⁴; Roberts and Gardner, *Grec. & Epigraph.* ii. 175, pp. 431 f.

same diameter as the present disk. It had been fastened, probably for a purpose not connected with its original use, to some foundation by means of two iron nails driven through holes bored near the centre of the disk. Painted on it is the portrait of a bearded man seated in a chair; above, near the edge, is an inscription in Attic characters and hexameter verse:

Μνῆμα τὸδ' Αἰνείου σοφίας ἱατροῦ ἀρίστου.

'This is the memorial of the wise Aeneias, the excellent physician.'

The forms of the letters indicate that this inscription, which may be dated at about 530 B.C., is slightly later than that on the British Museum disk. The latter has the retrograde form of sigma, which shows that it



FIG. 5.—PAINTED MARBLE DISK.
(Reproduced from *Jahrb. d. arch. Inst.*)

belongs to the transition period from the retrograde to the later form of writing (about 550 B.C.).⁵

These disks were evidently used in close connection with a tomb. It seems most likely that they served to close an opening through which offerings might be passed into the tomb-chamber. They may possibly, however, have served as the covering of a funeral urn.⁶ In any case their rarity makes it probable that their use was confined to a comparatively short period in the sixth century B.C.

⁵ The inscription on the tombstone of Phrakleia (*I.G.* I. 409 and *ibid.*) is of about the same date, with the same form of sigma.

⁶ For a curious mediæval parallel, see the

inscribed lead cover of a twelfth century vase used to hold relics, figured in Cabrol, *Dict. Arch. Arch.*, s.v. *Frankens*, p. 1133, Fig. 1617.

4. **Chest**, standing on four low legs (Fig. 6). Between each pair of legs at the ends of the chest is a triangular projection. On the front is sculptured a lock-plate. The chest has a movable cover in the form of a gable-roof, on the front sloping face of which is an inscription in letters of about 1·4 cm. high.

ΕΠΙΕΡΕΩΣ ΠΑΝΦΙΛΟΥ ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩ
ΡΟΣ ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΥ ΠΕΡΙΠΑΝΤΗΣ

Ἐπὶ ἱερῶς Πανφίλου, Μητρόδωρος Ἀρτεμίδωρου περιπάντης.

* In the year that Panphilos was priest, Metrodoros, the son of Artemidoros, a "Sprinkler". Ht. 24 cm.; l. 40·5 cm.; said to have been excavated amid the ruins of the temple of Cybele at Sardes.



FIG. 6.—MARBLE INSCRIBED CHEST.

The chest contained the ashes of Metrodoros, a 'Sprinkler.' The word *περιπάντης*, which indicates that Metrodoros had the duty of sprinkling lustral water in the temple of Cybele, is apparently a new one. The word *περιπαντήμιον*, however, occurs in inscriptions from Delphi⁷ in the sense of a vessel used for lustral purposes. The form of the letters points to a date in the first century B.C. The importance attached to lustration with temple-water is illustrated by the action of the Superstitious Man in the Characters of Theophrastus, who is scrupulous in sprinkling himself with water from a temple.⁸ It may be noted that the names Metrodoros and Artemidoros are of frequent occurrence in Lydia.⁹

⁷ See, e.g., *B.C.H.* xxi. p. 483.

⁸ Theophr. xxi. (xxviii. ed. Jebb): ἡ δὲ δαίμων βαλὼν τοιοῦτός τις ἀλλοτρίῃ κρήνῃ περιπαλύνει τὰς χεῖρας καὶ περιπαλύνει ἀπὸ λεγού . . .

⁹ *περιπαντήμιον*.

⁹ See *B.M. Catalogue of Lydia*, Index IV. B. and IV. C.

II.—*Bronze, etc.*

1. **Statuette of Apollo**, standing with l. foot advanced (Fig. 7. a and b). Hl. 12.4 cm.

The figure is nude except for a garment falling in a broad mass down the back as far as the waist; at the shoulders it parts into two broad pleated bands, which cover the front of the body on each side as far as the waist. The back of the garment has a series of stars incised in it, representing embroidery; the bottom edges of the front bands are incised with a zigzag line between straight lines. The hair is arranged in three



FIG. 7.—BRONZE STATUETTE OF APOLLO.

rows of formal curls over the forehead; and falls behind in a thick broad mass, confined at the extremity. The r. hand grasps a pair of goat's horns. Up the left thigh and over the buttock runs an inscription:

ΓΑΝΥΑΡΙΔΑΣ ΤΟΠΟΛΟΝ Γανυαρίδας τοπόλλων.

The statuette, as the inscription shows, is of Boeotian origin, and may be dated at about 550 B.C. The letters indicate a transitional stage from the retrograde style of writing. The name Ganyaridas is apparently new.

The type of Apollo holding goat's horns is rare. It occurs on coins of

Tylissos in Crete in the fourth century B.C., where Apollo is represented with a goat's head in his r. hand and a bow in his l. (Fig. 8). He is doubtless portrayed in his character of hunter-god.¹⁰



FIG. 8.—COIN OF TYLISSOS.

2. Series of silver-plated bronze **horse-trappings**, from a tomb at Elis, consisting of the following:—

(a) Concave bronze **disk** (Fig. 9), with three engraved circles near the rim. There are considerable remains of silvering. Within the disk was soldered a relief (now detached) representing the head of a bearded man to front, wearing a Phrygian cap. The eyes and mouth are pierced. The tip of



FIG. 9.—THREE BRONZE DISKS FROM A HORSE'S HARNESS.

the nose is damaged, apparently by a nail which has passed through the back of the disk. The latter has distinct traces of a circular attachment behind it. Diam. 10 cm.

¹⁰ See *B.M. Coins of Crete*, Pl. XIX, 15.

(b) Similar **disk**, but rather smaller, with the head of a youthful satyr to front in relief (Fig. 9). Pointed ears; eyes and mouth pierced. Round the neck are perhaps the knotted ends of a fawnskin. There are traces of a circular attachment at the back as before. Diam. 8.1 cm.

(c) Similar **disk**, with the head of a bearded satyr to front in relief (Fig. 9). Pointed ears; eyes pierced. The nose and mouth are damaged. Traces of a circular attachment at the back as before. Diam. 9 cm.



FIG. 10.—BRONZE PLAQUE WITH
CHARIOT GROUP.
(Background restored in plaster.)



FIG. 11.—BRONZE PLAQUE
WITH FIGURE OF
AMAZON.

(d) Part of pointed-oval bronze **plaque**, concavo-convex (Fig. 10). On it is a relief of a chariot and four horses driven to the front. The horses are represented at full gallop, with their front legs high in the air. These front legs and the heads are in the round; the reins and collars are attached separately. The chariot has two occupants. On the l. is a bearded man wearing a Phrygian cap and close-fitting sleeved jerkin (the driver); on the r. is a woman, wearing helmet and cuirass, and holding a spear over her l.

shoulder. It might be suggested that Pelops and Hippodameia are represented, but for the fact that the woman is armed. The top and most of the lower part of the plaque (except the bodies of the two horses on the r.) have been broken away. The total height of the plaque was originally about 18 cm., its greatest width about 8 cm.

(e) Fragmentary bronze **plaque** of oblong form, with slight traces of silver-plating (Fig. 11). The sides are incurved. Embossed upon it in high relief is the figure of an Amazon, standing to front, with head slightly inclined to her l. She wears a winged helmet in the form of a Phrygian cap, a thin chiton girt at the waist, a chlamys fastened with a circular brooch in front, and winged boots. With her l. hand she grasps axe and bow. A band for the support of her quiver passes over her r. shoulder and under her l. breast. Original height, about 16.5 cm.



FIG. 12.—BRONZE LUNATE ORNAMENT.

(f) Bronze **lunate ornament** (Fig. 12), concavo-convex, with acanthus and honeysuckle ornament embossed upon it; on each side of the central ornament is a large lily. At the back are traces of studs for fastening the crescent to a foundation, probably of leather. Width, 11.5 cm.

The six ornaments described above were found together. Objects of a similar character have been discovered in tombs in South Russia under circumstances which show that they served to decorate horse-harness. In a tomb at Alexandropol the skeletons of horses were found with the remains of their bridles.¹¹ In one case the four points, where the straps of the bridle crossed one another at the sides of the horse's head, were ornamented with a bronze disk (similar to *a-c* above), decorated with the relief of an Amazon on horseback. The strap along the front of the head was ornamented with a disk with a bust of Athena in relief and with a pointed-oval plaque (similar to *d* above), decorated with a standing figure of Athena. On each side of the head, near the eyes, was an oblong plaque (corresponding to *e*), with the

¹¹ *Recueil d'Antiquités de la Sibirie*, 1866, p. 18 ff., PL. XIV.

figure of a Gryphon in relief. It seems likely therefore that the tomb at Elis contained originally eight plaques—five round, two oblong, and one pointed-oval—attached to the leather straps of a bridle in positions similar to those occupied by the Alexandropol ornaments. The Greek term for *a-c* was probably *φάλαρον*, for *δ*, *προμετωπίδιον*, for *ε*, *παραγυθίδιον*. Ornaments of a precisely similar character were found in a tomb at Kertch with the skeletons of four horses.¹² Each horse must in this case have been decorated with five circular plaques, and one pointed-oval ornament. The subjects of the reliefs are here combats between Greeks and Amazons. The arrangement of these *φάλαρα* is clearly seen on certain monuments, notably the horse from the Mausoleum,¹³ and the Alexander mosaic, where one horse wears a *προμετωπίδιον* of exactly the same form as those above mentioned.¹⁴

The lunate ornament (*f*) has its parallel in the crescent found with the *φάλαρα* in the tomb at Kertch.¹⁵ The frequent use of the crescent in connection with horse harness and the apotropaic significance of the same are illustrated by Stephani in the volume of the St. Petersburg *Comptes Rendus* cited below. In the present instance the crescent did not hang free, but was fixed with the horns pointing upwards.

The South Russian ornaments are of the fourth century B.C. The style of those here described points to a date about the close of that century. The preference shown for figures of Amazons and subjects connected with horses in all these groups of *φάλαρα* is worth noting.



FIG. 12.—SILVER-GILT PLAQUE
REPRESENTING HELIOS.

3. Silver-gilt **disk** (Fig. 13). This is also from a tomb at Elis, though not (as is said) from the same tomb as the foregoing. Diam. 6.2 cm.

The embossed design represents Helios driving his four-horse chariot above the horizon of the sea, which is indicated by two plunging dolphins. This disk, as the preceding, is concave-convex. There can be little doubt that it too decorated part of a horse's harness.

Among the Alexandropol ornaments were two small silver-plated bronze disks attached to the extremities of the bit, each with the bust of a woman in relief. The present disk (again, it may be noted, ornamented with a subject connected with horses) may have occupied a similar position. Date about 300 B.C. An exactly similar disk has been published by Pollak, *Goldschmiedentum*, Pl. XX. 533.

¹² *Compte Rendu de la Comm. Imp.*, 1865, p. 164 ff., Pl. V. 3-6.

¹³ Newton, *Travels in the Levant*, II, pp. 111, 113.

¹⁴ *Mus. Berol.* VIII, Pl. 38-44 (Esp. Pl. 38).

Of. also Pernice, *Griech. Pferdegeschirr*, p. 29. The British Museum has another bronze *epoietaxidion* of unknown provenance, with a design representing a demon grasping serpents.

¹⁵ *Compte Rendu*, 1865, p. 180, Pl. V. 8.

4. Bronze **mirror** with cover, also from a tomb at Elis (Fig. 14). Diam. 19.5 cm.

The mirror is set on a raised rim; its underside, as well as its upper side, was silvered, and is decorated with a series of concentric engraved circles. The cover fits into a sunk rim round the mirror. It too bears traces of silvering and is decorated with incised circles. Soldered to it is a relief, beaten up out of thin bronze, representing a Greek and an Amazon in combat. The bearded Greek has fallen on his r. knee. His r. hand grasps a short sword (preserved in the form of a bronze rod, but not shown in the photograph), his l. raises his circular shield to ward off the downstroke



FIG. 14.—BRONZE MIRROR-COVER.

of the Amazon. He wears a crested helmet in the form of a Phrygian cap; a chlamys is flung over his l. arm. The ends of the *ἐχάτωρ* of the shield are in the form of incised palmettes, and the edge-straps are indicated by engraving. The Amazon springs aside to her l. in order to deliver a down-blow with her axe (*?*) (now missing), her r. leg crossing behind the Greek's left leg, and making an effective balance.¹⁶ She wears a short chiton, a fawnskin, knotted by the fore-legs over her left shoulder, and a chlamys which flies back from over her l. arm. One of the hind-feet of the fawn falls between her legs, and the skin of the head is caught in by her belt. The

¹⁶ Cf. *Arch. Zeit.* 1876, p. 8 ff., Pl. 1, a of the present. See also *Mon. dell' Inst.* ix, composition which is almost an exact reverse Pl. XXXI. 1.

ground is indicated beneath the figures. Immediately below the relief is a small handle for raising the cover.

The style indicates a date in the latter part of the fourth century a.c.

5. Bronze **arm of a couch**, decorated with three figures in relief, cast hollow (Fig. 15). Ht. 33.3 cm.

The figures represent: (a) above, a bust of Athena, draped, with crested helmet; (b) in the middle, Dionysos reclining on a rock (*?*), over which his drapery is spread. He is sleeping, with his head inclined over his l. shoulder. His r. hand holds a kantharos with tall stem; on his head is a wreath of ivy-leaves and berries. (c) Below, bust of Hera, draped, wearing stephane and veil over the back of her head. Three holes are pierced in the arm for its attachment to a wooden frame.

This arm is exactly similar in form to one found in a South Russian tomb on the Taman peninsula opposite Kertch,¹⁷ which can be dated to the middle



FIG. 15.—BRONZE ARM OF A COUCH.

of the third century a.c. Though the design on the South Russian arm is finer than that of the present example, it is unlikely, in view of the similarity of form, that there is much difference in date between them. The arms of a couch of the second century a.c. from Priene¹⁸ have their middle part open and undecorated, as do later examples from Boscoreale¹⁹ and Pompeii.²⁰ It seems probable therefore that there was a change of style in respect of these arms between the third and second centuries a.c.

¹⁷ *Comptes Rendus*, 1880, p. 92 ff., Pl. IV, 10; Wingand, *Priene*, p. 380.

cf. Ransom, *Couches*, p. 30, n. 5.

¹⁸ *Jahrb. d. arch. Inst.* 1902, p. 124, Fig. 11.

¹⁹ *Jahrb. d. arch. Inst.* 1900, p. 178, Fig. 1.

²⁰ *Cod. Bezae*, Pl. V, 23, 24.

6. Bronze **statuette of a young negro** on antique base (Fig. 10). From Perugia. Ht. of figure, 23·2 cm.; of base, 12·4 cm. Presented to the Museum by Mr. W. C. Alexander through the National Art-Collections Fund.

The young negro, who is of slender proportions, stands with his l. leg advanced. The r. leg is drawn back, with the toes only touching the ground. He is infibulated. The r. arm is bent at the elbow, and the hand rests upon the thigh; the l. arm is raised, with the hand turned palm-upwards. It has supported an object, which has apparently been deliberately cut away. A small portion of the object remains, however, between the thumb and fore-finger, and the shape suggests that it was a shallow bowl. The wrist has a small circular bronze plug inserted in it, but this has served to remedy defective casting, not to secure the object held in the hand. The attitude of the figure is that of a cup-bearer² or a lamp-bearer, and of the two alternatives the lamp seems more probable. The hair is in long locks ending in curls; the pupils of the eyes are incised.

The antique circular base has slight sinkings into which the feet have been soldered. The upper rim is ornamented with a circle of beaded pattern above an egg-moulding. It rests on three supports in the forms of lions' paws, which spring from double volutes.

The figure is in almost perfect condition. The left foot, however, has been broken away, and is restored. The surface is covered uniformly with an extraordinarily fine light green patina. The patina of the base, though fine, is a trifle duller and greyer.

As regards the attitude, the figure may be compared with a bronze



FIG. 10.—BRONZE STATUETTE OF A NEGRO.

² Cf. Babelon et Blanchet, *Brasses ant. de la Bibliothèque Nat.*, No. 373.

statuette in the Musée de St. Germain,²² and a terracotta statuette from Myrina.²³ Negro slaves, though not unknown in Greece at a comparatively early period,²⁴ must have become especially common at Alexandria under the Ptolemies. From thence the fashion passed to Rome. Indian and negro cup-bearers are mentioned by Horace²⁵ and Juvenal²⁶ respectively. On grounds of style, and more especially in view of the form of the base, the present bronze may be dated to the first century B.C., or early first century A.D. It might not inaptly be taken as a representation of one of those young Ethiopian lamp-bearers whom Cleopatra gave to her departing guests.²⁷

III.—*Terracotta.*

Food-warmer in form of a shrine (Fig. 17). Ht 28.5 cm. From a tomb at Olbia on the Black Sea.

The building is divided into an upper and a lower chamber respectively



FIG. 17.—TERRACOTTA FOOD-WARMER IN FORM OF A SHRINE.

by means of a floor, pierced with numerous holes, which is placed on the level of the top of the rectangular doorway underneath. The upper part of the building is of smaller diameter than the lower, and is surrounded by

²² Reinach, *Mus. de St. Germain*, p. 212, No. 198.

²³ Potier et Reinach, *Myrina*, Pl. XLVI. 2, p. 473 f.

²⁴ In Theophr. *Char.* xxi. (vii. ed. Jebb) it is a mark of the Man of Petty Ambition that *αλεξ*

δ' ἀνδραγαθὸς Αἰθίοψ ἵσταται.

²⁵ *Sat.* ii. 8. 12 ff.

²⁶ *V.* 52 f.

²⁷ *Athen.* 148 B: *παῖς δὲ λαμπροφόρος κούρας Αἰθίας παρέσχετο*.

four fluted half columns placed at equal intervals on the narrow ledge which runs round it. In the arched entrance of this upper chamber was found a terracotta figure of an actor in female costume, wearing a closely fitting sleeved jerkin (coloured red), a chiton (blue), and a himation. The head-dress, which ends in a top-knot in front, is yellow. The r. arm is flung across the breast, as in an attitude of grief.²⁸ The upper part of the building has in it three narrow vertical openings at equidistant points, and is closed at the top by a movable circular bowl with a wide rim on which is an impressed olive-branch decoration; the bowl has two small loop-shaped handles.

This terracotta probably belongs to a series which are in the form of buildings and have served to hold lamps. One from Cyprus, which has a lamp fixed within it, is in the form of a temple with a gabled roof.²⁹ Another is supposed to represent the Pharos of Alexandria.³⁰ The present example shows that they were used for heating as well as for lighting purposes. The upper chamber must have held a lamp for warming some fluid contained in the movable bowl above. The figure of the actor seems to be purely decorative, but there may be a reminiscence of a play similar to that of the Ion of Euripides, in which a temple forms a prominent feature of the scene. The terracotta belongs to the Græco-Roman period.

IV.—Miscellaneous.

1. Pair of hollow gold **reels** (Fig. 18). Diam. 1·6 cm. From Rhodes.

On one side is embossed a head of Helios, on the other is a series of concentric circles in relief with a small rosette in the middle, the petals of which have been filled with enamel.

The British Museum possesses other reels of a similar character. The



FIG. 18.—PAIR OF GOLD REELS.
(Slightly enlarged.)

most interesting is one from Kamiros in Rhodes, with an embossed design on each side, representing respectively, Eros turning a magic wheel and a Nereid on a dolphin carrying a helmet.³¹ Similar reels have been discovered in Cyprus, where they are said always to have been found in pairs, and

²⁸ Cf. *B.M. Cat. of Terracottas*, C 5, Pl. XXXIV., a figure closely resembling the present.

²⁹ *Cassola, Atlas*, I. Pl. XV. 19.

³⁰ *Thiersch, Pharos*, p. 14, Fig. 2.

³¹ *Torr, Rhodes in Ancient Times*, Pl. I., A, a, b, p. 116; *Miss Hulton, Græc. Terracotta Statuettes*, p. 73, Fig. 23.

always in the tombs of women.²² In some cases the centres of the reels are pierced, apparently with a view to their being turned on a pivot. The most obvious explanation of their use is that they were employed by



FIGS. 19, 20.—SEALS WITH BUSTS OF HADRIAN.

wealthy ladies for the winding of silk. The head of the Sun-god should be compared with that on coins of Rhodes of the fourth century B.C.,²³ to which century these reels probably belong.

2. Two silver **seals**, probably from the bezels of rings.

(a) Bust of Hadrian, wearing wreath and diadem (Fig. 19). Inscribed: ΚΑΛΙΠΠΟΣ ΑΡΧΩΝ ΑΔΡΙ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ. *Kalippos archon Adri(anoû) Kaisaros.*²⁴ L. 2.9 cm.



FIG. 21.—AMETHYST
INTAGLIO OF
CONSTANTINE II. (V).

(b) Bust of Hadrian, wearing wreath and diadem (Fig. 20). Inscribed: ΚΛΕΩΝ ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΥ ΠΑΡΑΦΥΛΛΑΞ. *Kléon Artemidôrou parafulax.*²⁵ L. 2.7 cm.

These seals evidently belonged to officials acting under Hadrian. Kal(l)ippos was probably archon at Athens. Kleon was a παραφύλαξ, a term apparently unknown hitherto as an official title. The British Museum has, however, acquired quite recently a lead weight, which is inscribed on one side ΛΕΙΠΤΡΑ, on the other ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΠΑΡΑΦΥΛΛΑΚΟΣ. *Δημητρίου παραφύλακος.* It is very probable, therefore, that παραφύλαξ was used in a special sense to denote a warden of weight-standards.

3. **Amethyst intaglio** (Fig. 21), strongly convex. Formerly in the Carlsle Coll. L. 3.3 cm.

The engraving represents the bust of an Emperor in profile, wearing diadem and cuirass. A small chip is broken from the stone between the lips.

²² Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Ägypten*, etc., Pl. XXXIII. 19, II, p. 368.

²³ E.g. *B.M. Coins of Caria*, Pl. XXXVI. 11.

²⁴ *B.M. Cat. of Rings*, No. 1647.

²⁵ This seal has been in the Museum since 1851, but has only recently received attention.

The portraits of the Emperors of the fourth century after Christ, to which period this intaglio belongs, are not easily distinguished from one another. A comparison with coins, however, makes it probable that Constantine II. (Emperor, 353-361 A.D.) is represented.³⁰

F. H. MARSHALL.

³⁰ See Maurice, *Nouv. Constantinien*, i. Pls. XIII. XIV.

THREE NEW FRAGMENTS OF ATTIC TREASURE-RECORDS.

THE three inscriptions included in this paper belong to the well-known class of records containing the lists of sacred objects dedicated in the Parthenon during the fifth and fourth centuries. None of them sheds any new light on the difficult problems connected with the exact history of the various changes of the *regime* under which these records were drawn up. The best authority on these points after 400 is Lehner's treatise *Über die athenischen Schatzverzeichnisse des vierten Jahrhunderts*.¹ To this work constant references are made in this paper in connexion with the second and third inscriptions contained in it, which give us several new items of interest and enable us to fill conclusively some of the many *lacunae* in these lists. The first fragment belongs to the period previous to the year 405/4, when a change was made in the organization of the treasurers who drew up these lists, which does not concern us here. Though the fragment is insignificant in appearance, so well are we acquainted with the details of this earlier class of records, thanks mainly to Boeckh,² that we can tell exactly to what year it belongs and what precise position it occupied in the slab of which it was originally a part: it has the further interest of enabling us to restore confidently the one *lacuna* in these records, namely, the weight of one item,³ which was hitherto the only thing lacking from a complete text of the objects and their respective weights contained at the period in the Parthenon. I am much indebted to Dr. Leonardos, Ephor of the Epigraphical Museum, for his kind permission to publish these three stones.

1. Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides. Height of inscribed face .12, breadth .19, thickness .12. Letters .01 high: space between lines .007. Found on the Acropolis, now in Epigraphical Museum (No. 361 in Lolling's inventory).

'ΑΔΔΓΗΗ
 ... ΠΛΥΡΟΝ
 ΥΞΟΝΞΤΑ ΥΕΞΔΙΗ
 ΕΛΕΞΚΑΤΑΧΡΥΣΟΣ
 ... ΤΟΜΕΛΡΥ
 ... Η

The writing shows us that this comes from some fifth-century Attic inscription, and before proceeding to restoration it may be remarked that

¹ Strauburg, 1899.

² See his *Verwaltung der Athener*,
vol. II, pp. 121 foll.

³ Two silver-gilt studs, whose weight was 184 drachmae.

it is clearly a fragment of some list of sacred objects. We may easily restore --{pa}c ἀργυρῶν σ-- in l. 2, --χ}ρῶσαν, σταλ}χ}ves ΔΙΙΚ-- in l. 3, and something --ἐπὶ στ]λες κατὰχρῶσαν in l. 4. The *traditiones rerum sacrarum* which date from the fifth century are contained in the Corpus, *I.G.* i. 117-176, and on referring to these inscriptions it will be seen that the objects mentioned in our fragment are to be found in the records of the objects contained in the Parthenon (*I.G.* i. 161-175).¹ Thanks to the labours of Kirchhoff and Boeckh we possess reconstructed texts of the records of the *traditiones* of the Parthenon from 434/3 (Ol. 86, 3) onwards down to 411/10 with the exception of those from 430/29-423/2 inclusive. Consequently we can easily restore the items contained in our fragment, as will be seen below. We learn incidentally that it belongs to a stone which had 78 letters in each line, written στοιχῶδῶς. Now this fact proves that it cannot be part of any of the still defective stones numbered 161-168 in the Corpus, as they do not contain more than 73 letters to the line. But the stone on which Nos. 170-173 were engraved contained 78 letters according to the accepted restoration of the first three of these inscriptions: No. 173, owing to lack of space, is written in much smaller letters, so compressed that it is only fourteen lines long, whereas No. 170 had 23 lines. To the upper part, therefore, of this stone we must look for the original position of our fragment, if we assume, as I think we may, that it is not a sole survivor from one of the lost records belonging to the period 429-423. The size of the letters and the distances between the lines which are identical here and in Nos. 170, 171, and 172, so far as those in the latter are preserved, leave no doubt that this assumption is correct. We may proceed to eliminate No. 172 as a possible place to fit our fragment, as it already contains intact some of the items recorded here. Our choice then lies between Nos. 170 and 171. The stone containing the larger part of the former has not been seen since it was copied by Stuart in the eighteenth century. Boeckh, who published it in the original Corpus,² and Kirchhoff,³ both thought that it was among the Elgin marbles in the British Museum, where, however, it is not to be found.⁴ If it had remained in Athens and been broken up, this might be supposed to be a fragment of it, but the internal evidence points against this conclusion. For in Stuart's copy we see that in l. 8 he leaves three blank spaces before the figures + + +, whereas the new fragment plainly shows ΔΔΔ, and in l. 10 he saw the χ in the word ΣΤΑΧΥΕΣ which is no longer legible here, and failed to see the second ι of the sum after that word. It is almost incredible that he could have copied the invisible χ and failed to read the plain ΔΔΔ two lines above, and the equally plain ι, where he only gives ι.

Thus we are left with the conclusion that our fragment belongs to *I.G.* i. 171, the date of which is 421/0 B.C. The first four lines are lost as they are on the vanished stone just alluded to, and all the latter part is also

¹ See also *I.G.* i. Suppl. p. 29, for new fragments of Nos. 161 and 165.

² *C.I.G.* 139.

³ *I.G.* i. loc. cit.

⁴ As is pointed out in the catalogue of *Inscriptions in the B.M.* No. XXVII, note 1.

missing, so we have no chance of making a join. By following the restoration of the beginning of *IG. i. 171*, and the exact order of the objects in *IG. i. 170* we see the place originally occupied by our fragment, as shown below. It gives us portions of ll. 7-12, from the 21st to the 35th letters in those lines, at its longest part. It must be noticed that, in order to preserve the *στοιχιδόν* arrangement, I have moved the letters *ΑΡΧΟ* in l. 3 of *IG. i. 171* one place to the right, bringing the *Α* under the second *Α* in the word *παρέδοσαν* in the previous line. Stuart's copy is full of inaccuracies in these four lines, owing to the broken edge of the stone occurring just below, and it is far from unlikely that he misplaced these four letters. For in the position assigned them by him there is one space too few for the letters which intervene between the letters *ΑΜ*] *ΜΑΤΕ* at the beginning of the line and those in question, the restoration - -] *αμμάτε*[*σε Εύφιλέτοι Κεφισαίη και χων*] *ἀρχο*[*σι* - - being certain, as is also that of the rest of the line, as given below. It is, however, equally permissible to suppose that the letters preserved at the beginning of the line are one space too far to the right, and that the *Α* should be the last letter of l. 2, which has otherwise one letter too few. This is not unlikely to have occurred, as a letter might easily be omitted at the end of the line. But the point is not of the first importance, as there can be no doubt as to the contents of these opening lines.

Now that we see where our fragment belongs, let us turn to the information it gives us. It has been pointed out above that, in the line which proves that the stone does not belong to *IG. i. 170*, we have the figures [H]. *ΔΔΔ*†††[†]. The figure before the first *Δ* is not quite certain, though it is clearly not *Δ*; our choice is restricted to H and P, which would give a total of either 234 or 184. The *haste* which is visible in the squeeze does not reach down to the level of the bottom of the *Δ* which we may take to be the line; and there is no trace of a cross stroke visible which would confirm the reading as H, even under a glass. We may then adopt the reading P as almost indubitable, and it is made practically certain if we remember that the small *Δ* inside the P would be engraved more faintly than the larger strokes, and therefore be the more likely to disappear when the stone got worn or weathered. We can thus emend Stuart's figures H1... †††† to P^ΔΔΔ††††, and, as his copy has hitherto been the only authority we have had for the weight of these objects, we can now fill a long-standing gap in these records.

The reading at the end of l. 3, where we see that the number of *στάχυνες* was Δ11, confirms that of the new fragment of *IG. i. 165* (published in *IG. i. Suppl. p. 29*). Stuart's copy of *IG. i. 170* gave the number as Δ1, and this was generally accepted, being the only authority for the number of these objects, until the publication of the fragment just alluded to, which left no doubt that it was Δ11.

To show the position originally occupied by our new fragment in *IG. i. 171*, I transcribe the first twelve lines; parts of the first four are preserved in Stuart's copy and a few letters are visible at the bottom of

2. Fragment of Pentelic marble, complete only on left. Height .36; breadth .22; thickness ca. .20. Letters .008 high, *στραχηδόν*. In Epigraphical Museum, unnumbered.

	Δ Ι
	Δ Η Ι
	Δ Ο Ξ Φ Ρ
	Ξ Μ Ω Ν Α Ν
5	Υ Ο Α Ν Α Μ Α
	Δ Μ Ξ Τ Α Θ Μ Ο Ι
	Ρ Ε Ε Κ Τ Α Ι Φ Ω Κ
	Μ Μ Ε Ι Ρ Τ Α Ξ Τ Α Σ
	Ρ Α Γ Ι Ξ Ξ Α Ρ Δ Ι Ο Ν
10	Ι Ω Ι Ε Ν Δ Ε Δ Ε Μ Ε Ν Η Ε
	Α Μ Μ Α Τ Ι Ρ Δ Ρ Ξ Α Α Α Β
	Ξ Κ Α Ι Α Κ Μ Ο Ν Ι Ξ Κ Ο Ι Ε
	Ι Δ Η Μ Θ Ξ Ι Α Ι Ξ Φ Ρ Α Γ Ι Λ
	Ε Ξ Η Μ Α Ν Τ Α Ι Υ Δ Ρ Ι Α Ι Σ
15	Μ Ι Α Α Ν Ε Υ Ε Ρ Ι Θ Η Μ Α Τ Ο
	Κ Ι Α Ξ Α Ι Υ Ρ Ο Ξ Υ Α Α Κ Α
	Ε Ρ Ρ Ω Μ Α Α Ρ Γ Υ Ρ Ο Ν Κ Α
	Η Λ Ο Ι Χ Α Α Κ Ο Ι Ε Ρ Α Ρ Γ Α
	Χ Ρ Υ Ξ Ο Ι Δ Δ Δ Δ Ρ Ρ Ο Τ
20	Η Ξ Ε Ρ Ι Θ Υ Ρ Ι Ο Ι
	Ι Η Η Ξ

The surface is much worn and discoloured, but every letter is legible in a good light except in the last line; here the first two letters which are preserved are very faint, but in the light of the restorations which will be given below there can be no doubt that they were ΗΗ. The writing is typical of the early fourth century and presents no orthographical peculiarities. Ο for ΟΥ in l. 17 is usual at this date.

This is of course a fragment of a treasure-record, and, as will be seen below, several of the items mentioned are known from other inscriptions of the same class. Before attempting a discussion of the date to which it belongs, it will be most satisfactory to restore the missing parts as far as possible, and note briefly any interesting items it contains. Fortunately we possess another large fragment of the same inscription, namely *IG. II. 2. 665*. There can be no doubt whatever on this point, as the thickness of the stone, the size and interspace of the letters, and the texture of the marble all bear out their identity, which seemed probable, before I examined the published fragment, from the completion of the last few lines of our new stone. As *IG. II. 2. 665* is complete on the right, we can restore many of the items in the list with

confidence. Line 19 of our new fragment is the beginning of line 10 in the other, and the seven letters missing are easy to replace thus:—*χρυσοι* ΔΔΔΔ, *πρω[ομή, ἥλοι] χαλκοὶ ἐπ'ἀργυροὶ ἐπ'ίχρυσοι* Δ, *ἐπισπ*, which gives a total of fifty-one letters to the line. In this line and the one below there are only seven letters missing between the two stones, but higher up the interval becomes increasingly wider. In some cases we are helped in our restoration by a much mutilated inscription (*I.G.* ii. 2. 666), which belongs to a slightly later date, but contains many of the items of our inscription in very much the same order; and in turn some of the gaps there may be filled from our inscription. The missing parts I have restored as far as possible thus. Uncertain as well as missing letters are enclosed in square brackets. In the right-hand portion my copy represents more correctly than that in the *Corpus* what is at present visible on the stone.

- Γ[] ---
 ΔΙΙ[] - - -
 δο, σφραγ[ις - - - (?)Φρά-]
 σμων ἀ[νέθηκε, - - - δ-]
 5 ὅ, ἀναρ[σχαιιστήρ - - -] (18 letters missing), *κυμβία λεῖα χρυσᾷ* ΔΔ
 ΔΙΙΙ; σταθμ[ὸν τούτων ΔΔΔΔΤΤΤΤ, χρυσίδε ΙΙ σταθμὸν (?)τούτων
 ΗΗΠΔΔΤΤ]
 ΤΤ; ἔκται Φωκ[αῖδες ΔΙΙ, χρυσίον ἄπυρον σταθμὸν τούτο ΙΙΙΕ, χρυσᾷ σύ-]
 μμικτα σταθμ[ὸν - - -] (35 letters missing), σφ[]
 ραγίς Σάρδιων [δακτύλιον ἀργυρὸν ἔχουσα, σφραγίς ἰσπ[ις ἀργυρ-]
 10 ῖσι ἐνδεδεμένη, ἥ[τέρᾳ χρυσῷ, πέπλος τῆς θεᾷ σ]ταθμὸν σὺν τῷ β-
 ἄμματι ΠΔΡΤΙΙΙ, ἀλαβ[ασταθήκη ξυλίνη (?)ἀστατος,] ἐν ᾗ οἱ χαρακ-
 τήρε-
 ς καὶ ἀκουσίκοι εἰσὶν οἷς (Ι) τοὺς χρυσὸς ἔ[σοπον, σεσήμαντ[α]ι τῇ-
 ι δημοσίαι σφραγίδ[ι :: κιβώτιον ἐλεφαντίνων περιπρισμάτων σ-
 εσήμανται, ὑδρίαι [ε - - - - - Π]ΙΙ: κοῖται κεναὶ χαλκαὶ ΔΔΔ,
 15 μία ἄνευ ἐπιθήματα[ς, ταῦτα μὲν] εἰ[ν τ]ῷ φασκώλῳ[ι] ἀργύρια καὶ χαλ-
 κία καὶ ὑπόξυλα κα[ὶ ἐπ'ίχρυσᾳ κα] ἐπ'ἀργυρᾷ σταθμὸν: ΧΠΗΠ, κέρα-
 ἑκτώμα ἀργυρὸν κα[ὶ περισκ]ε[λι]ε πρόσεστιν ἀργυρᾷ σταθμὸν ΗΗΔ
 ἥλοι χαλκοὶ ἐπ'ἀργ[υροὶ ἀρ]ιθμὸς ΔΔΙ: ἥλοι χαλκοὶ ἐπ'ἀργυροὶ ἐπ'ί-
 χρυσῷ ΔΔΔΔ, πρω[ομή, ἥλοι] χαλκοὶ ἐπ'ἀργυροὶ ἐπ'ίχρυσοι Δ, ἐπ[ισ(η)-
 20 [μοι]ΗΠ, ἐπιθύριοι, [γυργαε]ισσ ἀσπίδος, ἐπίτηκτα ἐπ'ἀργυρᾷ σ[ταθμ-]
 [μὸν Η]ΗΗΠ[ΔΔΔΔ, χρυσὸς στα]θμὸν Τ: σφραγίδε δύο ἀργυρῷ δακτυλίῳ
 [ἔχουσαι, χρυσᾷ καὶ ἐπ'ἀργ]υρος.

LL 1-4. There is not sufficient evidence for us to attempt to restore the items in these lines. L 3 probably gives us the beginning of the word *σφραγίς*, and the word before it ended in *ων*, though it is just possible that we have the end of some genitive singular -*δον* followed by *φρ* - -. The beginning of L 4 can hardly be anything but the end of some name like [Φρα]σμων, and so I have restored it, and the next word presumably was

ἀν[έθηκε]; but we have no other item in these records dedicated by a person of this name.

L. 5. After the end of [8]ύα relating to some irrecoverable object which preceded it, we have ἀνάμα - γ, which seems to be the beginning of the rare word ἀνάμασχαλιστήρ: no other restoration is possible in this context. The word is only found once,⁵ and means an ornament for securing a garment from slipping off the shoulder: its precise form is unknown, but in this case it was made no doubt of some precious metal.

L. 6. The objects 13(+) in number, of uncertain weight, cannot be confidently identified with any other item in these lists. It is, however, tempting to suppose that they are the κυμβία λεῖα χρυσᾷ ΔΔΔ|11, weighing ΔΔΔΔ†††† dr., which are found among the objects in the Parthenon in *I.G.* ii. 2. 645, ll. 19-20; 646, ll. 2-3; 656, ll. 13-14. To complete the rest of the line, with one or more objects whose weight ends with the figures ††, which we find at the beginning of l. 7, I would suggest χρυσίδε 11, σταθμὸν τοῦτων 1111⁶ ΔΔ†† ††. These two items fill the gap exactly, if we grant, which is a far from unlikely supposition, that the word τοῦτων was spelt without γ.⁶ They are found together in this order in *I.G.* ii. 2. 645, ll. 19-20, among the treasures in the Parthenon in the year 399/8, and as this coincidence strengthens the possibility of their being rightly restored here, I have included them in the text.

L. 7. There can be no doubt that we are to restore ἔκται Φωκαίδες Δ11, which are mentioned in the following inscriptions: *I.G.* ii. 2. 649, l. 9; 652, ll. 42-3; 658, l. 3. In *I.G.* ii. 2. 651, l. 6, and 660, l. 19 they are certain restorations, though in neither case is a single letter preserved. The number Δ11 was unknown prior to the discovery of *I.G.* ii. 5. 652 b, where it occurs in l. 15. Our present item is not to be confused with ἔκτη χρυσῇ Φωκαίδε 1, in *I.G.* ii. 2. 649, l. 18, nor with ἔκται Φωκαίδες[,] in *I.G.* ii. 2. 660, l. 16, which records them among ἐπετεῖα, or objects newly added during the year of the officiating ταμίαι, for that inscription is apparently one year later than our present one. The rest of the line is quite uncertain, nor can we safely identify any other item with the -- σὺμμεικτα of unknown weight at the beginning of the next line. But we get a clue which may help us to fill the gap when we note what objects are found in the lists immediately after the ἔκται Φωκαίδες. In *I.G.* ii. 2. 649, l. 9, and 651, l. 6 we find it is χρυσίου ἀπυρον weighing 1113 (3½ obols): and in *I.G.* ii. 2. 652, ll. 42-3; 658, l. 3; 660, l. 19, and *I.G.* ii. 5. 652 b, l. 15 it is σίγλοι Μηδικοὶ ἀργυροὶ Δ1. The former of these will be found to fit the space required, if we insert after it χρυσᾷ as the objects qualified by the epithet [σὺμμεικτα; and I have restored it in the text thus: [χρυσίου ἀπυρον σταθμὸν τοῦτο 1113, χρυσᾷ σὺμμεικτα, κ.τ.λ. Unfortunately we cannot recognize the latter item at all elsewhere: the only

⁵ In a fragment of the comic poet Philippides, quoted by Pollux, *Onomasticon*, τ. 160.

⁶ See Meisterhans, *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*, p. 83, Note 535. Or possibly the

engraver incorrectly wrote τοῦτων for τοῦτων in the second item. I prefer to restore the passage in the latter way.

other objects which bear this epithet are *χρυσῖδια διάλιθα σύμμεκτα πλανθίων καὶ τεττίγων* - 11, which we find twice in the records of Parthenon-treasures (*I.G.* ii. 2. 645, l. 12; 656, ll. 3-4), and it is not likely that they are the same as our present *χρυσά (?) σύμμεκτα*.

The rest of l. 8 is equally uncertain, but in l. 9 we can recognize the [σφ]ραγὶς Σάρδιον in some of the other lists, and henceforward can restore confidently nearly all the other items in our present fragment. The Sardinian stone seal is presumably the same as the σφραγίδιον Σάρδιον δακτύλιον ἀργυρὸν ἔχον - 3 which is found in *I.G.* ii. 2. 672, ll. 20-21, and possibly it is one of the two Σάρδια δύο ἀργυρίῳ δεδεμένα of *I.G.* ii. 2. 704, l. 12, and 708, ll. 7-8. Seeing how seldom this particular form is found I am inclined to think that the same object is alluded to in both cases, and that a Sardinian seal set in silver means the same object as a Sardinian seal with a silver ring. As the seal was the more important part, the item is called a seal with a ring and not, as we should say, a ring with a seal. If we accept this identity we may complete l. 9 [σφ]ραγὶς Σάρδιον [δακτύλιον ἀργυρὸν ἔχον], followed by σφραγὶς ἱασπὶς ἀργυρῷ ἐνδεδεμένη, as I have done in the text. As Σάρδιον is in apposition to σφραγὶς the participle is naturally in the feminine to agree with the latter word. A possible but less satisfactory alternative would be [σφ]ραγὶς Σάρδιον | ἀργυρίῳ ἐνδεδεμένη: σφραγὶς ἱασπὶς | ἀργυρῷ ἐνδεδεμένη, which gives the same length of line. The restoration of ἱασπὶς is very probable, as such seals are far from rare in these lists,¹⁰ though we cannot identify this one for certain.

l. 10. After ἐνδεδεμένη there are traces of an Ε just where the break in the stone comes: this leads me to suggest ἰ[τέρα χρυσῶν] as possibly having stood here, referring to another jasper seal. We now have a gap of thirteen letters to be filled by the object which, together with its ῥάμμα, weighed 66 dr. 3 obols. Unfortunately we have no clue as to its nature: it is not recognizable in any other list of sacred objects, nor does this actual weight occur elsewhere. We may infer that the object with the ῥάμμα was a garment: the word in question means primarily a seam, and then a hem: in the present case it may be supposed to mean a decorative border.¹¹ But it is surprising to find that the ταμίαι should take the trouble to weigh, and record the weight of, a garment, and we have no other instance of this being done in these lists.¹² But it is just possible that it was some garment of importance, and therefore specially weighed. If so, it could hardly be any other object than the sacred πέπλος of Athena, which one might expect to find among her treasures. And there is no objection as far as the number of letters is concerned, for if we adopt the suggested ἰ[τέρα χρυσῶν] after ἐνδεδεμένη, πέπλος τῆς θεῆς will exactly fill the rest of the line. Nor is there

¹⁰ See e.g. *I.G.* ii. 5. 6224, l. 25.

¹¹ Pollux, *Onomasticon* x. 135 says, a *μυρὸς* of ornaments, *ἐκ τῶν ταῖς ἱσθμῶν καὶ ῥάμματι*.

¹² Garments are frequent, of course, in the lists of objects dedicated to Artemis Brauronia and Asklepios, see *I.G.* ii. 2. 751 foll., but they were never weighed.

any improbability in the πέπλος having a *ράμμα*:²² in this case apparently it was detachable, and perhaps embroidered in gilt thread. But if this suggestion is right, there remains the question: why was the πέπλος recorded among the treasures at all? Our information on this point is unfortunately vague, and we do not know for certain whether at this period, probably the second or third decade of the fourth century, the custom was to present the goddess with a new πέπλος every year, or only at the Great Panathenaea.²³ The latter view seems the more likely, but in either case there is nothing improbable in restoring the πέπλος in the list of sacred objects here, for we have no definite evidence that it was kept elsewhere.

L. 11. The last four letters visible on the stone, ΑΛΑΒ, may be confidently restored as the beginning of the word ἀλαβαστοθήκη. This object is no doubt the hitherto inexplicable - - οθ[ήκη] ξυλ[ίνη -] of I.G. ii. 2. 666, l. 5; it is found among the record of objects from the Parthenon in I.G. ii. 2. 678 B, l. 59,²⁴ and probably in ii. 2. 712, l. 12, where we have ΚΗΞΥΛ. The space for seven letters between ξυλίη and ἐν ἡ κ.τ.λ. it seems reasonable to fill with the word ἀστατος, as I have done. We may note that in the list just mentioned these objects from the Parthenon were not weighed, hence ἀστατος is quite likely to be the missing word here. It may also be remarked that in the restoration of I.G. ii. 2. 666, l. 5 Köbler reads - οθ[ήκη] ξυλ[ίνη ἐν ἡ οἱ χαρακτῆρες] α -. The Α is, however, no longer visible; but if we insert ἀστατος after ξυλίη it will still be in a possible position, namely as the second Α in the word χαρακτῆρες. For a fuller restoration of this inscription see the appended list of inscriptions which we can restore in the light of our new fragment.

This ointment-box then, for such is the primary meaning of ἀλαβαστοθήκη, contained the χαρακτῆρες and ἀκμονίσκοι, and, as we see, was sealed with the public seal. These objects are clearly for the purpose of striking coin,²⁵ but we do not know why some were kept with particular care in a sealed box in the Parthenon. The χαρακτῆρες, meaning of course the dies for the coins, are also found in I.G. ii. 2. 721 B, Col. II, l. 15, where they are 21 in number, and together with them are catalogued two σφύραι or hammers

²² The *πέπλος* in the well-known scene on the Parthenon-frieze clearly has an embroidered *ράμμα*. See the photograph of this slab in A. S. Murray, *Sculptures of the Parthenon*, Pl. III, No. V, East.

²³ The former alternative is alluded to in the decree of Stratonides in honour of Antigonus and Demetrios, quoted by Diodorus x. 40, 'καὶ τῇ Ἀθῶναι πέπλον κατ' ἐτήσιον.' There are reasons for supposing that this custom was introduced towards the end of the fourth century; it had lapsed in Roman times. The following authorities support the alternative view: Plato, *Euthyphron* vi. p. 6c; Scholiast on Euripides, *Heccuba*, l. 428; Harpocration s.v. *πέπλος*. The Scholiast on Aristophanes,

Equites, l. 346 contradicts each other on the point. For the whole question of the *πέπλος* see Danneberg and Saglio s.vv. *Panathenaea* and *Peplus*.

²⁴ See the full text of this inscription in 'Ep. Arch. 1903, pp. 141 foll., made after the stone had been removed from the doorway at the west end of the Parthenon. The copy in the Corpus gives only a small part of this side of the stone, the rest being previously visible.

²⁵ The method of striking coins is discussed in G. F. Hill's *Handbook of Greek and Roman Coins*, pp. 143 foll. For a specimen of an Attic die see Svoronos in *Corolla Numismatica*, pp. 283 foll.

for striking the die on to the blanks. The word *ἀκρονίαι*, a diminutive of *ἄκρον* = an anvil, is not known elsewhere, but the objects no doubt were used for fixing the lower half of the die into.¹⁷ The presence of the letter Ε after the word *ἀκρονίαι* suggests some such restoration as *ε[ἰς] τοὺς τοὺς χρυσῶς] ἔκοπτον*, which I adopt, though with some hesitation. The dies and small anvils cannot have been numerous if they were kept in an 'ornament-box.' This suggests that they were used for some abnormal issue such as that of the gold coinage.¹⁸ In any case it is interesting to see that the materials for striking these coins were of such value that they were kept in a sealed box among the precious objects in the Parthenon.

L. 13. The restoration *ἐλεφαντίνων περιπρισμάτων* is quite certain, but the gap, where nine letters are missing between this phrase and the end of the word *σφραγίδι*, is not so easy to fill. The objects in question seem to be chips of ivory, perhaps those which fell when the chryselephantine statue of the goddess herself was erected, or small pieces which became detached from time to time, and were kept with a view to repairing the fabric. To fill the gap I suggest *εἰσώτιον*, which fills the space if we insert a stop after *σφραγίδι* to occupy the space of one letter: or *φασκάλιον* might have stood here if there was no such stop. In any case it was presumably some receptacle to contain these chips. They are also found in *I.G.* ii. 2. 673, ll. 12-13, where we have *[ἐλεφάν]τινα περ[ε]πρ[ί]σ[μ]α[τα]* and probably (*ibid.* 675, l. 18, where we have only *-ίσματα* preserved. In neither case have we any clue to the vessel which contained them, but the formula in these instances no doubt was *εἰσώτιον* (*vel sim.*) *ἐν αἰ τὰ ε. π.*

L. 14. After the word *ὀδρίαι* there is a gap of fifteen letters to fill before the figures 11 on the right-hand portion of the stone. The last letter on the right of the new fragment seems to have been Ε, though Β is also possible. Before the 11 I think there are traces of a Π, but whether the total number of *ὀδρίαι* was seven or more is uncertain, as we cannot tell which particular ones are referred to here. They do not seem to be the same as the twenty-seven silver hydriai of Athena Polias, of which the most complete list is found in *I.G.* ii. 2. 678 (= *Εφ. Αρχ.* 1903, p. 142), col. II, ll. 23-50, as no restoration such as *Ἀθηνᾶς Πολιάδος* will fit the space, nor would this account for the Ε after the word *ὀδρίαι*.

The objects known as *κοῖραι κεραὶ χαλκαί*, one of which lacked a lid (*ἀνευ ἐπιθήματος*), are well known in these lists, though the number seems to vary. Lehner¹⁹ suggests that in *I.G.* ii. 2. 673, l. 34 we should read *[κοῖραι κεραὶ ΔΔΔΔ]*, and these are probably the same as the *κοῖραι* (-) in No. 675, l. 32. He,²⁰ however, is wrong in identifying the latter with the *κοῖραι* in the Parthenon-records (*I.G.* ii. 2. 648, l. 5, etc.). They are clearly

¹⁷ They are perhaps to be identified with the *ἀκρονίαι* of *I.G.* ii. 2. 742 A, l. 3, if we adopt this reading rather than that given in the Corpus: *ἀκρονίαι*.

¹⁸ For the question as to the date of this item see Haad, *Historia Numorum*, p. 514.

Owing to lack of space I am unable to discuss the question at length here, but hope to do so in a subsequent paper.

¹⁹ *Über die athenischen Schatzverzeichnisse des vierten Jahrhunderts*, pp. 56, 63.

²⁰ *Op. cit.* p. 60.

alluded to in *I.G.* ii. 1. 61, ll. 38 foll. among the objects in the *Χαλκοθήκη* (of which this decree orders an inventory to be made) in the following terms: *ἑτεραὶ κοῖται χαλκαὶ ἐπισκευῆς δεδομέναι . . . τούτων μία ἐπίθημα οὐκ ἔχει*. In the restoration of l. 8 of *I.G.* ii. 2. 666, which, as has been pointed out, bears a close resemblance to the published half of our present inscription (*ibid.* 665), Lehnor³⁰ suggests [*ἀγάλ*]ματος ταῦτα. This should be clearly [*μία ἀνεν ἐπιθή*]ματος, ταῦτα ἐν φασκώλῳ κ.τ.λ., which enables us to fill the gap in our present inscription; by inserting *μέν* after ταῦτα the next item reads thus: [*ταῦτα μὲν*] ἐν τῷ φασκώλῳ[ι] ἀργύριον καὶ χαλκία καὶ ὑπόβρυχά κα[ὶ] ἐπίχρυσά κα[ὶ] ἐπάργυρα: σταθμοὶ Χ[Ρ]ΗΘ[Ω]. I have no hesitation in inserting [*ἐπίχρυσά κα*] to fill up the gap, and this will also be found to complete the gap in the following inscriptions: *I.G.* ii. 2. 666, ll. 8 foll., 672, ll. 22 foll., 697, ll. 9 foll. In the last passage it is interesting to note that the number is now 1600 and not 1650.

L. 16. *κέρας ἔκπομα* κ.τ.λ. is found also in *I.G.* ii. 2. 666, l. 9, and 667, l. 38. It is not to be confused with an *ἔκπομα ἀργυρῶν*ον *προτομή*, τοῦτο Ἀθηναῖοι ἀνέθεσαν Πωλιάδι weighing 118 dr., which is found in *I.G.* ii. 2. 649, l. 13 among the Hekatompedon treasures.³¹

L. 18. The *ῥῥοι*, which seem to have been studs rather than plain nails, are divided into three lots. The first consists of twenty-one silver-plated bronze studs, the second of forty similar studs of which the silver plating had in turn been gilt, and then after the mention of a *προτομή* come ten more studs like the last-mentioned lot. They occur in the same order, but without the insertion of the *προτομή*, in *I.G.* ii. 666, ll. 9, foll., as will be seen in the restoration below. It is worth noticing that the *προτομή* is also catalogued between two groups of *ῥῥοι* in *I.G.* ii. 2. 694, ll. 3-4, but I am unable to restore the original length of the line satisfactorily. Whether two of these studs were catalogued separately on a subsequent occasion is uncertain, for in *I.G.* ii. 2. 697, l. 4 we find *ῥῥοι χαλκαὶ δύο ἐπάργυροι ἐπίχρυσοι*, which, as far as material is concerned, are the same as the studs we have been discussing. Our present stone is the first record for the number (40) of the second lot of studs mentioned.

Ll. 19-20. The next item is not immediately intelligible: at the extreme edge of the published half of our inscription one can see ΕΡΙΞΡ, of which the last letter is probably a mistake of the stone-cutter's for Η. Three letters are missing from the left of our new stone, as the corner is damaged, then come the figures ΗΘ. We should probably restore *ἐπίσ(η)[μα Η]ΗΘ*, or *ἐπίσ(η)[μοι]ΗΘ*, but neither item is recognizable elsewhere. There was apparently a similar item in *I.G.* ii. 2. 666, l. 11, but only ΕΡΙΞ is legible on the stone (the text in the *Corpus* only gives ΕΡ), so this gives us no clue. Of the restorations suggested the latter seems the best, as *ἐπίσ(η)[μοι]* would refer to *ῥῥοι*, and mean 150 studs with devices or stamps on them. The word *ἐπιθύριον* may be supposed likewise to refer to these *ῥῥοι*, and

³⁰ *Op. cit.* p. 63, following Bosworth, *Societas* *hanselmannii* ll. p. 257.

³¹ Lehnor, *op. cit.* p. 36, note 2.

the whole phrase will mean 150 studs with devices on them ornamenting (or merely holding together) the door. *Ἐπιθήριοι* seems to have stood in the same position in *I.G.* ii. 2. 666, l. 11, as Ross, who first copied the stone, saw ΠΙΘ . . . Ο . . . before the word *γοργόνειον*, though these letters are no longer visible. We have another allusion to these studs on the door in a mutilated record of the treasures of Athens (*I.G.* ii. 2. 708, ll. 9, foll.), where an exact statement is made of the parts of the doors in the Hekatompedon (*αἱ θύραι αἱ ἐν τῷ ἑκατομπύδῳ*) which are damaged and defective. Michaelis²² points out that the door is that leading from the Pronaos to the Hekatompedon. In l. 13 of this inscription we read that three of the nails *ἐν τοῖς κ. . . | . . . ζυγοῖς τῶν θυρῶν* are lacking their heads (*δεύονται κωδύνον*). From the same inscription l. 12 we may clearly see that the *γοργόνειον ἀσπίδος*, in l. 20 of our new inscription, was attached to the door together with the *λέοντος κεφαλῇ* and the *κριοῦ προτομῇ*²³: there the former appears as *ἡ τοῦ γοργόνειου (προτομῇ*, understood from the previous line). The *προτομῇ* in l. 19 of our new inscription is presumably the *κριοῦ προτομῇ* of *I.G.* ii. 2. 708, l. 11; where they were fixed on to the doors is uncertain, though we can hardly doubt that they were attached with *ἡλοι*. The *γοργόνειον* is an object that occurs frequently in the treasure-lists, as the following references show: *I.G.* ii. 2. 652 B, l. 2 (where it is among the *ἐπέτετα* of the year 399-8); 654 b, l. 7; 661, l. 23; 666, l. 11; 667, l. 45; 673, l. 1; 684, ll. 22-3 (restored²⁴); 736 B, l. 3. Its full title, in the majority of these passages, seems to have been: *γοργόνειον χρυσόν ἐπάργυρον ἐπίτηκτον ἀπὸ τῆς ἀσπίδος τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔδους*. It was clearly, as is pointed out by Brown (*op. cit.* p. 279), a removable part of the shield of the great chryselephantine statue of the Goddess. His remark, however, that the *γοργόνειον* must have been of considerable weight is based on a misunderstanding, shared by Lehner (*op. cit.* p. 63), of the passage in *I.G.* ii. 2. 667, l. 45, where we have [*γοργόνειον ἀσπίδος ἐπίτηκτ[α] ἐπάργυρ[α] σταθμὸν ΗΗΗ[Γ -]*, which also is found in l. 20 of our present inscription. These are really two separate items, *γοργόνειον ἀσπίδος* being one and *ἐπίτηκτα ἐπλ.* another, and the latter is not in any way in apposition to the former, and consequently does not tell us the weight of the *γοργόνειον*. L. 21 tells us definitely for the first time what was the weight of the *ἐπίτηκτα ἐπάργυρα*, namely 390 dr.; for the restoration of the next item leaves us four spaces after the figures [Η]ΗΗ²⁵, and we may conclude that the figures ΔΔΔ at the beginning of l. 12 of *I.G.* ii. 2. 666 are the end of the sum [ΗΗΗ²⁶Δ]ΔΔΔ relating to the same object. We may perhaps assume, owing to its proximity to the other objects mentioned as *ἐπιθήριοι*, that this was silver-plating on the doors of the Hekatompedon, and, if so, presumably that on each door weighed 195 dr.

²² *Der Parthenon*, pp. 216-7, where this passage is fully discussed with references to the previous commentaries.

²³ No doubt, as Michaelis (*loc. cit.*) suggests, as *ἀνερπύκται*. He aptly compares the *γοργόνειον* taken from the door of the temple of Minerva at Syracuse by Varro (*Urbem in*

Verum, II. iv. § 121).

²⁴ By C. N. Brown, *A.J.A.* viii (1904), pp. 265, 279, who publishes an important new fragment of this stone. His reference to *I.G.* ii. 2. 720 ll. 1-12 for the *γοργόνειον* is, to say the least, uncertain, as this seems to refer to another shield with a similar device.

The next item I have little hesitation in restoring [*χρυσὸς σταθμὸν* +, which is no doubt the *χρυσ[ὸς ?] σταθ[μὸν]* of *I.G.* ii. 2. 666, l. 12. The last item, the exact restoration of which is uncertain, as the last line of our new stone is missing, consists of the two seals mentioned in a corresponding position in *I.G.* ii. 2. 666, where we read: *σφ[ραγίδε δύο] δακτυλῶ ἀργυρῶ ἔχουσαι - -*. To account for the letters *ΥΡΟΞ* at the end of *I.G.* ii. 2. 665 I have restored *σφραγίδε δύο ἀργυρῶ δακτυλῶ | [ἔχουσαι, χρυσῇ καὶ ὑπάρχ]υρος*. It is not easy to account otherwise for the last four letters which are preserved, as they are clearly part of some form of the word *ἀργυρος*, and equally clearly refer to some object just mentioned, as it is not possible that the word *ἀργυρος* should stand here alone and constitute a separate item, without any weight or explanation. If this suggestion is correct we might fill the gap in No. 666, l. 12 thus: *σφρ. δύο δ. [ἄ. ἔχουσαι, ἡ μὲν μία χρυσῇ, ἡ δὲ ἑτέρα ὑπάρχ]υρος ἐπίχρ[υς]*, which gives the requisite number of letters to the line, namely 74, as will be seen in my suggested restoration below.

Having described each item in our list, we may next enquire where these objects were kept, and under what circumstances, and, if possible, exactly at what date, the inscription was set up. It is noticeable that very few of the objects mentioned are known in the records which belong to the early years of the fourth century (*I.G.* ii. 2. 642-660), and this deprives us of positive evidence for assigning them definitely to the Parthenon, Hekatompedon, or Opisthodomos, of which the lists seem to have been kept separate from the year 408/5 to the year 385/4, according to the accepted views on the subject.²⁹ There is no doubt that Nos. 665 and 666 must be grouped together, as Köhler pointed out, but whether he is right in assigning them to the class of Hekatompedon records remains to be seen. Of our objects in No. 665, the *ἑκται Φωκ[αῖδες]* (l. 7) are found in the Hekatompedon, and the studs in the Hekatompedon door are of course strictly Hekatompedon-treasures. But some other items were at other times not kept in the Hekatompedon. As we saw, the *ἀλαβαστοθήκη* which held the coining implements was in the Parthenon when the record for the year 368/7 (*I.G.* ii. 2. 678 B = *Eph. Arch.* 1903, pp. 141 foll.) was drawn up; and the empty brazen chests (*κοῖται*) of ll. 14-15 are found in the *Χαλκοθήκη* in the year 360, if this (and not 356) is the date of *I.G.* ii. 1. 61. Again, my suggested restoration of ll. 5-6 mentions the *κυμβία λεῖα χρυσῇ* which are found in the Parthenon in *I.G.* ii. 2. 645, ll. 19-20, but this is far from being a certain restoration. Köhler seems to have assigned these two inscriptions (*I.G.* ii. 2. 665 and 666) to the Hekatompedon-class (i.e. to a date earlier than 385/4), on the ground that in ll. 6 foll. in the former and 8 foll. in the latter they contain objects which in ii. 2. 672, ll. 22 foll. appear among the possessions *τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν*, though they should more naturally date from the period later than 385/4 and belong to the class which records *τὰ τῆς θεοῦ*. Lehner,³⁰ however, demonstrates that the later date is probably the

²⁹ Lehner, *op. cit.* p. 17.

³⁰ *Op. cit.* p. 62.

correct one, and that there is not sufficient resemblance between the items contained in them and in the Hekatompedon lists for us to class them among the latter. For it was without doubt a heavy task for the *ταμίαι* of the later period to allot correctly the wealth of precious objects accumulated in the twenty years before 385/4 to their respective divine owners, and it can only have been done gradually. Hence it need not surprise us to find a few articles attributed to their wrong owners (*i.e.* property *τῆς θεοῦ* set down as *τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν* and *eice error*) in the lists for the years immediately following that date. Thus I see no objection to Lehner's view that these two inscriptions belong to the class recording *τὰ τῆς θεοῦ*, and are to be dated soon after 385/4: our new stone cannot be dated exactly, and all we can say is that it is apparently one year earlier than No. 666, and cannot be placed later than 375 B.C., when the two colleges of treasurers were again united.

The following inscriptions, and in particular *I.G.* ii. 2. 666, can be restored more or less completely in the light of our new stone: *I.G.* ii. 2. 666, 672, 694, 697. The first of these, from l. 3 to l. 12 seems to be almost word for word the same as our present inscription. It contains 74 letters to the line.

ll. 1 and 2 are quite hopeless, but from l. 3 we can restore thus:

[τ]ε[ρ]ε[χ]ρ[υ]σσ[α] [σφραγίς Σάρδιον δακτύλιον ἀργυρῶν
 ἔχουσα, σφραγίς ἰασπιδίου ἀργυρ]ίου [ἐ]ν[δ]ε[δ]ε[μ]ένῃ, ἐτέρα χρυσῶν,
 πέπλος ἱερὸς τῆς θεῆς (οἱ πέπλος τῆς Πολιάδος) σταθμὸν σὺν τῷ
 5 ῥάμματι [ΔΡΤΙΙΙ ἀλαβαστ]ῶν [ἡ]κ[η] ἐν[δ]ε[μ]ένῃ ἀστατος ἐν ἡμῶν οἱ χαρακ-
 τήρας καὶ ἀκμονίσκοι εἰσὶν οἵς τὸς χρυσὸς ἐκοπτο, σ[ε]σ[μ]ῶνται τ[ῇ]
 δημοσίᾳ σφραγίδι, κιβώτιον ἐλεφαντίνων περιπρισμάτων σ[ε]σ[μ]ῶνται
 τῇ δημ[ο]σίᾳ [σ]φραγίδι, ὑδρίαι ε ΠΙΙ,
 κοῖται κεναὶ χαλκαί, μία ἀνὲν ἐπιθή[μ]ατος τα[ύ]τα ἐν φασκάλῳ ἀργυρία
 κ[α]ὶ [χ]α[λ]κ[α] καὶ ὑπόξυλα καὶ ἐπ[ί]χρυσα καὶ ἐπ[α]ργυρα σταθμῶν Χ[Π]Η[Π],
 κ[ε]ρα[τ]ὶς ἐκ[π]ω[μ]α ἀργυρῶν καὶ π[ε]ρ[ι]σ[τ]ε[λ]ε[ι]ν πρόσεστιν ἀργυρῶν, σταθμῶν
 10 ΗΗΔ, ἥλοι χαλκοὶ ἐπ[α]ργυροὶ ἀρ[ι]θ[μ]ο[ς] ΔΔΤ ἥλοι χαλκοὶ ἐπ[α]ρ-
 γυροὶ ἐπ[ί]χρυσαι ΔΔΔΔ, ἥλοι χαλκοὶ ἐπ[α]ργυροὶ ἐπ[ί]χρυσαι Δ,
 ἐπ[ί]σημοι ΗΠ, ἐπ[ι]θύρι[ο]ι, γ[ο]ρ[γ]ο[ρ]εῖον ἀσπίδος, ἐπίτηκτα ἐπ[α]ργυρα
 σταθμῶν ΗΗΗΠΔ ΔΔΔ: χρυσ[ὸ]ς σ[τ]αθ[μ]ὸν τ, σφ[ρα]γ[ί]δε δύ[ο] δακτυ-
 λῶ ἀργυρῶ ἔχουσαι, ὑπ[α]ργυρ[ὸ]ς ἐπ[ί]χρ[υ]σ[ος] . . .

I.G. ii. 2. 672, ll. 22 foll. (51 letters to the line).

[. . . ταῦτα ἐν τῷ φ[α]σκάλῳ ἀργυρία καὶ χαλκ[α] καὶ ὑπόξυλα καὶ
 ἐπ[ί]χρυσα καὶ ἐπ[α]ργυρα σταθμῶν ΧΠΗΠ, σ[ε]σ[μ]ῶνται τῇ δημοσίᾳ
 25 σφραγίδι ἐκ τῷ μητρώῳ παρακαταθήκη, χερ[σ]ὶν ὑβείων . . .

* In the gap after *ἐχουσαι* may very well have stood *ἡ μὲν μία χρυσή, ἡ δὲ ἑτέρα*, but I hesitate to restore it in the text. We may also

note the greater length of the gap after *ἀδρια* as compared with our new stone, but it does not make it any easier to restore.

Unfortunately the remainder of the inscription contains quite different items from those in our new one, and consequently we have no means of making further restorations here.

I.G. ii. 2. 694, ll. 2-5 may be restored somehow thus, with 33 letters to the line: it is uncertain whether the stone is complete on the left, as I have been unable to find it in the museum: . . . υ ο ρ ἦλοι χαλ[καὶ ἐπίχρυσοι ἐπ'ἀργ[υ]ροὺ ΔΔΔΔ, προτομ[ὴ] κριοῦ, ἦλοι χαλκοὶ ἐπ'ἀργυροὺ 5 ἐπίχρυσοι ρ, ἐπ[ίστημοι] λ[ε]ΐαι ἄν. Σωστρίστη ἀνέθηκεν [ἀ]ρ[ι]θμὸς [---
I.G. ii. 2. 697, ll. 8 foll. (51 letters to the line).

--- | ρσ[ι] σταθμὸν ΠΕΤΕΙΙΙΙ, ἀργυρία[ν] ἄσ[η]μον σταθμὸν. ταῦτα ἐν τῷ φασ[κω]λίῳ ἀργυρία καὶ χαλκία καὶ ὑπό[ξ]υ[λα] καὶ ἐπίχρυσαι καὶ 10 ἐπ'ἀργ[υ]ρ[ο]σ[ι] σταθμὸν τούτων ΧΙΠΗ, ἐ[ξ]αγ[γ]ιστ[ο]ς²⁸ ἐ σεσημασμέν]α τῇ δημοσίαι σφραγίδι.

3. Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides. Height 30; breadth 33; thickness 10. Letters 01 high, figures 005-01. Inscribed in two columns, of which the right-hand one has the letters arranged *στοιχηδόν*, whereas those in the left-hand column are not. In Epigraphical Museum (among the unpublished fragments), No. 1373 (red).

ΤΗΕ	ΧΙΠΠΗ	ΔΔΔΔΣ
ΟΝΕΓΙ	ΧΗ ΠΑΛΛΗ	ΑΜ
ΝΥΡΟΧΑΛ	ΗΗ ΠΙ	ΦΙΛΑΔΙ
ΜΑΤΑΕΧΟΝ		ΣΤΑΘΜΟΝ
ΛΑΒΟΜΕΝ		ΑΡΓΥΡΙΟΕΙ
ΤΑΚΑΙΥΡΟ ΑΛΚΑΗ		ΒΗΛΕΠΡΟΣΤΕ
ΥΡΟΧΑΛΚΟΝΙΝΑ		ΤΟΧΕΡΝΙΒΕ
ΟΜΟΝ		ΣΟΥΝΙΕΤΣ
ΙΧΡΥΞΟΝΥΡΟ	ΔΔΔΔΠΕΤΕΙ	ΜΕΛΗΤΑΔΟΠ
ΕΥΣΣΤΑΟΜΟΝ		ΑΡΓΥΡΙΟΕΡΙ
ΡΑΣΒΑΡΒΑΡΙΚΗ	ΠΔΔΔΠΕΤΕΙ	ΤΟΝΡΙΗΑΧΛΝ
ΩΚΕΣΤΑΟΜΟΝ		ΣΤΑΘΜΟΝ
ΥΡΟΣΑΚΥΑΛΤΗ	Ε; ΠΙ	ΞΕΝΙΚΟΑΡΓ
ΟΝΕΡΙΧΡΥΞΟΝΙΝΑ	ΗΡ	ΑΜΦΙΔΕΙΔ
ΡΑΣΕΣΗΜΑΝΤΑΙ	ΡΗΠΕΤΕ	ΝΗΤΤΑΡ
ΥΝΤΟΙΣΗΛΟΙ ΤΟ		ΑΤΗΡΙΟ
		ΟΜΦΑ
		ΣΤΘ
ΡΙΟΝΕΡΙΧΡΥΞΟΝΥΟ		
ΝΑΤΟΒΗΤΑΠΑΡΑΣΕ		
ΔΙΣΤΑΟΜΟΝ		
ΝΕΡΙΤΗΚΤ Ν		
ΡΟΝΕΤΑΘ Ν		
ΝΕΡΙΤΗΚ ΑΡΟΤΩΝ		
ΡΙΩΝΤΣ		
ΤΑΘ		

²⁸ This seems the most natural restoration to account for the letters still visible on the stone: in the middle of the gap I thought I could detect Λ) which would thus be the remains of ΑΓ. But I have no suggestion to offer to

complete the line, nor does ἐ[ξ]αγ[γ]ιστ[ο]ς seem certain when we have, by a sure restoration, a genitive in ΟΥ in l. 8; though at this period we might possibly find both forms in the same inscription.

COLUMNS I.

		ἀνθήμιον χαλκῶν ἐπ[ι]τήκ[τ]αι περικεχυσμένον] ὑποδερίδιον ξύλιν[ον ἐπ[ι]- χρυσον] 5 κανὼν κατάχρυσον ὑπόχαλ[κ-] ον χαλκῶ διερείς]ματα ἔχον. Τάδε σταθμῶδι παρε]λάβομεν χρυσᾶ καὶ ἐπ[ι]τήκ[τ]α καὶ ὑπό[χ]αλκα· καὶ αὐτὸν χρυσὸν ὑπόχαλκον, ἵνα 10 XXXI ^Π ΔΔΔΔΠ+ ὁ Ἀπάλλων, στα]θμόν ἑτερον καὶ ὄν] χρυσὸν ὑπό- XXXI ^Π ΗΠΔΔΔΔ χαλκον ἵνα ὁ Ζ[εὺς, σταθμόν φιάλη χαλκοκ]οῦς βαρβαρικῇ, ΗΠΔΠΕΕIIII ἦν Κλέων ἀνέ]θηκε, σταθμόν 15 ΗΕIII φιάλη ὑπάργ]υρος ἀκυλωτῇ, σταθμόν] θυμιατήρ[ε]ον ἐπ[ι]χρυσον, ἵνα τὸ ἄλφα π[α]ρ[ο]υσεσῇμανται, XXXHHHH σταθμόν σ]ὺν τοῖς ἡλοῖ[ς] το[ῖς] 20 χαλκοῖς] θυμιατήρ[ε]ον ἐπ[ι]χρυσον ὑπό- χαλκον, ἵνα τὰ βῆτα παρασε- XXXH ^Π ΔΔ σῇματ]αι, σταθμόν χρυσῶ]ν ἐπ[ι]τήκ[τ]ο]ν 25 ΕΕΕΕIII ὑπάργ[υ]ρον, σταθ[μ]όν χρυσῶ]ν ἐπ[ι]τήκ[τ]ο]ν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀκρωτη]ρίων τὸ [νεὸ τῆς] ΠΕIII Νίκης, σ]ταθ[μ]όν].
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This fragment also possesses some points of interest. It is, as the squeeze shows, part of one of the treasure-records which were drawn up in columnar form, none of which, as far as they can be dated at all confidently, is much earlier than *ca.* 370 B.C. The best preserved stone of this particular type is *IG. ii. 2. 678* (the complete text, as far as it goes, is published in *Εφ. Αρχ.* 1903, pp. 139 foll.), and it will be seen at once that ll. 80 foll. of the first column correspond exactly with the remains of the first column of our new fragment. A noteworthy feature of the latter, which distinguishes it at once from all the other known records of this class, is the fact that the weights of the various objects are written opposite them on the left-hand side, instead of, on the right-hand, as usual. That this is so is evident from the reproduction, for the sums in the middle of the stone come opposite each time to the word *σταθμόν* in the right-hand column, and, if further proof were needed they will be seen not to correspond at all with the known

weights of the various items in the first column. The arrangement is also worth noting: the letters in Col. I are not arranged *στοιχηδόν* except as regards the individual items, which gives rather an appearance of untidiness to the whole; but it seems that, with one exception, the first letters of the various items were arranged in a vertical column. The exception is the phrase *Τάδε σταθμῶν παρελάβομεν κ.τ.λ.* which, as shown in the transcript, begins just two spaces nearer to the left-hand margin of the stone than the other lines.

As none of the items in Col. I is new to us there is no need to discuss them at length. I will therefore content myself with giving the references to the other inscriptions of this series where they occur, and noting if they enable us to restore gaps in any other stones.

Ll. 1-2 *ἀνθέμιον χαλκῶν κ.τ.λ.* occurs in *IG*, ii. 2. 701, Col. II l. 50; 713, l. 15. We may restore in each passage *ἀ. χ. ἐπιτήκται περιεχρυσωμένον*, (from the corresponding passage in *Εφ. Ἀρχ. loc. cit.*), the text in the *Corpus ad loc.* having *καταεχρυσωμένον*.

Ll. 3, 4. The *ὑποδερίδιον* is possibly the *ὑποδερὶς* in *IG*, ii. 2. 652, B, l. 26, where it is catalogued as *ἐπέτειον*, i.e. a new acquisition of that year (398/7) among the Hekatompedon-treasures, and in ii. 5. 672 c. l. 11, and ii. 2. 682 l. 11 among the treasures *τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν*; there seem to have been several of these objects between which it is almost impossible to distinguish, but none can be certainly identified with the diminutive form here mentioned.

Ll. 5, 6. The *κανὸν κατάχρυσον ὑπόχαλκον χαλκὰ διεπείσματα ἔχον* (= *IG*, ii. 2. 678, Col. I ll. 82-3) cannot be identified elsewhere. But the other two *κανῶν*, ll. 9-12, are known from several inscriptions. In ii. 5. 653 b, ll. 18 foll. we have the earliest mention of them, as being at that time in the Opiasthodos. They also occur together (except where stated to the contrary) in the following inscriptions: ii. 2. 667, ll. 20, 21²⁰; 668, ll. 3-7; 669, ll. 3-4²¹; 679, ll. 25-27; ii. 5. 697 b, ll. 6, 7; ii. 2. 698, Col. II ll. 18 foll.;²² ii. 2. 701, Col. I ll. 77-80.

Ll. 13, 14. The *φιάλη χαλκοκρᾶς βαρβαρική, κ.τ.λ.* is only found in two inscriptions (besides *IG*, ii. 2. 678, Col. I ll. 91, 2), namely ii. 2. 677, II. Col. II ll. 12, 13 and ii. 2. 701, Col. I ll. 51-2. The former we may now restore thus [*φιάλη χαλκοκρᾶς βαρβαρική, ἥγ. Κλέων [ἀνέθηκε, σταθμὸν ΗΓΔΓΕΕΙΙΙΙΙΙ, and the latter φ[ι]άλ[η] χαλκοκρᾶς βαρβαρική, ἥγ. Κ[λέων ἀνέθηκεν ρέω[σα] στα[θμὸν δ' ἐπιτέγραπται ἐπὶ τῇ] φιάλῃ ΗΓΔΔΕΙ[ΕΙΙΙΙΙ]*]. I have restored the weight of this *φιάλη* from the former inscription: the difference of 3 dr. in the two versions is hard to explain, as it may be due either to a fault of the scales, the engraver, or one of the copyists. The

²⁰ The *κανὸν* *ἔκ 4 Ἀπύλλων* was presumably on the missing half of the stone to the right of the existing left.

²¹ Only the letters *-ΥΞΕΤΑΘ* are preserved from the words *κανὸν ἔκ 3 Ζεὺς κ.τ.λ.*

the preceding item does not seem to have been the *κανὸν ἔκ 4 Ἀπύλλων κ.τ.λ.*, as the remains of the figures visible are not part of its weight.

²² The former is described more fully thus: *κανὸν ὑπόχαλκον ἐπιχρυσὸν ἀνέσχετον*.

plaster cast of the former stone is indecipherable, and the latter is lost. The other *φιάλη* can be identified in the same two inscriptions, and each time it follows immediately after the description of the last mentioned *φιάλη*. In the former nothing is visible but the letters ΛΩΤΗ with which the line ends, in the latter we have a fuller description which is apparently to be restored thus: *φιά[λη ἐπάργγυρος ἀκυλωτὴ οὐχ ὄγ]οις, σταθμὸν δ' ἐπ[ιγ]έγρα[πται ἐπὶ τῇ φιάλῃ ΗΒ]||*.

Ll. 17-23. The two *θυμιατήρια*, described in the same terms in *I.G.* ii. 2. 678 (= *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. loc. cit.*), Col. I ll. 94-98, are also found in Nos. 679, Col. I ll. 28 foll., and 701, Col. I ll. 74-76. But in neither place is the former object specified as being weighed *σὺν τοῖς ἡλοις τοῖς χαλκοῖς*, nor is the verb *παράσεσημανται* used to explain that the *alpha* and *beta* were stamped on the vessels, as seems to have been the case. As the weights were known from No. 679 *loc. cit.* there is no need to transcribe the restorations. But our specification here given, *σὺν τοῖς ἡλοις τοῖς χαλκοῖς* enables us, I think, to restore ll. 6-10 of Col. II. of *I.G.* ii. 2. 677 as containing the names of the same objects. The stone is much worn and the copy in the Corpus (made from a plaster cast of the stone which is built into an inaccessible position in the north side of the west doorway of the Parthenon) gives us only the following letters:

ΩΝΥ, // ΧΛ // /// Ν
ΙΕΤΟΙΞ // ΛΚΟΙΞ

ΩΝΥΠΟ // // // // // ΟΝ
4 Γ Λ

Köhler's restoration was correct as far as it went, but in the light of our new fragment coupled with the complete text of the passage (*I.G.* ii. 2. 678, Col. I ll. 28 foll.) we may improve upon it. The reading in the Corpus is this - - - *ον ὑ[πό]χαλ[κο]ν* | *[σταθμὸν σὺν τοῖς - - ο]ις τοῖς [χα]λκοῖς* | - - - | - - - - - *ον ὑπό[χαλκ]ον* | *[σταθμὸν - -] ΗΒ[Δ-]*. This I would restore as follows: *[θυμιατήριον ἐπὶ χρυσ]ον ὑ[πό]χαλ[κο]ν*, | *[σταθμὸν σὺν τοῖς ἡλοις τοῖς [χα]λκοῖς* | *[XXXXHHHH]* | *[θυμιατήριον ἐπὶ χρυσ]ον ὑπό[χαλκ]ον*, | *[ἵνα τὸ βῆτα, σταθμὸν XXX] ΗΒ[ΔΔ]*. This gives us lines of the required length, as far as we can tell: our only clue to the length required is furnished by the restored beginning of l. 28 of this column, and the restoration proposed here brings the beginnings of these lines under one another and in the same vertical line with l. 28. It is noticeable that the engraver seems to have written *ἵνα τὸ βῆτα* to describe the second *θυμιατήριον*, but to have omitted *ἵνα τὸ ἀλφα* from the description of the first: there is nothing impossible in this restoration and no other seems equally satisfactory.

Ll. 24, 25. The weight of the *χρυσία*ν ἐπέτηκ[το]ν *[ἐπάργγυ]ρον* calls for a word of comment. It occurs in several inscriptions, but its weight is uncertain. The best authority, *I.G.* ii. 2. 678, Col. I ll. 99, 100, gives it as Π[Τ]-Β[Β]||, but in two other inscriptions it is represented as something

different from this. It is not possible that any other object of the same name is alluded to in either passage, for the resemblance of the contexts is complete, though the order of the items varies. In *I.O.* ii. 2. 679, l. 1. 34 we have - - - σταθμόν [+ + + +] C, which is rightly restored by Lehner²² as referring to this ἐπίτηκτον, and in 677, *II. Col. II* l. 20 we have - - - σταθμόν [+ + + +], which may of course be equally well the remains of 4 dr. 3 obols or 8 dr. 3 obols, according as the first figure was Γ or ρ. Unfortunately we have no evidence from earlier inscriptions of this class to decide the point either way. But on examination the first figure in No. 678, *loc. cit.*, seems distinctly to be ρ, and not Γ as Van Hille's copy has it (*Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. loc. cit.*). Consequently I restore 4 dr. 3 obols as the weight in the present passage, and in No. 677.

ll. 26-28. The χρυσίου ἐπίτηκ[τον] from the acroteria of the temple of Nike is known in four other inscriptions besides No. 678, which as usual is our best authority, and alone gives us the weight, Ρ + III, for this object. The passages are *I.O.* ii. 2. 677 *II.*, *Col. II* l. 21; 684, l. 8 = *A.J.A.* 1904, *op. cit.* p. 269, l. 8; 698, *Col. II* ll. 34, 35, and 738, l. 7 (where the text is very corrupt). That they refer to the same item is pointed out by Lehner.²³ But none of them admits of being restored so as to contain the words ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τῆς Νίκης which we have in No. 678, *loc. cit.* and in our new fragment. We may perhaps infer from this that these two inscriptions giving the fuller description are earlier than the others, perhaps only by a year or two, and that the gold-plating from the acroteria was a comparatively new acquisition which would be described more in detail in the earlier records than in the subsequent ones. But the point is unimportant.

We may now turn to the second column, which requires more detailed discussion as some of the items are apparently new to us: there is also some uncertainty as to the figures opposite to them. It will be seen from the squeeze that the latter are often very small and have suffered some damage. They, and the upper half of the second column, were very difficult to decipher, as the stone was covered in these parts with a hard calcareous deposit which required many hours' patient scraping with a knife before the figures and letters could be read at all; but fortunately the surface was found practically undamaged underneath.

COLUMN II.

- -	Η Δ Δ Δ Δ	σταθμόν
	Χ Η Η Η Γ Ε Ε	ἀμ[φοτέρων] - - σταθμόν
	Χ Η [Η] Η Δ Δ Δ Ε Ε	οἶνο[χόαι ἀργυραὶ τρεῖς, σταθμίν
		φιάλαι [ἀργυραὶ δύο,
5	Η Η Γ Ε Ε Ε	σταθμόν.
		ἀργυρίο ἐπ[ιτήκτο, ὃ ἐπέ-
		βαλε πρὸς τὸ βάθρον]

²² *Op. cit.* p. 97, No. 35.²³ *Op. cit.* p. 104.

		τὸ χερνιβείδι ὃ δέινα
	Η	Σουμείας
10	Δ[Δ]Δ	Μελητάδο π[αρακαταθήκη]
		ἀργυρίο ἐπ[ι]τήκτα, σταθμόν
	ΔΔΔΔΠΤΤΤΤΗ	τῶν πινακῶν [περιτμήματα]
		σταθμόν
		Ξενικό ἀργ[υρίο], σὺν τῶν
15	ΠΔΔΔΤΤΤΤ	ἀμφιδειδ[ί]σι σταθμόν
		νήττα ἀργ[υρῶ] - - - θυμι-
	ΔΤ Η	ατηρίο [- - σταθμόν
		ἀμφα[λοὶ] φιαλῶν δυοῖν
	ΗΠ	σταθμόν
20	ΠΗΠΤΤ	ὁ[ὶ] [ἐ]σχόη ἀργ[υρῶ], σταθμόν.
		ταύτα.

It is impossible to identify the first two items in our list. The weight of the first seems to have been at least 140 dr. and may have been much greater, but the breakage of the stone deprives us of any chance of restoring either weight or object. Nor can we tell what the object or objects were in l. 2, whose weight was apparently 1307 dr. (or possibly 1707, as the second figure might possibly be Π; the fifth figure is also much damaged but seems to me to have been Π). We can only say that ΑΜ is the beginning of the name of the object, as the previous line, which has the figures opposite it, probably consisted only of the word σταθμόν. It was not usual, in these records which are drawn up in columnar form, to begin the name of an item in the middle of a line. I would suggest ἀμφορίσκοι or ἀμφορῆς as more likely to have this weight than ἀμφιδείας, the only other possible alternative, for it would require an immense number of bracelets (ἀμφιδείας) to weigh upwards of 1000 dr., when we remember that in *IG*, ii. 2. 600, ll. 13, 14 two bracelets together weigh only 1 dr. 4 obols. We have some justification for conjecturing ἀμφορῆς or ἀμφορίσκοι, though neither word is actually found in this particular class of records. We have an allusion to 5(+) brazen ἀμφορῆς kept in the Chalkotheke in the inscription relating to the overhauling of the objects in that building (*IG*, ii. L. 61, l. 52), and, though it is not likely that any one or more of these is in question here, but rather some similar vessel or vessels of a more precious metal than bronze, this inscription at least shows that metal ἀμφορῆς were dedicated to deities whose sanctuaries were on the Acropolis: which of the objects in the Chalkotheke were sacred to Athena Polias we do not know. We have evidence for the dedication of ἀμφορίσκοι in the Parthenon from the speech of Demosthenes against Timocrates (XXIV, p. 758, l. 1), where allusion is made to Androtion's shameful conduct in melting down the crowns dedicated in the Parthenon and replacing them with such things as ἀμφορίσκοι and χρυσίδες.²⁴ But we

²⁴ Cf. Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, p. 303. The diminutive, ἀμφορίσκος, is probably due to the orator's indignation. In any case our inscrip-

tion is earlier than the period of Androtion's acts of vandalism, so not much stress can be laid on this evidence.

have no means of filling the gap in which was stated the number and the metal of these vessels (if indeed there were more than one) whose weight was 1307 (or 1707) drachmae.

Ll. 3. The *οἰνοχοαί*, which are the next objects in the list, are far less problematic. It is true that the first three figures are very uncertain but the weight . . . ΗΠΔΔΔΔ††† in conjunction with the word *οἰνο[χοαί]* can hardly belong to any other than the three silver *οἰνοχοαί* weighing 1382 dr. 2 obols which we find in the Hekatompedon-record for 398/7, *I.G.* ii. 2. 652A, ll. 30, 31. The same objects appear also in *I.G.* ii. 2. 660, l. 32 (restored); 667, l. 22 (though the weight is lost); 669, l. 1³⁰; 684, ll. 2, 3 (= *A.J.A.* 1904, p. 264, where only the weight is preserved, but the restoration seems quite certain), and 711, l. 7 (weight restored). They are also found in *I.G.* ii. 2. 680, ll. 11, 12, where the weight is given in full (except that Π appears as ρ), though Köhler strangely failed to identify these *οἰνοχοαί* with those found in the above-mentioned passages, and supplied ἐπτά instead of τρεῖς as their number. He was presumably misled by the corresponding passage in *I.G.* ii. 2. 677 ll. Col. I ll. 46, 47, where Eustratiades, who first published the inscription,³⁰ restored ἐπτά as the number of the *οἰνοχοαί* which weighed 1382 dr. 2 obols, wrongly reading Γ as part of an Ε and not of a Τ.³¹ We thus have eight inscriptions apart from our new fragment where these *οἰνοχοαί* are alluded to.

Ll. 4-5. The *φιάλαι* [ἀργυραῖ] are not hard to trace. There can, I think, be no doubt that the metal is correctly restored, as there is visible on the stone after the (the bottom of an oblique stroke which from its slope belongs to Α (or Λ) and not Χ. And in three of the inscriptions just alluded to, namely *I.G.* ii. 2. 677 ll. Col. I l. 48; 680, l. 13; 711, l. 8, the three silver *οἰνοχοαί* are followed by two silver *φιάλαι*; consequently we may restore δύο as the number here. In No. 684, ll. 3, 4, the same two *φιάλαι* occur weighed separately, in the same position. Their weights are given respectively as 105 and 100 dr. But unfortunately this fails to agree with the weight in our fragment, of which the last three figures are †††. The remaining figures are somewhat damaged but seem to me on repeated examination to be ΗΗΓ. Thus it is not impossible after all that, if I am right in giving the weight here as 208 dr., it may belong to the same two vessels which weigh 205 dr. in the inscription just mentioned. Such divergences are not rare in these records and possibly Η and ΗΠ are round numbers somewhat below the real weight. It is not likely that the scales were at fault on either occasion, as we noted that the weights of the three silver *οἰνοχοαί* agree in these two stones.

Ll. 6-9. The next item is very puzzling and does not resemble any

³⁰ The reading is uncertain, and the restoration of these objects (due to Boeckh, *Staats-haushaltung* ii. p. 284) does not agree exactly with the copy given in the Corpus. See Lehner, *op. cit.* p. 47.

³¹ *Ἀρχ. Ἔφ.* (new series), No. 439, and Pl. 70.

³² The identity of these *οἰνοχοαί* in all these inscriptions was pointed out by Brown (*A.J.A.* 1904, p. 265, note 2).

other entry in any one of this class of record. It seems clearly to relate to some gilt-plated silver (*ἀργύριον ἐπίτηκτον*), which seems to have been added by somebody to a χρυσίδιον. There can hardly be any doubt that the structure of the sentence was that suggested in my restoration, but we have no other clue to guide us, for the lines are of varying lengths, and nothing is to be gleaned from the weight [H]. Nor again is there any mention of a dedication by a man from Sumium (*Σουμίες*) in any of these records. [ἐπὶ]βαλε seems the most likely restoration in connexion with applying gold-plate to a vessel, though [προσέ]βαλε might also be possible. The whole passage must unfortunately remain for the present an unsolved riddle.

Ll. 10, 11. There can be no doubt as to the correctness of the restoration, as the item is known elsewhere. It is the same as the Μελητάδο παρ[ακ]αταθήκη : ἀργύριον ἐπίτηκτον in *I.G.* ii. 2. 684 (*A.J.A.*, *loc. cit.*, l. 18), and can be restored in the three following inscriptions, 654 b, l. 4; 660, l. 49; 661, l. 20. It is now clear that the suggestion of C. N. Brown (*A.J.A.*, *loc. cit.*), that in this passage the words Μελητάδο παρ[ακ]αταθήκη belonged to the item which precedes and not to that which follows them, is untenable: the alternative view which he mentioned but rejected is clearly the right one. The other three inscriptions can be restored respectively as follows, though in only the second case can we entirely fill the gap. 654 b, ll. 3, 4: ἀργύριο σ[υ]μμείκτο καὶ ἐπίτηκτο . . . σταθμὸν ΔΗ' ἀργύριο ἐπίτηκτο, παρακαταθήκη Μελητάδο Ἐρχιδῶς ΔΔΔ: κ.τ.λ.; 660, ll. 49, 50: ἀργύριον σ[υ]μμείκτο καὶ ἐπίτ[η]κτον, σ[ταθμὸν] ΔΗ' παρακαταθήκη Μελητάδο, ἀργύριον ἐπίτηκτον σταθ[μ]ὸν Δ' ΔΔΔ, κ.τ.λ.; 661, l. 20: [παρακαταθήκη Μελητ]άδο Ἐρχιδῶς ἀργύριο ΔΔΔ, κ.τ.λ. The remains of the figures visible on our fragment Δ' Δ agree with those given in the other passages (30 drachmae).

Ll. 12, 13. The *πινάκων περιτμήματα* are also known to us already. In *I.G.* ii. 2. 695, ll. 8, 9, we have [πινάκων ἀργυρῶν περιτμήματα, σταθμὸν] ΔΔΔΔ [ΡΕ] [ΤΕ] [ΤΕ] [ΤΕ]; and in 698, Col. II. ll. 29, 30 the same objects are found bearing the same weight. I omit the word ἀργυρῶν in the restoration here as it would make the line considerably longer than any of the others. The weight given here is, however, 49 dr. 2 obols as opposed to the 48 dr. 3 obols in the two other inscriptions. I have no doubt that the last figure but two is ρ and not ι, and the mistake, which is after all a trifling one, is probably due to careless cutting.

Ll. 14, 15. The *ξενιδὸν ἀργύριον*, which together with the small bracelet weighed 83 dr. 3 obols, is only found once elsewhere, namely *I.G.* ii. 2. 698, Col. II. ll. 24, 25, where the figures III are missing and may now be restored for the first time. We have no means of knowing what this particular item was, nor why coin should be coupled with a bracelet.

Ll. 16, 17. This item is also an insoluble puzzle. By the presence of the weight ΔΤIII opposite to the second of the two lines it is clearly all one object. There can be no doubt as to the identity of the *πῆντα ἀργυρά*, which is found weighing 11 dr. 3 obols in *I.G.* ii. 2. 698, Col. II. l. 21. But there it is not further defined in any way, nor can one easily account for the

presence of some part of the word [θυμ]ατήριον in the second line of the present passage. We have another allusion to the same silver duck in *I.G.* ii. 2. 677 II. Col. I ll. 57, 58, where, however, nothing is certain beyond the words [νῆ]ττα ἀργυρᾶ ἀπὸ τοῦ - - - - - σταθμὸν Δ[+III]; before σταθμὸν there is space for eight or nine letters, which in the Corpus are transcribed thus: IOIN////OIN//. There was evidently some definition of where the νῆττα belonged to, or what vessel it had been broken(?) off and a possible restoration to account for l. 58 in conjunction with our new inscription would be νῆττα ἀργυρᾶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔδος τοῦ θυμ]ατηρίου, σταθμὸν Δ+III. This, however, goes against the evidence of l. 59 of No. 677, which, whatever else it may have been, can hardly have been part of the word θυμιατήριον. It is also possible that the letters at the beginning of l. 59 do not belong to the description of the νῆττα at all, and that a new item was begun in the middle of the previous line, and that we have here to restore something like [ὀμφαλοὶ φιαλῶν] [δν]οῖν, σταθμὸν Δ- -, which is not unlikely, as this very item comes next in our new fragment, but involves considerable alteration of Köhler's text, namely IOIN into ΛΩΝ. I do not therefore propose this restoration with any confidence.

LI. 18, 19. The ὀμφαλοὶ φιαλῶν, whose weight seems to be 150, or possibly 105 drachmae, can be restored confidently in *I.G.* ii. 2. 695, l. 7, where we have ΟΙΦΙΑΛΩ . . . ΑΘ, as Köhler had suggested, and we find them mentioned also in 698, Col. II, l. 22, where, however, the weight is lost, but we gather that they were the silver bosses from two φιάλαι.²⁸ It is also possible as I suggested above that they are to be restored in No. 677, *loc. cit.*, though if the figure Δ is correct as the first figure of their weight this identification is impossible. But the plaster cast, which is the sole accessible authority for this inscription, is so hard to decipher that no final conclusion can be based on its readings.

L. 20. The last item of all is well known in these records. The restoration is obvious in conjunction with the weight, 652 drachmae. For in *I.G.* ii. 668, ll. 2, 3 we have ε[ἰνοχ][όη] ἀργυρᾶ, σταθ[μ]ὸν ΠΗΠΠ, and the same weight is no doubt correctly restored in 667, l. 23, where a single silver εἰνοχόν is catalogued. It is probably the same εἰνοχόν (though the weight is lost) that occurs in 677 II. Col. I l. 51, and possibly in 680, l. 14; 681, l. 23, 711, l. 6. These identifications were suggested by C. N. Brown, (*A.J.A.*, *loc. cit.* l. 3), where he correctly restores ε[ἰνοχόν] [ἀργυρᾶ :: σταθμὸν ΠΗΠΠ].

With this item the second column concludes. There is little to add by way of comment, as there is no internal evidence by which we are enabled to give an exact date to the fragment. We saw that the order of the items in Col. I resembled that in *I.G.* ii. 2. 678 A, Col. I (= *Εφ. Αρχ.* 1903, pp. 139 foll.), and in Col. II, that in *I.G.* ii. 2. 677 II. Col. I, though with some additions and variations. It is a natural inference then that all three stones belong to the same period. We know that Nos. 677 and 678 belong to the

²⁸ See Lehner's note on these objects, *op. cit.*, p. 101, note 1.

years 367/6 and 368/7 respectively, and consequently our new fragment may be dated to about the same period. The chief difference consists in the fact that the weights belonging to the objects are placed to the left of their names, instead of as usual to the right. It is possible that this usage was unsatisfactory for this class of records, though it had been employed earlier with success for the Quota-lists, and was abandoned. If this were so we might conjecture that our new fragment was from the first stone of its class to be drawn up in columnar form. But none so arranged exist of a date previous to the year 376/5, from which we have two records (*IG* ii. 2. 671, 672), so if this suggestion is adopted, the date for our present stone will lie between the years 375/4 and 369/8 inclusive. Closer than this we cannot hope to date it, but some such date well suits the evidence both from orthography and from the actual size and shape of the letters.³⁹

ARTHUR M. WOODWARD.

³⁹ I must not omit to acknowledge the kind assistance of Mr. M. N. Tod throughout this paper.

THREE BRONZE FIGURES FROM ASIA MINOR

I.—A Sixth-Century Statuette from Samos.

THIS little archaic figure (Fig. 1) I purchased in 1901 at Vathy in Samos, and with it a fine bronze sword, of which hereafter. The peasant who sold it to the Samian from whom I got it was reported to have said that they were discovered together at the village of Castania near Carlovasi. It is undoubtedly an early example of Greek figure-casting. The figure itself is four inches high, but there are two projections from the soles of the feet, making it four-and-a-half inches high over all. These projections are intentionally formed, to fix the figure upright on its base. The figure stands rigidly upright, with feet apart and arms detached from the body at the elbow and raised rather higher than the horizontal line. The figure would be absolutely symmetrical about its middle plane if it were not for the hands, of which the right is open with the palm turned to the figure's own left, while the left hand is closed and perforated as if to grasp something. The lower part of the body is without modelling and resembles a rounded board or a flattened bolster. There is no attempt to model the bosom. The face itself is long, with rather wide and high cheekbones; the eyes are wide and staring as in most very early Greek work; the hair lies low on the forehead. The mouth, though fairly well marked, wears no smile; on the contrary, the lower lip is thrust forward a little. Neither fingers nor toes are marked with any certainty.



FIG. 1.—ARCHAIC BRONZE STATUETTE
FROM SAMOS.

The costume is apparently a single long robe with a deep border reaching to just above the ankles, and short sleeves reaching to the elbow. The robe fits the body closely, and is

drawn in at the waist by a girdle, indicated by three parallel grooves. Fine incised lines round the wrist may be intended for bracelets.

The headdress is a kind of low *polos* of unusual form. The top of the head is quite flat, and there is a small hole in it as if to secure a crown or plume of more valuable metal. Close below the flat top is a projecting ridge which may be meant for a diadem like those worn by archaic Graeco-Phoenician statues from Idalion in Cyprus. Below this again the hair (which is dressed in a common Early Iron Age fashion) falls copiously over the ears, of which the contours are clearly indicated, and falls behind the neck in an unusual triangular shape, two points resting on the tops of the shoulders, and the bottom point about midway between the shoulder-blades. The actual tresses and waves of hair are represented by horizontal and perpendicular incised lines. There are no separate plaited tresses brought over on to the bosom as in the early Attic statues.

The sculpture which illustrates this figure consists of two groups. First we have the early Samian school itself—and secondly another insular type generally known as that of Naxos, although its real source is hardly proven. Of the Samian school there are three early and nearly contemporary statues, of which the best known is the headless statue in the Louvre found in the Samian Heraeum, and dedicated to Hera by a certain Cheramyes. The other two are from Athens, but from the identity of their style with the Samian figure, and from the fact that one of them bears, in Ionic characters, the name of the distinguished Samian artist Theodorus, they have been provisionally grouped with the Cheramyes statue. The head remains only in one of the statues at Athens.¹

The type presented by these statues is an upright lifeless figure, the lower part of which is simply a cylindrical column. The feet project side by side from beneath the drapery at the base. One arm adheres to the right side, while the left, resting on the bosom, holds a pomegranate. The costume is shown in copious but quite inaccurate detail, but little more than a series of shallow fine parallel lines. The face is long and expressionless, the eyes staring, and the mouth smileless, as in this Samian bronze. The hair is thin and wavy, and is carried entirely on to the back. These three statues are certainly of the sixth century B.C., probably of the first half of it.²

The well-known Delian type is best represented by the statue (now at Athens) which bears a dedicatory inscription to Artemis by Nicandra of Naxos and is generally attributed to the seventh century B.C.³ This statue has so great a resemblance to the Samian bronze that it is hardly necessary to do more than note the points of difference. These are that the statue has no *polos* and that the hair, though mostly spread roughly on the back, has also four wide tresses carried to the front on each side of the neck. The

¹ See Cavvadias, *Catalogue of the Athens Museum*, No. 619; and Gardner's *Handbook to Greek Sculpture*, I, pp. 112-115, and Fig. 12.

² Such is Mr. R. Gardner's opinion; *Hand-*

book of Greek Sculpture, I, 114, note 1.

³ It is Gardner's nondescript draped female type: vol. I, p. 91 and p. 129, and Fig. 14. Also Cavvadias, *Catalogue*, No. 1.

arms hang by the sides undetached and straight, and the feet are close together. The only visible detail is an indication of a girdle at the waist, and the body is even more board-like than the Samian bronze.

The Samian bronze lies between the Naxian and the Samian types. The detached arms and separated feet indicate an advance on both, but the absence of detail and the Naxian proportions preclude us from putting it as late as the Samian figures. The latter, covered as they are with careful detail, strike me as the work of artists capable of more advanced work, but fettered by having to produce a cult-model: the Naxian figures and this bronze, on the other hand, have nothing to indicate that their designers were not simply doing their best.

There are several bronze figures which could be placed in a group with the Samos figure. We may note the following:—

(1) From Sessa on the Volturno, Italy. Ht. 2 ft. British Museum. Walters. *B.M. Bronzes*, 447. The pose of the figure is similar to the Samos figure. The left foot is somewhat rather advanced. The hands are both raised with the palms turned inwards. The left hand is extended. The index finger and thumb of the right hand are pressed together as if to hold a flower. The figure wears a long robe and over it a short coat-like garment; the shoes have turned-up toes. There is a diadem or crown on front of head, under which the hair is shown in a zigzag line. The rest of the hair is carried on to the back in a large mass, quite plain.

(2) From the Grotta d'Iside at Vulci. Dennis, *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, 1883, vol. i. p. 459. The pose of this figure is similar to that of our bronze. The hands are both raised from the elbow as in the Samian bronze, but the right hand is palm upwards. The feet are sandalled, and stand side by side. The costume consists of a long robe to the feet girdled at the waist, over

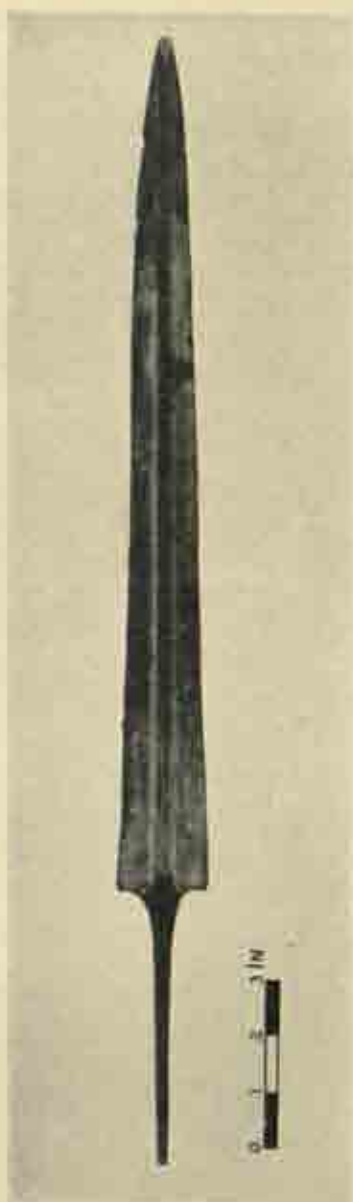


FIG. 2.—BRONZE SWORD FROM
SAMOS.

it is a somewhat shorter tunic, open in front. Most of the hair is carried in a large mass on to the back, but appears to be composed of plaited

tresses knotted about the small of the back. Two long tresses fall over the front of the shoulders, and on the head is a round close-fitting cap.

(3) From Melos. British Museum, Walters, No. 194 Pl. 111. The pose is similar, and recalls that of No. 1. The hands are raised from the elbow; the right hand is extended palm upwards, left closed as if to carry an offering. The headdress is a diadem or crown, and the hair is spread over the back, quite plain without any cross lines to indicate waves or tresses.

Though there may be some difference in date, there is none in the meaning of the actual type or the purpose of these bronze figures. They were votive or dedicatory statuettes offered in a shrine or temple, and representing simply the feminine type under which the goddess was worshipped. Our knowledge is as yet insufficient to assert that the Samian and Naxian statues were for the same purpose, or whether they were actually the ritual representation of the deity or the votary. The position of the hands in these bronzes is that of adoration, or the presentation of an offering.

The figure from Samos has a special interest when we remember the traditional connexion of the island with the origin of bronze-casting for statuary. According to this, the honour of the invention is given to three Samians, Rhoecus, Theodorus, and Telekles, the last two of whom visited Egypt and studied there, probably in the time of Amasis the friend of Polycrates of Samos (566 to 522 B.C.).

Taking into consideration all the points we have noted, we cannot assign the little bronze to a later date than that of the Samian statue of Cheratyas, which seems to be early sixth century. If, however, as seems likely, the wig-like treatment of the hair shows Egyptian influence, we may even have here an example of Samian bronze-casting of the time, and under the influence of Theodorus or Telekles, and in that case we must bring it down nearly to the middle of the century, since the reigns of Polycrates and Amasis commenced respectively at 570 and 566 B.C. The traditional date for Theodorus is slightly earlier than this, about 580 B.C.

The weapon (Fig. 2), said to have been found with the figure, is 19½ inches (0.505 m.) long, the blade measuring 15½ inches (0.385 m.). The patina is not unlike that of the figure. The central rib is decorated with three raised lines running its whole length. The weapon can best be described as a thrusting short sword; in date it may well be of the sixth or seventh century B.C., although it is difficult to adduce an exact parallel.*

II.—A Bronze Figure of Artemis from Ephesus.

This bronze (Fig. 3) was bought by me at Smyrna and is said to have come from Ephesus. It is 5½ inches high and practically complete. The figure is of the true huntress type, moving rapidly forward, with the left foot in advance. Both arms are brought to the front, and the left hand (the most

* A drawing of the blade is given in my *Art of Offence*, p. 94. Ulverston, 1900.
of Attack: A Study in the Development of Weapons

advanced) grasped the bow, whilst the right hand, slightly turned in at the wrist, carried perhaps a torch, as was the case (according to Pausanias) in the Praxitelean Artemis at Anticyra.² The costume is, as usual in this type, a short chiton, with a beaded girdle below the bosom, and hunting boots with open toe. The hair is carried to the back of the head and secured by a knot, from which radiate parallel ridges to indicate the wave of the hair.



FIG. 3.—BRONZE ARTEMIS FROM EPHESUS.

For the type, we may compare Reinach, *Répertoire*, ii. p. 312, Nos. 1, 2, 3, and also the Barberini Artemis, Clarac, No. 564 c (1218 c) = Reinach, *Répertoire*, i. p. 302 which shows the bow in the left hand. Compare also the upper part of an Artemis, also at Naples, (Clarac 570 n 1239 n) = Reinach, *Répertoire*, i. p. 306.

² There is a gem in the British Museum exactly; but in this, a gazelle is carried in the right hand. This is manifestly a variation.

III.—A Grotesque Bronze from Mylasa.

The figure of a trumpeter (Fig. 4) comes from Mylasa in Caria and is unlike anything I have yet seen. The height is 2½ inches, but the head is disproportionately large for the body, and the body for the legs. The whole type is barbarous and grotesque. The trumpeter stands with feet together his right arm placed on his hip; with the left he grasps his bell-ended trumpet, which he blows with all his might. The face is hideous with protruding but very long eyes; the nose is very much turned up, possibly in the exertion of his performance on the trumpet, and he wears something over



FIG. 4.—HIDEOUS TRUMPETER FROM MYLASA.

his mouth which may be either a flute-player's *phorbacion*, or a big moustache on the modern German pattern. His hair and eyebrows are indicated by fine incised curly lines; there are traces of whiskers; his enlarged chin may very likely indicate a beard and he wears a strange peaked cap which is unlike the Phrygian, since the peak falls back, and also unlike the Cyprian pointed cap in which the peak is generally straight.

My thanks are due to Prof. J. L. Myres for assistance kindly rendered to me in connexion with the publication of these bronzes.

H. S. COWPER.

THE FRANKISH INSCRIPTION AT KARDITZA.

To students of Frankish Greece the church at Karditza in Boeotia is one of the most interesting in the country, because it contains an inscription referring to an important Frankish personage, Antoine le Flamenc, and dating from the fatal year 1311, which witnessed the overthrow of the Frankish Duchy of Athens in the swamps of the Boeotian Kephissos. Buchon had twice¹ published this inscription; but, as I was anxious to



FIG. 1.—THE CHURCH OF ST. GEORGE AT KARDITZA, LOOKING TOWARDS THE END, WHICH IS MODERN.

(Photograph by Mr. D. Steel.)

know in what condition it was and to have an exact facsimile of it, I asked Mr. D. Steel, the manager of the Lake Copais Company, to have a fresh copy taken. Mr. Steel kindly sent his Greek draughtsman to copy the inscription, and at the same time visited the church and took the photographs now published (Figs. 1 and 2).

On comparing the present copy (Fig. 3) with Buchon's versions, it will be noticed that not only are there several differences of spelling, but that the

¹ *La Grèce contemporaine*, 217; *Recherches historiques*, i. 409.

French scholar omitted one important addition to the year at the end of the inscription—the indiction, which is rightly given as the 9th. This is a further proof that the date of the inscription is 1311, which corresponds with



FIG. 2.—THE CHURCH OF ST. GEORGE AT KARDITZA, SHOWING OLD BELLY AND BUTTRESSES SUPPORTING OLD PART OF THE BUILDING.

(Photograph by Mr. D. Steel.)

both the year 6819 and the 9th indiction. As the battle of the Kephissós was fought on March 15th of that year, and as Antoine le Flamenc is known to have survived the terrible carnage of that day, we may surmise, as I have

ΑΝΗΓΕΡΘΗ ΘΕΟΥ ΚΕ ΠΑΤΕΡΝΟΣ ΝΗΟΣ ΤΥΓΙΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΝ
ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ ΔΗΤΙΝΕΡΓΑΤΟΥ ΠΟΛΥΤΟΝ ΘΩΣΕΕ ΕΣΤΙ
ΚΑΤΑΛΑΒΗΜΕΝ ΤΟΝ ΤΕΦΕΛΑ ΜΑ

ΟΔΕ ΤΕΛΟΣ ΗΠΙΦΕΝ ΠΟΛΩΝ ΜΑΤΙΡΩΝ ΟΔΕ ΤΕΛΟΣ ΕΥΡΕΝ
ΗΣΩΡΗΤΥ ΤΑ ΠΑΡΑΓΕΜΑΝ ΟΝΙΕΡΩΜΟΝ ΤΑ ΧΟΝΚΕ ΚΑΘΗ
ΓΥΜΕΝ ΟΥΚ ΕΝΙΚΟΤΑ ΜΟΝΙΕΡΩΜΟΝ ΤΑ ΧΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΠΥΤΑΔΕ
ΦΟΝΤΟΥΣ ΑΝΑΚ ΕΝ ΗΣΑΝ ΤΑΤΩΝ ΗΚΟΝΤΕ ΤΟΝ
✠ ΕΤΑΩΙΘ ΛΘ✠

FIG. 3.—INSCRIPTION ON THE CHURCH AT KARDITZA.

elsewhere suggested, that the work commemorated in the inscription was 'in pursuance of a vow made before he went into action.'

Antoine le Flamenc, whose ancestors had settled in the Holy Land, is
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several times mentioned during the first decade of the fourteenth century. The *Livre de la Conquête*² states that Guy II, Duke of Athens, appointed him his 'baillie and lieutenant' in Thessaly in 1303, and describes him as *un des plus sages hommes de Romanie* and *le plus sage des ducs*. The same passage also alludes to Jean le Flamenc, his son, as receiving a post in Thessaly. Doubtless their experience of the Wallachs, who then, as now, wandered as winter approached from the Thessalian to the Bocatian Karditza, would specially commend these two distinguished men for such duties. Two years later we find Antoine as one of the witnesses of a deed³ regarding the property of the Duchess of Athens, just come of age at Thebes, in her father's land of Hainault. On April 2nd, 1309, both Antoine and Jean were present at the engagement of the then widowed Duchess with Charles of Taranto at Thebes.⁴ On the 23rd of a certain month (I September) of 1308, a Venetian document⁵ alludes to the intention of *Fiammengo Antonio*, together with Guy II, Rocaforte, and Bonifacio da Verona, to *tentar l'impresa di Negroponte*—in other words, to make an attempt upon that Venetian colony. On August 11th, 1309, another Venetian letter, this time addressed to *Egregio militi Antonio Fiammengo*, informs us that he had rented the property of Pietro Correr, an absent canon of Thebes, and bids him not to consign the rents to any but the rightful person. A second letter of the same day, addressed to the baillie and councillors of Negroponte, mentions him again in connexion with this affair.⁶ Finally, the list of Greek dignitaries, with whom the Republic was in correspondence, originally drawn up before the battle of the Kephissos and then corrected in 1313, mentions *Sec Antonius Flamenco miles*.⁷ As his name is not followed by the word *decessit* or *mortuus*, added to those who had fallen in the battle, he was one of the very few survivors.

To these certain facts Hopf⁸ added the assumption, based on no evidence, that he was the 'Frank settled in the East,' whom Isabella, Marchioness of Boudonitza, married, and who, in 1286, disputed the succession to that castle with her cousin.

The inscription is painted on the plaster of the wall, and when Mr. Steel visited the church in 1907 and this summer, pieces of the plaster were cracked and threatening to fall and destroy a portion of it. He has kindly instructed his engineer to consult with the priest and the Mayor of Karditza as to the best method of restoring the cracked plaster, so that such a catastrophe may be prevented. Mr. Steel also informed me that, when he first saw the church about 1880, 'the extension of the west end,' clearly visible in the photographs, 'had not yet been made, while at that end there existed a sort of verandah set on pieces of ancient columns.'

² *Ibid.* I. 409-10.

³ St. Genois, *Droits privés* (s. . . de Hainaut), I. 327.

⁴ *Ibid.* I. 216.

⁵ *Lettere di Collegio*, I. 8.

⁶ *Ibid.* I. 21.

⁷ Hopf, *Chroniques grecs-romanes*, 178.

⁸ *Idem*, *opud* Kieck und Gruber, *Allgemeine Enzyklopädie*, lxxv. 321, 369. Cf. *J.H.S.* xxviii. 238.

As Buchan's books are rare, I append his transcript of the inscription:—

ΑΝΗΓΕΡΘΗ Ο ΘΥΙΩΣ ΚΕ ΠΝΣΕΠ-
 ΤΟΣ ΝΑΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΙΠΟΥ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΜ^Τ
 ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ ΔΗΑ ΣΙΝΕΡΓΙΑΣ ΚΕ
 ΠΟΘΟΥ ΠΟΛΛΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΩΣΕΒΕΣΤΑΤΟΥ
 ΚΑΒΑΛΑΡΙ ΜΙΣΕΡ ΑΝΤΟΝΙ
 ΛΕ ΦΛΑΜΑ
 ΟΔΕ ΤΕΛΟΣ ΗΛΙΦΕΝ ΠΟΛΩΝ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΩΝ
 ΟΔΕ ΤΕΛΟΣ ΕΥΡΕΝ ΗΣΤΟΡΙΑ ΑΥΤΑ
 ΠΑΡΑ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΟΥ ΙΕ-
 ΡΟΜΟΝΑΧΟΥ ΚΕ ΚΑΘΕΓΟΥΜΕΝΟΥ
 ΚΑΙ ΝΙΚΟΔΕΜΟΥ ΙΕΡΟΜΟΝΑΧΟΥ
 ΤΟΝ ΑΥΤΑΔΕΛΦΩΝ ΤΟΥ-
 Σ ΑΝΑΚΕΝΕΣΑΝΤΑΣ ΤΟΝ
 ΗΚΩΝ ΤΟΥΤΟΝ.
 + ΕΤΙ. ΕΩΙΘ. +

WILLIAM MILLER.

THASOS.

[PLATES XIII-XXII.]

PART II.—TOPOGRAPHY.

THE initial chapter of M. Perrot's memoir on Thasos¹ makes it unnecessary to give any general description of the position, aspect, and climate of the island. But since he wrote before the Austrian staff-map, which contains rough contours, was produced, it will be well to supplement and correct his remarks on the mountain system of the island.

On this M. Perrot wrote (p. 7):—

“Le système des montagnes de l'île est assez confus, et très difficile à établir sur une carte. Le seul trait remarquable et qui frappe tout d'abord, c'est une chaîne principale, très étroite au sommet et souvent taillée en lame de rasoir, qui traverse l'île à peu près de l'est à l'ouest, en jetant vers le sud et le nord d'épais contreforts et des vallées sinueuses. Les points les plus élevés de cette longue crête, qui serre toujours de près la côte nord, sont le Saint-Élie (960 mètres) et l'Ipsario (1030 mètres). . . tout le pays au sud de cette chaîne, environ les deux tiers de l'île, est formé de hauteurs qui se mêlent et courent en tout sens, et ne dépassent guère cinq ou six cents mètres.”

M. Perrot's map, Pl. I. in his memoir, was made in consonance with the above, but if the reader will turn to the map on Pl. XIII. of this article he will see that this paragraph needs correction.² I have added the 100 m. contours from the Austrian *Generalstabskarten* (sheet 42° 41' Kavalla). These are invaluable for showing the general formation of the island and in particular the position and character of the deep ravines running in from the sea coast. Since these are shown by the contours I have refrained from inserting the streams, very few of which can be relied on during the summer

¹ The following works, to which constant reference is made in the text, are quoted subsequently by their authors' names only:—A. Conze, *Reise auf den Inseln des ägäischen Meeres*, Hannover, 1880; G. Perrot, *Mémoire sur l'île de Thasos* (Archives des Missions Scientifiques, Tome 1^{re}, 2^e série, 1884); C. Friedrich, *Thasos*, *Athenische Mittheilungen*,

vol. xxviii. (1908).

² The outline of this map has been redrawn from the British Admiralty chart which, excellent as to coastline, has been the cause of much subsequent error owing to the capital of the island, Thesolôgo, being marked in entirely the wrong place. The magnetic variation has been corrected to 1907.

months.² The contours are, however, far from being scientifically accurate.³ We can see from them, however, that the high rampart of mountains which evoked the quaint simile of Archilochus⁴ lies in the N.E. quarter of the island on a curved axis. Hence we have on the N. and E. coasts steep declivities running down to the sea. To the S.W. of this chain is a central plateau, containing many depressions and elevations which the contour lines do not show, but maintaining a level of roughly 6-700 m. From the S. and W. edge of this the mountains descend in gentler slopes than we meet with on the precipitous N. and E. coasts. It should further be noted that the highest peaks as given by the Austrian surveyors are:—Psario (1045 m.); then a mountain unnamed in my map but marked in the Austrian survey Trabiza and called sometimes merely the *ōpos Boupyārou* (1028); and then Mt. Elias (972). Lastly, in correction of M. Perrot, it should be said that Mt. Mats (*ōpos Asōmāros*) called *Λεσμάρες* in my plan (see below, p. 245, and footnote) reaches the height of 727 m.

I reached Thasos at the end of June 1907, having spent some days at Salonika and Kavalla.⁵ The traveller approaching Lámēna, as the ancient capital of the island is now called, by sea is confronted with (Pl. XIV.)⁶ a natural amphitheatre facing the N.W., of which the chord is the seashore. On the sky line of the enclosing hills rise, in their highest part, three peaks: one overgrown with trees from which broken towers still rise; one whose sharp outline marks the platform of a fallen temple; and one, the highest, a cluster of rocks rising bare from olive grown slopes. The space between these hills and the spectator was ancient Thasos. The sky line, from the islet on the

² Schumann, *Marthorin*, I, p. 345, gives only two streams as permanent: that of Polantā in the N.E., and that which flows between Kastro and Theologē to the S.W. To these, however, should be added the streams of Panagīa and Lámēna.

³ This has made me decide not to insert the tracks connecting village with village. These it would be impossible to insert accurately among contours which give only a general idea of the country, and they lie for the most part through thick woods, thus adding to the difficulty of correct observation. Moreover the traveller is invariably dependent on guides who know every inch of the road.

⁴ *Ἦδ' ἄρ' ὄρεα πέτραι*

Ἐργαστὸν δ' αὖτ' ἄγριας ἐπιστροφῆς.

Quoted by M. Perrot, p. 14.

⁵ I wish gratefully to record obligations to H. E. the Yali Pasha of Salonika and H. E. the Mutassarif of Thasos; to Mr. A. W. Graves and Mr. Mullock of Salonika, and Major A. L. Stephen Bey and other officers of the Gendarmérie Internationale Impériale at Kavalla, for invaluable assistance and generous

hospitality; to M. Edwin Spähel for help and advice on topographical points, and to Messrs. G. F. Hill, J. H. Hopkinson, and A. J. B. Wace for their good counsel in writing this article. In speaking of the village of Panagīa I express my obligation to many kind Hellenic friends in the island, but I mention here my faithful friend and comrade, Ali İsmail, a Cretan gendarme, who was with me in every possible capacity unrecogited for five months and showed an ability and integrity which would do credit to any service.

⁶ This map differs widely from M. Perrot's plan (Pl. II.), which is, to speak frankly, very inaccurate. In its general lines it resembles far more closely those given by Dr. Couze and Herr Friedrich, but contains considerably more detail. The modelled contours were made with a fairly close acquaintance with the ground, but are not scientifically accurate. They have the advantage of giving a good general impression of the aspect of a fortified Greek city facing seawards.

extreme left to the highest peak last named, marks the circuit of the ancient walls. Its continuation thence to the sea on his right is masked for the present in the cultivated plain reaching to the foot hills of the forest-clad mountain range beyond.

The modern landing-stage, with the booth representing the customs, lies to the right, but we will suppose that we can enter forthwith the pretty little harbour whose moles project in the centre of the long semicircle of the beach. This has been largely rebuilt in modern times, but the moles in their lower courses as well as the trim rectilinear shore line contain many ancient blocks to-day, and at their angles can be seen the foundations of ancient towers, square and semicircular. Without doubt this is the *ἐλευσὶνός λιμὴν* of Skylax,⁹ where a few idle tobacco boats and a crazy coracle with the burned out brazier of last night's fishing¹⁰ represent the navy that faced the siege of Histiaeus. In the N.E. angle of the harbour, just where the longer pile projects into the sea, a rough wooden door marked with a cross is the entry to the *metóchi* of Vátopedi, a small farm dependent on the monastery of H. Pródromos at Athos. Here when M. Perrot visited the island the disposition of the ancient walls in their relation to the harbour just described was, to judge from his map, far clearer than it is to-day. They have since been much destroyed in the rebuilding of the *metóchi*. But we are on solid ground when we come to the S. or more accurately S.E. wall of the vineyard, which is the ancient city-wall itself. And here will be a convenient place to start on our survey of the circuit of the walls.

There are at our starting-point three courses of good ashlar masonry (the blocks of which average 1 m. x 40 cm.) with here and there a tendency to adjust blocks of a different height into the line (see Pl. XVIII. a). This reach of wall continues parallel to the sea coast for about 100 m. when it is destroyed, though its curvilinear course may be traced till it reappears on the shore itself at an interesting point 200 m. further on. Here may be discerned the spot where, apparently, a tower projecting seaward has been torn down. Below, through the clear water, traces are visible of what seem to be the foundations of the inclined plane of a landing-stage running out to sea to the W.N.W.¹¹ At this point the continuous line of the wall is broken and an inner retaining wall is seen through the opening for a space of six metres. Perhaps the whole arrangement betokens a gate connecting the landing-stage and the interior of the wall-circuit. The large rough stones of the foundations of the ancient mole which protected the landing-stage can be seen, awash, about 50 m. to the N., running out into the sea due W. at the point where the town-wall turns sharply to the E. The whole region, then, from this pier southward to the longer mole of the little harbour will form the other open harbour, the existence of which is implied by Skylax.¹² We now reach the

⁹ Skylax, 67: *Ἀνέστη δὲν τοῦτορ ὁ εἰς ἐλευσίνος.*

¹⁰ In a country where food can be a real difficulty fish-spearing at night with a fire of resinous pine chips is one of the best means of

replenishing. Fishing with nets is, so usual in the Mediterranean, most uncertain.

¹¹ This should be slightly more to the N. than it is in the plan.

¹² Cf. Friedrich, p. 228. I formed the same

point where the wall leaves the sea and springs to the E. in a reach almost totally destroyed, up the steep mound which forms the termination of the descending line of hill to the N.E. of Thasos.

The easily found point where the wall begins again commands a good view of the little peninsula or islet forming the north promontory. It will be well to enumerate the remains at this point as they are not correctly given elsewhere. Twenty-five m. from the point where the wall begins again, and down the slope in the direction of the islet, are traces of a circular foundation. This from its position may well have been a lighthouse similar to that described below (p. 231). Following the same direction we reach a fragment of wall running from the main wall at right angles to the larger fragment now to be noted. About 75 m. from our starting-point and *not visible from above* is a well preserved fragment 23 m. in length, lying N.W.-S.E., being apparently part of a wall designed to cut off the islet from the mainland. Crossing to the islet we find that it has been traversed by a late wall running nearly W. and E. and that on the W. cliff a late fortress still stands.¹² It will be seen from the above that the Hellenic remains are confined to the shore, the mediaeval to the islet.

Returning to the main city-wall where we left it we find that it encircles the lowest and most northerly mound of the N.E. ridge in a semicircle of five unequal stretches, and then starts in a S.E. direction, (parallel with the ridge of the hill, but below it and on the seaward side) in a reach of about 140 m. terminating in a tower (9 × 5 m.) projecting seaward. Since we left the *metochi* garden the wall where preserved has been of ashlar masonry of unequal quality and showing frequent traces of repair, but in this reach we find massive polygonal stones admirably adjusted. Indeed the finest part of the wall of Thasos, with the exception perhaps of the wall of Parion described below (p. 219), is to be seen in this reach as the tower is approached. A detail is shown on Pl. XVIII &. The wall from the tower onwards is continued in a slightly more southerly direction for about 65 m., when at the point nearest to the theatre (see below, p. 228, footnote), from which it is separated by the crest of the hill, it is suddenly broken off,¹³ nor can it be more than traced by scanty signs till we reach the Acropolis. If we continue our present direction for more than 100 m. we come upon what may be traces of a round tower. Proceeding thence in a slightly more easterly direction we find just to the S. of the solitary shepherd's hut a fragment of the wall *in situ*, and keeping the same direction a second circular foundation may be traced at a point

opinion, though I was told that the pier running due W. was built at the time when the island was attached to the pashalik of Egypt. Should this be so perhaps what I have called a landing-stage was a mole.

¹² Which I learn from other travellers is called 'Εσπιδασεργε, though I myself never heard it so named.

¹³ It is easy to understand the destruction of

the corresponding portion of the W. wall, which runs through the occupied plain, but the wholesale removal of this mound and, judging from masonry near the projecting tower, massive defence requires explanation. It may have been taken to afford material for the adjoining theatre, if this is, as I believe, a late construction.

somewhat less than 100 m. further on. This second round tower is nearly due N. of the Acropolis and about 115 m. away from it. The existing piece of wall descending from the N. angle of the Acropolis towards this tower is of poor construction but certainly follows the ancient lines.

THE ACROPOLIS.

Cf Pl. XIX. and Figs. 1-3.

The Acropolis of Thasos occupies the most northerly of the three peaks included in the *excavate* of the city-wall and forms itself the most easterly point of the circuit.

Former travellers had expressed the opinion that it should be planned and measured. Owing to the absence of water, the dense growth of pine and wild olive, the chaos of later ruins in the interior, and the sharp fall of the ground at every point from the exterior, the work was somewhat difficult, but a comparison of the plan and sketches, the figures in which correspond, will make the main features clear.

The axis of the fortress, which is roughly 100 m. long by 50 broad in its greatest dimension, lies N.N.E. to S.S.W. A glance at the plan shows that we have to do with no building of fair proportion, equal angles and corresponding measurements. Through the ages man has here endeavoured to make himself a fastness by strengthening and extending a natural fortress, and repairing generally on the same lines the havoc of many an unrecorded siege. Only on the E. side, where the rock is steepest, are the earlier defences more or less intact.

The S.E. Wall.

It will be best to begin this description of the remains at the tower at the extreme S. angle of the fortress, and to follow the numerical sequence on the plan. This tower is numbered 1 in Fig. 1 (plan) and Fig. 2 (sketches). Unless the contrary is stated in this section on the Acropolis the numbers in the text correspond with those given both in the plan and sketches.

The tower at the S. angle has been entirely rebuilt of ancient blocks and is probably a solid structure casing the natural rock and partly filled up with earth. On its S.E. side it was built over the fine stretch of ancient wall 28-29; or, to speak more accurately, this length of wall was demolished at point 29 and some of the debris used for the new tower. At a point exactly over 30 I found the inscription (see above, p. 91, No. 1) recording the dedication of Menedemus.⁴⁴

Between 1 and 2 lies the ruined S. entry to the mediaeval château.

⁴⁴ The first and last word are easily read from the ground with a glass; the curious second name ΠΡΑΤΟΙΝΣ (Πατήριος), indecipher-

able from below, I recovered from a squeeze made on an olive ladder.

The narrow gate gives on a small court, into the E. side of which, formed by the W. wall of the tower described above, is built a block from a Doric frieze (Pl. XIX. e) showing portions of two metopes (unsculptured) and two triglyphs (width of whole block, 1 m.; width of metope, 40 cm.; width of triglyph, 23 cm.). I had at first thought, since there is place for little in the way of temple building on the high ridge on which we now stand, of connecting this block with the temple on the platform described below (p. 214). But the measurements show that this cannot have been the case. The temple was, if my deductions below are correct, octostyle with a stylobate measuring 14 m. on the shorter side. A glance at any existing elevation of a Greek temple will show that an octostyle and requires 14 metopes and 15 triglyphs. Now 14 metopes measuring 40 cm., and 15 triglyphs measuring 23 cm., give us only an aggregate length for the frieze of 9.05 m. against the 14 m. of the temple. We thus see that the inbuilt block now under discussion is more than a third too small to have formed part of the Doric temple on the platform. On the other hand the measurement of the width of the metopes which I found in the plain below near the church (see below, p. 226) is exactly identical with the one under discussion. To return from this digression to the court of the Acropolis gateway. The wall opposite the entrance is probably a mere facing of the natural rock and soil; on the W. side, or at the angle of this and the wall facing the entrance, was the entrance to the subterranean passage (31 in plan) described below (p. 213). Leaving this little interior court and returning to the outside of the castle we have (2-3) a stretch of wall (Pl. XIX. f), 6 m. in length, of an earlier date than the S.E. tower. The joints are not good and it has the air of an ornamental facing rather than of a real defence, but from the size of the blocks and the absence of marks showing any previous usage it is probably to be attributed to the later classical age. It is not truly aligned with the later tower at the S.E. angle already described. Nor have the large square blocks of its lower courses the same dimensions as a series of somewhat similar appearance (E. side 28-29) on the other side of this tower. The blocks now under discussion in 2-3 measure about 1.20 m. square, those in 28-29 are 75 cm. square, and the S.E. side generally speaking is of greater antiquity than the S.W. Continuing in a N.W. direction we reach 3-4, a sort of *glacis* now strewn with débris, at the top of which at one time was an entrance to the fortress. The most southerly portion of the conspicuous mediaeval building at the S.W. of the Acropolis is broken away, but enough remains to show that it was probably connected by an arched gateway with the western portion of the older block of masonry just described.

The W. Wall.

Of the mass of masonry (4, 5, 6, 7) at the S.W. angle of the Acropolis only the lower courses on the S.E. and S.W. sides are *in situ*. When the adjoining mediaeval castle was built the ruins of the remainder of this bastion were clumsily piled together at 6 so that the whole structure formed a rough

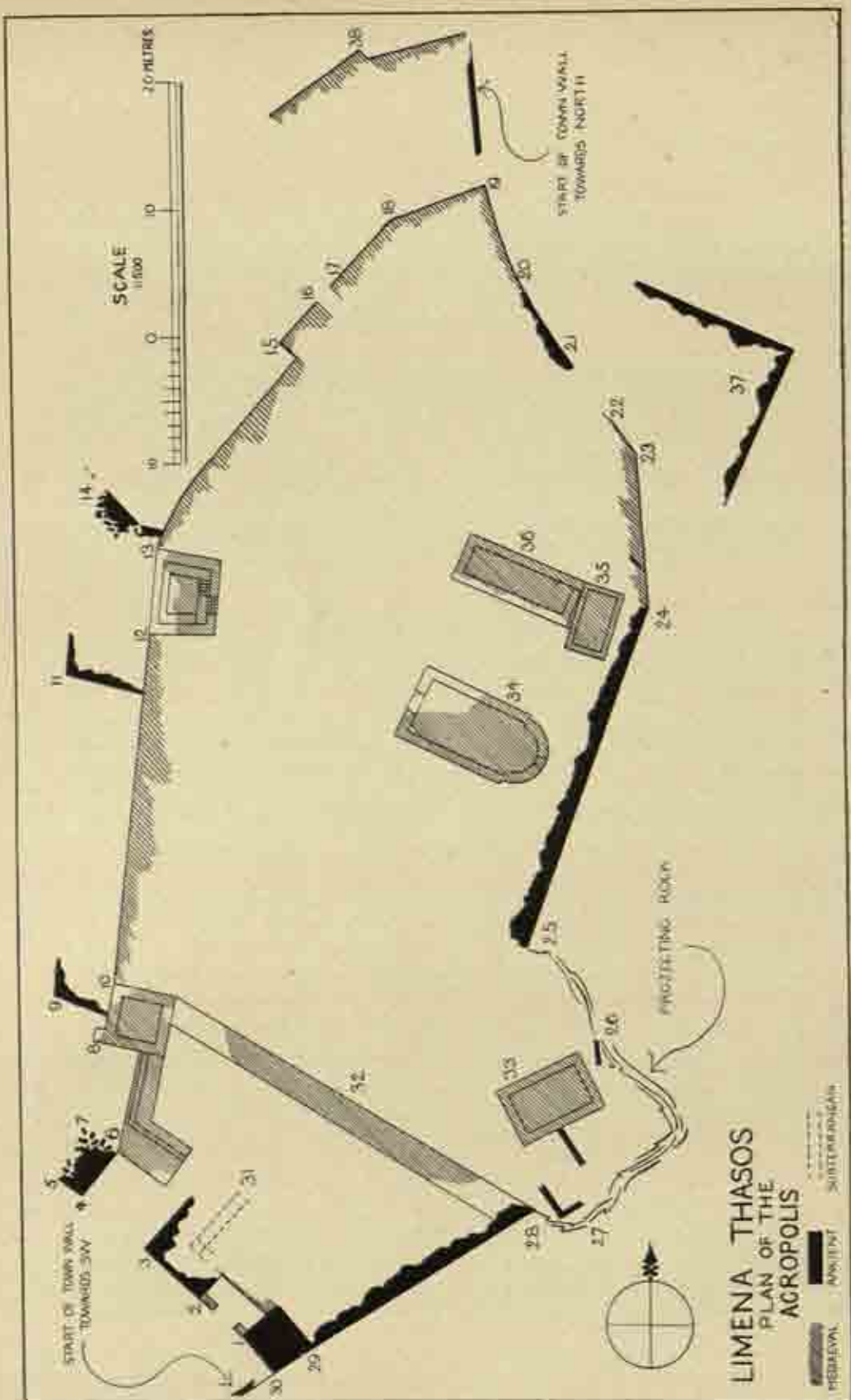


Fig. 1.

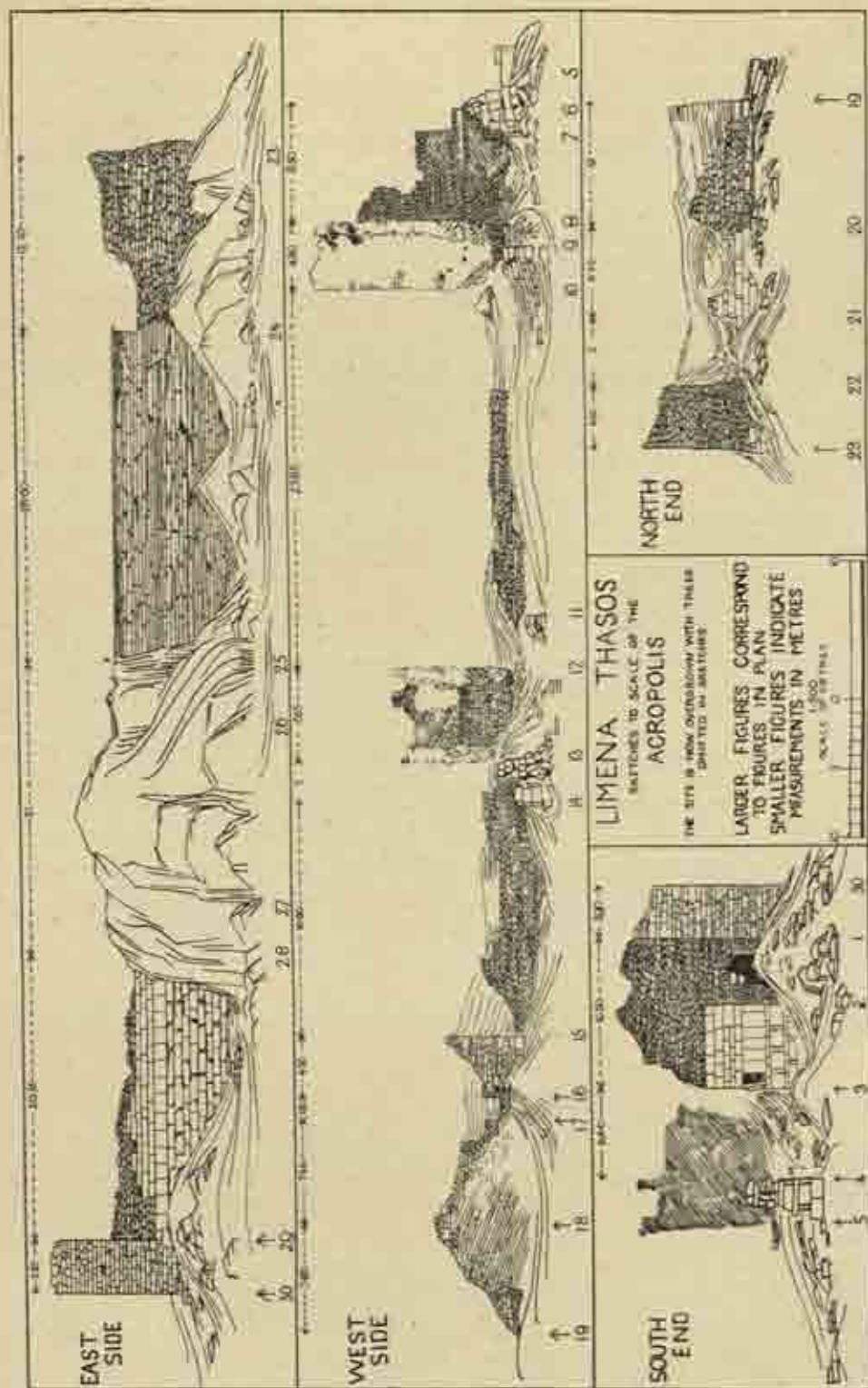


FIG. 2

outwork to the château protecting the W. side of the *glacis* (3-4) and commanding the arched entrance to the fortress. This castle, especially its N. tower (8-10), is the most conspicuous feature of the Acropolis now standing. Though roughly built, the cement is extraordinarily strong, and huge fragments of the tower lie below among the débris of the W. slope of the Acropolis. Its arrangement and general appearance can be seen in the plan and sketches; at 8 was an ascending spiral stairway, the upper portion of which still clings to the western face. From 10-12 is a long stretch of very poor wall, in the lower courses of which, however, appear long rough blocks similar to those to be presently described when we reach 24-25 in the E. wall. In this region of the W. wall appear traces of three outworks which are undoubtedly Hellenic. The first (9) emerges from the centre of the W. face of the tower of the château, which is built over its continuation eastwards, i.e. into the interior of the Acropolis. The second and third (11 and 14) may be part of the same bastion.¹⁵ The course of the retaining wall of this outwork at 13-14 has been violently altered either by a landslip or more probably by a mine fired at some unrecorded attack on the fortress. The same explosion may have caused the demolition of the W. face of the second and smaller tower (12-13).¹⁶

Continuing our course northwards we reach (at 15) a somewhat better built projection of the wall, which forms the S. portion of another entrance (16, 17) to the Acropolis. It was from this gateway that Miller removed to the Louvre the heraldic lions sketched *in situ* by Dr. Conze (Conze, Pl. IV, 10, 11).¹⁷ Opposite this gateway is a mound, probably the substructure of a draw-bridge communicating with the gate: it seems to have been connected with the mediaeval outwork (38 in plan, omitted in sketches).

At 18 the wall turns more to the E. At 19, the most northerly point of the Acropolis, it encounters the start of the town-wall towards the N.

At this point should be noted a few remains on the W. slope, immediately below the Acropolis and the continuation of the town-wall to the S.W. These are outside the limits of the plan of the Acropolis, but their position is indicated by the figures 3, 4, 5 on the larger plan (Pl. XIV.). 3 is a retaining wall of ancient blocks: 4 may have been a heroon, of which the entrance, facing W., and the extent are traceable: 5 is a more primitive retaining wall.

The N.E. Wall.

Turning along the N.E. face of the Acropolis we have first a piece of wall (19-20) of the same poor material as the W. wall, and then a section (20-21) rebuilt of ancient materials with some care. It bears some

¹⁵ The traces of 11 are hardly as clear as they appear on the plan.

¹⁶ I have indicated on the plan the ruin of this as they now appear, but it is quite possible that the building was originally rectilinear and that the diverging angles there noticeable were caused by the same upheaval which diverted the course

of the ancient bastion below.

¹⁷ Louvre Catalogue, Nos. 704, 705. Dr. Conze took them to belong to the orientating period of Hellenic Art, while M. Perrot passed them by as the work of a Byzantine artist. A photographic publication dealing with this point would be of interest.

resemblance to the lower courses of 2-3 in the S.W. end and the vertical binders are of about the same dimensions, but here several of the blocks show signs of prior usage (Pl. XIX. *b*) and this reach is certainly later than the S.W. fragment. The next reach (21-22) was probably an entrance, and it is at this point that travellers who have reached the Acropolis by the theatre hill and the ascending line of the E. city-wall will enter the citadel. Outside the Acropolis, some 15 m. to the E. of this gateway, and from the fall of the ground considerably below it, is the outwork (37 in plan, not shown in sketches). Pl. XIX. *a* gives a view of its E. face. Herr Friedrich describes this as the N.E. angle of the original fortress, and it is either that or an outlying bastion commanding the approach from the sea (Pl. XIV. 30). This is certainly one of the oldest fragments of masonry in Thasos. Continuing on our circuit from the gateway we have (22-23) a recurrence of the later masonry of the W. wall but better preserved and rising at the N.E. angle (23) of the existing fortress to a height of 9 m. In the lower courses of this angle appear a few larger ancient blocks.

The E. Wall.

We come now to the E. side of the fortress along which this later masonry is continued for about 12 m., the lower portions being built into the natural rock. There follows a stretch of wall (24-25) nearly 30 m. in length and 9 m. in height which is one of the most curious features of the Acropolis. Pl. XIX. *c* gives a detail of this, from which it will be seen that the wall consists of large rough blocks of very small depth in comparison to their length superimposed without mortar or jointing. The great superincumbent weight has caused the stone to split both vertically and horizontally with the result that here and there the effect is produced of a patch of small late masonry inserted. Herr Friedrich notices this wall and gives a good general view of it (*op. cit.* Pl. IX. 3) but modestly declines to express an opinion on its date. At first sight the long even stretch of wall undoubtedly appears recent. Pine trees and wild olives, those patient and successful enemies of man's handiwork, have nowhere broken its length, and it shows little or no sign of the patching and repairing which we are accustomed to find in ancient fortifications. But the following are some grounds for thinking it ancient. It may well be that it is a mere casing of the natural rock, which is seen at its foot (23-25) and replaces it altogether (25-28) and would allow no hold for the growth of trees behind the wall. Then this E. side of the Acropolis, by far the best protected by nature and art, is the last that would be selected for attack and consequently may have stood in no need of the repairs and additions visible in all the other older portions of the Acropolis. Further the size of the stones makes it I think impossible that they could have been employed by mediaeval builders accustomed to the use of mortar. Where big blocks occur in mediaeval buildings they are almost invariably the easily recognised big squared blocks of Hellenic buildings.

But there is no question of these stones having been put to prior use: they were quarried below at the points marked 30 or 31¹⁸ in Pl. XIV. and brought hither for the purpose for which they still stand. Finally, blocks of somewhat the same type recur in the undoubtedly ancient substructures 9, 11, and 14 on the W. wall. It will not vitiate the case for the antiquity of this stretch of wall (24-35) if we suppose that an outer facing of squared blocks was intended.

From 25-28 the natural rock emerges precipitously, one of the only two¹⁹ instances in the wall circuit of the whole town where no artificial defence was necessary, and even here at 26 and possibly again at 27 on the upper surface of the rock are supplementary fortifications. On the S. side of this projecting mass the wall is resumed and runs (28-29) in a well preserved reach of undoubted antiquity to join the S.E. tower at which our circuit began. Pl. XIX. *d* shows the angle formed at 28 by the natural rock and this reach. Here eight courses of good though rough blocks of great antiquity (sometimes 2 m. long and averaging 45 cm. in thickness) are surmounted by a single row of large squared stones (75 cm.); above this are four courses of ashlar masonry, which in their turn are merged in the clumsy agglomeration of small stones similar to those of the W. and N. walls.

The Interior.

Having now completed our circuit of the Acropolis wall we may enter the interior at 21-22 in the N.E. Wall. The whole plateau is a wilderness of ruins, the stones of which are mostly small and shapeless: among the prevailing squalor and desolation the following points can be made out.²⁰ 36 is a large cistern lined with cement, the roof of which is preserved; at first sight this appears to be of timber, the cement reproducing exactly the form and texture of the boards on which it was moulded. 35 is a smaller cistern differently orientated. For a long time I could not understand how any garrison could maintain a siege on this high waterless rock, or how this cistern could be filled. The walls, however, of the castle with the late tower at the S.W. end of the Acropolis are threaded with terracotta lined water pipes and doubtless the same was the case with the other buildings since destroyed. These would convey the roof water to the cistern. For the five months I was in the island I had only one day's rain, but it is I am told torrential during the winter, the red soil being carried far out to sea and forming a bright ring round the island. Conditions like these would give a substantial supply for the summer.²¹ 84 is a ruined

¹⁸ I visited these caves but once and that on the last day of my stay and my note-book may be at fault. In one, I think Pl. XIV. 30, are traces of a rock-cut stairway and quarry. In the other, I think Pl. XIV. 31, a fortification wall. But I may have inadvertently transposed the numbers.

¹⁹ The other occurs just to the E. of the

tower at the foot of the slope (see below, p. 218).

²⁰ The traveller should be well booted, as snakes abound. The larger are harmless, but the smaller are too like adders to be good company.

²¹ In Crete water thus obtained is kept sweet by covering the floor of the cistern with white

church of the simplest Byzantine type and was presumably the castle chapel. On the natural bastion of rock projecting from the E. wall are the remains of perhaps another cistern and of earlier walls, and at 26 and 27 the natural defences, in the same region were strengthened. The S. end of the Acropolis was shut off by a barrier (32) running originally completely across, and the region S. of this wall may have been the garrison's normal quarters. At the point where this wall once impinged on the tall tower Dr. Conze found the inscription which was once apparently set up in a temple of Apollo (Conze, p. 8). It is still *in situ* but has undergone further mutilation. At 13 is the entry to a subterranean passage²² connected in some way with the little court of entry 1-2. Rubbish and fallen stones have raised



FIG. 2

the floor level to within two or three feet of the roof, which is made of large ancient blocks. At a distance of perhaps 5 m. from the entrance the roof rises to form a small vaulted chamber which is apparently the point at which the passage turns to the left as if to issue in the small court of the gate 1-2. The whole structure will doubtless fall in before long, but it is, I think, of some importance as showing what has become of the blocks of whatever ancient buildings stood on the Acropolis, and as indicating that there may be a whole lower story to the Byzantine chateau. Fig. 3 gives a view of the interior.

We may now leave the Acropolis and resume our tour of the walls. The continuation of the circuit wall, on the crest of the hill from the Acropolis to the temple platform, is marked by a slight re-entrant angle, shortly before reaching which, on the city side, is a cistern. This must have supplied water to the mediaeval settlement, the ruins of which encumber the whole *arête*. This village is probably a relic of the time when, the defences of the town having long fallen into decay, the inhabitants withdrew inland to be safe from marauders by sea.²³

and: the key of the cistern is the mark of the master of the house. It is considered better to have two cisterns, so that one may be used during the annual changing of the sand, and in effect two are found on the Acropolis of Thasos, 35 and 36 in the plan.

²² This should be entered with the greatest caution, as some of the stone beams of the roof are practically now without support.

²³ But the site of the ancient capital is one of the few places in the island where a refuge of this sort cannot for long be maintained, for

The lower courses of the massive wall along the ridge are clear till we approach the temple platform, where it is difficult to follow. It terminated here, however, in a species of bastion as indicated on Pl. XIV. In Fig. 4 the mass in the back-ground is the substructure of the temple, the wall in the foreground is the S.E. face of the bastion. Between the two there is no trace of wall left; probably there was here a gate intended to give access to the temple from outside.

The temple itself, of which no superstructure remains, must have been an impressive monument viewed from below. Orientated practically E. and W., its S. and E. portions rested on the natural rock, but on its W. and N.



FIG. 4.



FIG. 5.

side it stood on a great platform built far out over the deep valley beneath. This platform, 9 m. high at the angle, is well preserved (Fig. 5); the four upper courses are distinguished by a draft. The whole structure has that *arrested* look which marks many Greek structures and has never yet been satisfactorily explained.²⁰ The temple itself does not lie quite accurately on the platform, being somewhat nearer to the W. end than to the N. side and fractionally more truly E. and W. in its orientation. The stylobate is nowhere preserved in its uppermost course, unless it be on the long N. side towards the N.E. angle. Here are two dowel-holes 2 metres apart of a late

the Acropolis group is practically an island, and there is but one quite low connecting ridge between the hill marked 25 in Pl. XIV, and the foot hills of the mountain system to the S. of the city. Hence Panagia formed a far safer refuge to the S., and doubtless the medieval settlement between the Acropolis and temple

was abandoned in favour of that.

²⁰ It is, of course, true that in the architecture of all nations instances can be quoted of buildings which, by some unrecorded change or chance of history, have never been completed. But the proportion of these in Hellenic architecture cannot fail to strike the traveller.

and clumsy type, while part of the intervening space is filled up with a rude patchwork of cemented rubble (Fig. 6). Now the temple measures 38×14 m. Assuming that we have here the topmost step of the stylobate, that the dowel-holes marked the central point of columns, and that the slabs bearing them are *in situ*, we should get a peripteral temple with 8 columns at either end and 20 down either side, 52 columns in all, allowing for reckoning those at the corner twice.²⁴



FIG. 6.

M. Perrot writes that he found here evidence that the superstructure was 'd'un bon style dorique.' I had hoped, as he did, to find at least architectural fragments in the deep valley below. If they are there they must now be deeply overgrown. The only discovery I made was the lower half of a life-size male torso from the waist to the knee, of poor style, which I left where I found it, S. of the temple platform.

To continue our survey of the city-wall. S. of the temple is a fair fragment about 10 m. long the course of which is traceable for 5 m. before we reach the standing portion.²⁵ From this in the direction of the next peak the wall is lost and it was long before I found the course by which it joined the tower on the further side of the mass of rocks ahead. It did not surmount these but passed in a curved reach of nearly 50 m. to the S., when it turns at a sharp angle to the west and is merged in the precipitous wall of natural rock connecting this angle with the tower. But at the point where it starts on its curved reach southwards we may turn a little to the N. to see a religious monument of modest dimensions and considerable interest, the niche of Pan.

I know no more pleasing relic of old-time belief than this little rock-cut shrine.²⁶ A section and sketch are given in Fig. 7 and photographs on Pl. XX. Dr. Conze's drawing (*op. cit.* Pl. VII. 2) though accurate in many details is misleading in general effect, as must be any drawing not taken from an imaginary point of view, owing to the fact that the main platform of the niche is on the natural eye-level and the whole construction falls away from

²⁴ Herr Friedrich in his plan gives 38×16 m. as the measurement. My actual measurements were 37.30×13.50 m. The measurements are difficult to take owing to the intervening debris and bushes, but if the dowel-holes are correct these measurements fit in with a simple and natural scheme of a temple.

²⁵ I believe this to be an early instance of this particular type of masonry. It consists of large square blocks and narrow vertical and horizontal binders, but the stones are larger and the workmanship better than is usual with walls of this design.

²⁶ I repeat here the bibliography given by B.S.—VOL. XXIX.

Herr Friedrich, *Ath. Mitt.* xxxiii. 224, Cyriaeus, 117, pp. 54 ff. Prekerich von Osten *Denkschriftigkeiten . . . aus dem Orient* iii. 616, *Dissert. d. pont. Acad. rom. d. arch.* vi. p. 190, Conze, *Reise auf gr. Inseln*, p. 10, Pl. VII. 2. To these should be added Herr Friedrich's own account, *Ath. Mitt.* xxxiii. 225, and M. Doonin's good though small photograph, *Rev. Arch.* 1909, p. 11. I see when going to press that M. Doonin has had for some time in hand a complete and detailed study of the shrine, which is to appear in the *Epé. Arch.* I hope this, when it is at last published, will bear out my notes and drawings.

the spectator at a general angle of roughly 45°. The plane of the sketch here given is indicated by a dotted line *AB* in the section. We have, then, a receding surface of natural rock, one of many such on this the southernmost peak of the wall circuit, and in it has been cut a niche of the form indicated in the sketch. An outer channel surrounds and accentuates the orifice, while a step-like cutting marks the transition to the main platform. Here there are four shallow rectilinear depressions only approximately similar in measurement and disposition: that in the left-hand front corner is now all but obliterated. The platform terminates at the back in a narrow semicircular recess, approached by a small step: the back of this recess is not vertical but curved forwards, i.e. towards the spectator. The general scheme of the external decoration of this recess is clearly given in Dr. Conze's drawing with one omission. We have a pediment with antefix and akroteria and two wings at the sides of the recess, all sculptured in low relief on the rock, which (as will be seen from the section) is here inclined slightly outward towards the spectator from its bottom edge. In the pediment proper we have in the centre a reclining figure of the shepherd-god (Pl. XX *a*). He is naked, his left arm rests on a rock, and from his left hand depends a drinking-cup. The ring of the upper handle appears in the photograph near the forefinger; the lower, which I at first mistook for the navel, is also visible. With the right he holds the syrinx to his lips as he pipes to his flock of goats. Dr. Conze compares him in point of style to the reliefs of the monument of Lysicrates at Athens. The analogy should not be pushed too far, but the figure is certainly pleasant if undistinguished fourth-century work.

In the left-hand portion of the little pediment three goats advance to the trill of the shepherd-god's pipes: the corresponding right-hand side is broken away: the central antefix consists of a heraldic arrangement of two goats with a kantharos between them: the two akroteria contained human figures, no doubt as Dr. Conze depicted them, but they are now worn beyond recognition. The spaces between the akroteria and central antefix were filled with spiraliform ornaments. The right-hand wing of the recess had a table with two wine vessels, one an amphora. Prokesch von Osten mentioned this detail, which Dr. Conze and other travellers have doubted, but in a favourable light they are quite clear. They show perfectly in the photograph from which Pl. XX *b* was taken, and are just visible in the reproduction. The corresponding wing is much defaced: I believe it had a tripod sculptured in the same low relief.²² Proceeding upwards the systematic depressions above and outside the niche should be noticed. Their purpose is difficult to determine. If I have correctly rendered the large rectilinear sinking in the section, it could hardly have been the socket for a cultus image, which would surely require a vertical

²² A certain discrepancy in travellers' accounts of these sculptures is easily accounted for. When I first found the niche I was convinced that the figure of Pan had been removed, nor do any direct photographs I could take show more than a faint suggestion of the figure.

The stone is dark and discoloured with lichens, the relief is low and at no time does the sun fall so as to strike the figure. But a cast of the relief which I took, when strongly lighted from the side, gives a fair illustration (Pl. XX.).

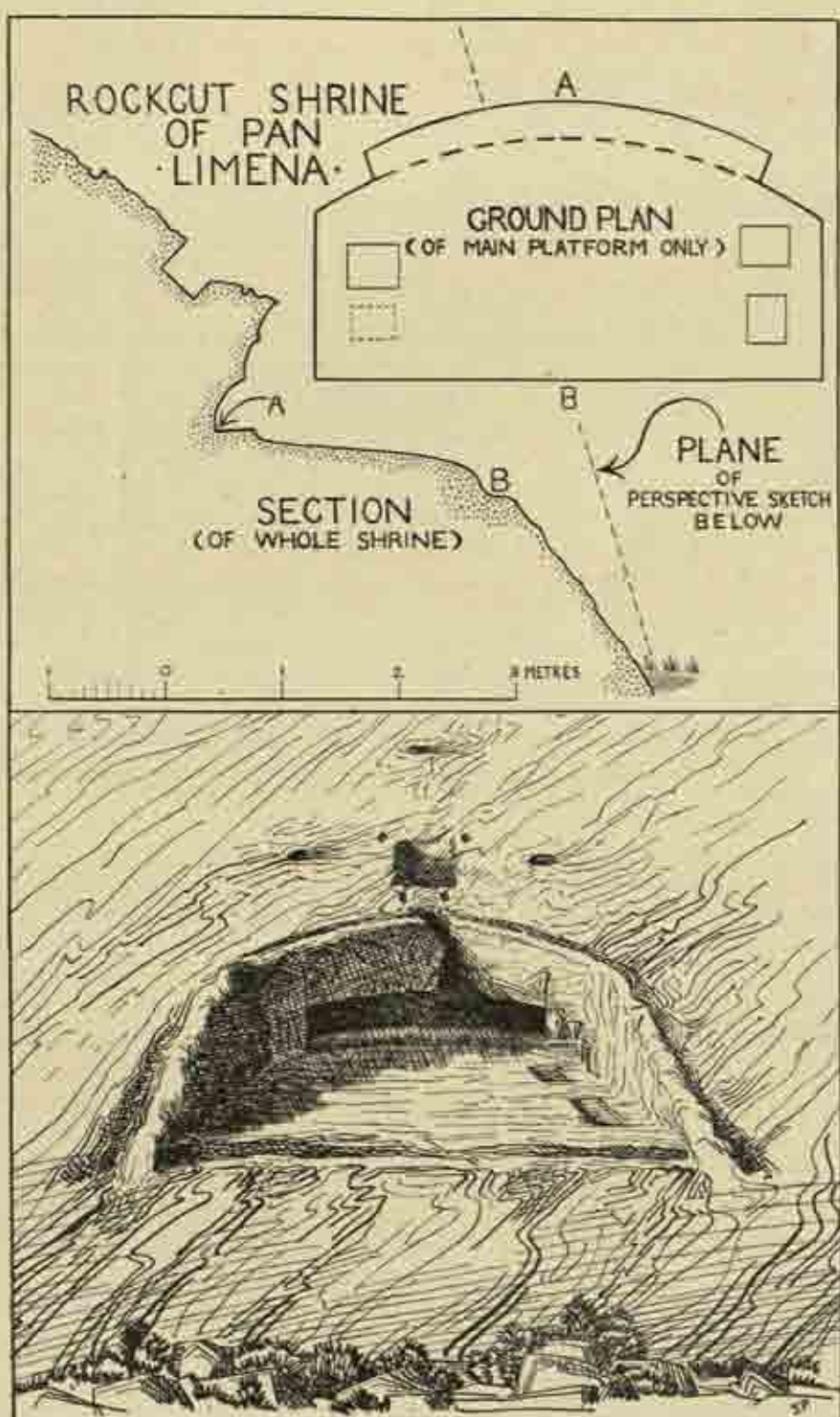


FIG. 7.

hole. I had thought of it as holding the shaft of the main support of some kind of ornamental baldacchino or awning, perhaps only erected for festal occasions, to which stays might possibly have been geared from the supplementary sinkings.²⁸

Some 30 m. to the N.W. of the niche is the entrance to a sharply descending natural cave. Pl. XIV. 10 gives the position. Pl. XX. c. a view of the entrance. This may, I think, be taken in connexion with the little shrine. My good friends had the usual stories to tell of marvellous sculptures to be seen in its depths, but I entered it on the chance that it might ultimately descend to the ancient mines, which pierce the roots of the rock in every direction (see below p. 228). My theory was as vain as theirs: it is a natural formation; but bearing in mind the common beliefs still attaching to it, and the frequency with which the primitive worship of Pan is connected with rocky hiding-places, it seems possible that the pretty little shrine hard by may have been a later and more graceful symbol of a cult having its origin in this primitive boggy hole.

It will be remembered that before we turned aside to inspect this sacred spot we had followed the town-wall round as far as the tower on the other

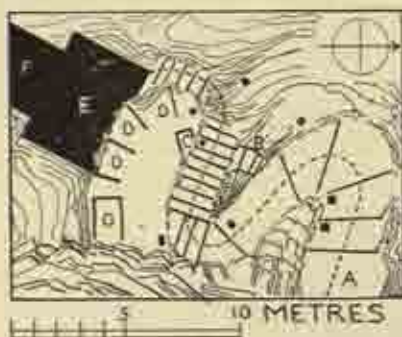


FIG. 8.

side of the mass of jagged rocks rising in front of us. If we now climb direct to the top of these,²⁹ we shall in a moment look down on the roof or upper level of this tower and the curious stairway leading down to it from the peak on the city side of the wall. The position of this is indicated on Pl. XIV. by the number 12 and the accompanying cut (Fig. 8) gives a bird's-eye sketch of it. Here A is the topmost step in the descent; the dotted line shows the main pathway downwards; B, C, and D are subsidiary stairs; E the tower at the recommencement of

²⁸ For such temporary structures we have in the nature of things little record to help us, and I cannot myself imagine a kind of canopy that would fit these supports. Perhaps M. Deonna may have hit upon a more feasible restoration.

²⁹ This is the highest point in the wall circuit and here we obtain an unrivalled view of the disposition of the ancient and modern town. To the N., over the islet *Θαυροίδια*, is the long flat marsh of the Thracian coast which, from some atmospheric conditions I could not understand, appears perpetually as a shaft of light against the frowning mass of the mountains beyond. Nearest, at our feet, like a map unrolled, lies Thasos old and new, the moles of the little harbour glittering white upon a placid

sea, the houses clustered thick upon the foreshore or scattered more sparsely among the gardens and olive-groves that cover the ancient city. Westward the eye follows the fine indented coastline as far as the northern promontory of the island; to the south, across the close-cropped levels of the grazing grounds, the thickly wooded hills begin to rise, hiding the southward track to Panagia and culminating in the bare peak of H. Elias and the higher wood-crested bluff of Psarri. Eastwards to the right of the Acropolis hill, and far out across the sea, on a clear day the faint outlines of Samothraki, Lemnos, and Imbros can be discerned like low clouds on the horizon.

the town-wall; and F the wall itself descending sharply in a S.W. direction. The small black squares show the position of sockets apparently for a balustrade. We have the same difficulty in imagining how the stairway originally looked, as we found in reconstructing the superstructure of the Pan shrine: it may have been merely a rough gangway for men-at-arms to a lookout or beacon on the rock above, which commands, as we have seen, a far more extensive view than the tower. Perhaps it is best taken in connexion with a small projection from the wall on the city side about 60 m. lower down (Pl. XIV. 13), where we have apparently the start of a stairway upwards. It may have been that from this point onwards the upper surface of the wall was too steep for a patrol and so a stairway was constructed thence on the city side to the peak.

The steeply descending stretch of wall which runs for 200 m. from the tower at the foot of the steps to the gateway at the angle (Pl. XIV. c) is the finest part of the whole wall circuit and has been accurately described by Dr. Conze. Pl. XVIII. e, d gives illustrations of some interesting details. *c* shows clearly two of the many stonemasons' marks²⁹⁶ that are here to be found—in this instance two blocks have been marked with similar roughly incised stars, doubtless to ensure their correct juxtaposition. *d* gives the name of the architect of this reach of the wall,²⁹⁷ a signed masterpiece of engineering skill, Παρμενὼν μετέποιησε, 'Parmenon made me.'²⁹⁸ Half-way down this wall of Parmenon a tower projects eastward measuring about 7 m. square, though it is too much overgrown and distorted by the roots of trees to be planned accurately. In its northern face there is an opening, presumably a window. At its S.E. angle and not as stated by Dr. Conze *bald oberhalb des grossen Thoras* (i.e. the gate at the angle 100 m. below) lies the singular monument which is figured on Pl. XVIII. e. Its position is shown on Pl. XIV. 14. On a slab measuring 2.65 × 1.40 m. (Conze) are incised an enormous pair of eyes and nose in the same schematic fashion as we are familiar with on Greek vases.²⁹⁹ The long line below, which gives the ludicrous effect of a tightly compressed mouth, is a flaw in the stone: the dark shadow is merely that of the camera held vertically over the slab. It is doubtless an ἀντιστοιχίον, and as such, misled by Dr. Conze's remark as to its position, I thought it might have formed part of the decoration of the singular gateway which we shall now have to consider. But it is inconceivable that this great stone could have been carried up the steep slope during the interval between Dr. Conze's visit and my own. It may well have adorned the E. face of the projecting tower where it lies.

We now reach the gateway at the angle (Pl. XIV. c) of which a plan is given in Fig. 9. This was commanded on the E. by a tower forming the termination of the long wall of Parmenon, and so disposed, as were all the gates of Thasos, that those entering the gate had the unshielded side exposed to the defenders, a device which has been noted by many travellers.

²⁹⁶ Conze, Pl. IV. 13.

²⁹⁷ Conze, Pl. IV. 15.

²⁹⁸ Dr. Conze's transcription is correct: the

camera has made the last few letters appear of a disproportionate size.

²⁹⁹ Conze, Pl. V.

But the most curious feature of this entry is the gateway itself, the lintel, or lintels, of which (for the huge slab spanning the door is double) are still *in situ*. This lintel is now but 1.25 m. from the ground and Dr. Conze writes of it

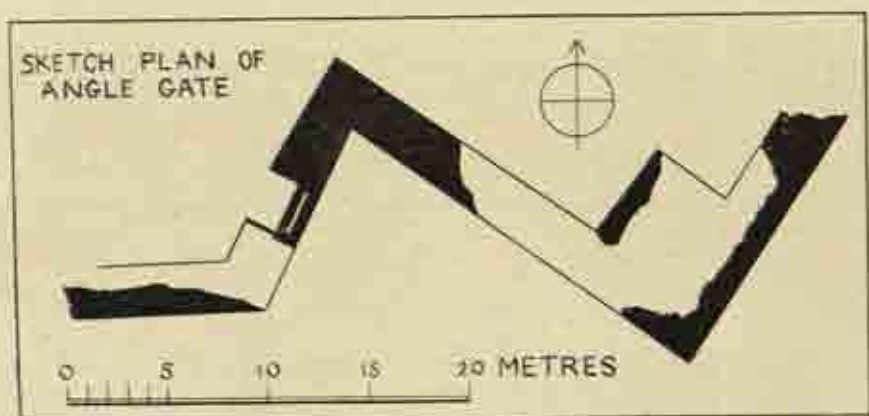


FIG. 9.

that it *steht gewiss bis zu halber Höhe verschüttet*. The proposition seems so reasonable that I submit with diffidence that the curiously flimsy jambs would be doubly dangerous if carried downwards to twice their present height, that posterns are occasionally quite low and that the ground both on

the inner and outer side of the gate shows traces of paving which may be original. I do not think myself that these indications taken together are sufficient to weigh against the antecedent improbability of so low an opening. An excavation here would settle the point but would be a matter of some danger owing to the enormous weight of the double lintel. Turning our attention to this, we have, as we face the gate from the outside (Fig. 10a), a shapeless block (measuring $3.20 \times 1 \times 70$ m.) with a rough surface, it is true, but with well-cut angles. Passing through the door and turning to



FIG. 10a.

look back we see (Fig. 10 b) a shapeless mass of stone, somewhat longer than its fellow, with its under edge hacked away on either side to bring it to the correct height on the jambs and bearing in the centre of its face a sinking

tapering downwards (55 m. at the top, 50 at the bottom, 10 in depth). On either side, in exactly the same relation to the jambs beneath them, are a pair of square holes. At first I thought this block must be some cumbersome later strengthening to the outer lintel, from which it differs so markedly in finish. But the practice of making an architrave double (i.e. with an outer face to show, an inner space to lighten weight, and then an inner rough block to be subsequently covered in) was familiar to the architects of the best period, and indeed is used, if I mistake not, in the Parthenon. The two pairs of square holes indicate the means by which the inner side of the gate was covered with a stout wooden casing. As to the vertical tapering depression I am quite at a loss. It would be the worst possible shape to receive a central post continued downwards. On the other hand, if this face, or part of, it was visible when the gate was completed, the sinking is well designed to receive a decorative slab, shaped like a key-stone.



FIG. 103.

Leaving this gate the wall now turns to the W. and descends with a slight outward curve for 150 m., when we emerge near two large plane trees on the flat open grazing ground. Here, as has been observed by previous travellers, the character of the wall changes: the masonry is ashlar and the blocks are of modest size, and the prevailing white marble is varied by a course of dark stone. Pl. XVIII. *f*, taken in the vicinity of the large plane trees mentioned above, shows this feature well.

About 125 m. from these trees the path (Pl. XIV. 27) most often used to Panagia crosses the wall by a solitary house. So far as I can understand the sketch maps already given, it has not been noted that a gate since destroyed existed here (marked B in Pl. XIV.). The position of the mounds of rubbish, the alteration of the line and angle of the wall, and the structure projecting southward make this clear. Fig. 11 gives the plan so far as it can be recovered. Fig. 12 shows the only angle preserved.

Following the course of the wall, which from this point onwards begins to bear at each successive angle more to the N., we pass a small projecting tower and reach, 150 m. from the ruined entry, the interesting gateway which

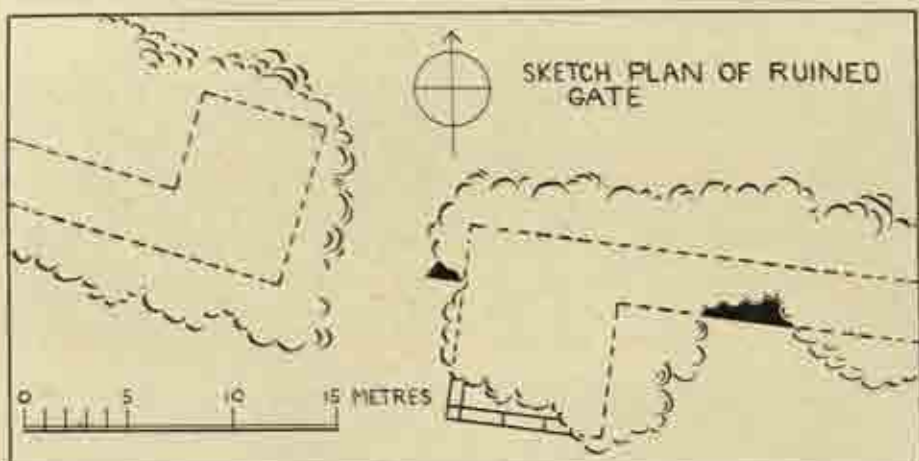


FIG. 11.

still bears the archaic inscription recording how the children of Semele and Alcmena, Dionyeus and Heracles, stood there as guardians of the town.^{30b}



FIG. 12.

M. Deonna gives^{30c} a detailed plan of the entry, which allowing for differences of scale and orientation will be found to coincide fairly well with mine (Fig. 13), which was made before I saw his. Of the validity of M. Deonna's main thesis I am doubtful. He seeks to show that the two reliefs (that of Heracles now in the museum of Constantinople, and that of Dionysus, which was, I believe, lost at sea in transit) stood on either side of the gateway. This means that there must have been a niche on the W. side of the gate corresponding to the niche on the E. side where the inscription is cut.

My impression was that there was no corresponding niche on this side and that the semblance of one was due to investigations carried on at this point.³¹

^{30b} See above, p. 101, No. 24, for facsimile of the letters and references to the articles by MM. Mendel, Deonna, and Frédrich.

^{30c} *Rev. Arch.* xi, p. 27.

³¹ In this connexion I note that M. Deonna

writes: "J'ai fait donner en ce point quelques coups de pioche pour m'assurer qu'il n'y avait pas là d'inscription comme sur le côté opposé" (*op. cit.* p. 31).

Continuing our course along the wall to the N.W. for about 125 m. we find an opening in the wall through which a track (Pl. XIV. 28) issues which is often impassable owing to the stream which drains the grazing ground entering the *enclave* at this point. This is the second and more W. route to Panagia. Here was yet another gate, the fourth, in the S. wall. Its W. tower is still traceable: of the E. there remains the solitary pillar bearing the fine relief of Zeus and Nike published by M. Mendel, *B.C.H.* xxiv, Pls. XIV, XV.

N. of this point the wall has been demolished to make the large oil factory, already falling into disuse, which belongs to the Egyptian interest in the island and is marked on the extreme left of the plan. The course of the wall can still be traced by the mounds of *débris*. After passing a square tower

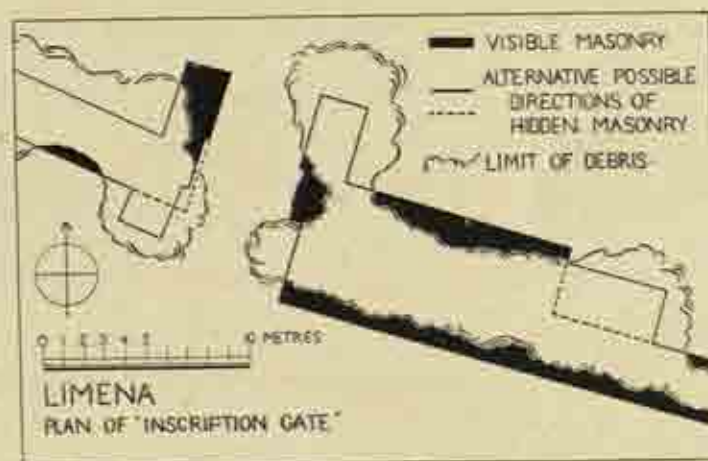


FIG. 13.

we reach the point where the wall is pierced by the modern road to Boúrgaro (Pl. XIV. 29). At this point was certainly a round tower and perhaps a gate. Some of the curved blocks of the tower may be seen in the field adjoining the oil factory by looking over the embankment at the point where the modern road crosses the wall line. The inscription which records how one Sotas built the tower^{21a} was, when I saw it in 1907, buried in the stable of the house marked in the plan at this point, whence also came the inscriptions numbered 3 and 4 on p. 93 above. At the round tower the wall turned to the N.E. and the road to Boúrgaro coincides with it for the next 140 m., for in a house on the left or W. side of the road about 30 m. short of the next turning to the E. a good fragment has been preserved. To speak more accurately an outhouse of this building has been built against the lower courses of the outer side of the N.W. wall. The masonry is good ashlar.

^{21a} Fredrich, *Arch. Mitt.* xxxiii, p. 219.

We have now reached a point among the thickly clustered houses of the modern village where there is a turning parallel to the sea leading to the centre of modern Láména, the fountain under the plane trees. The ancient wall followed the course of this street which is about 100 m. in length. Traces are observable in the street itself: more would probably be found within the houses. The fountain is pleasantly situated in a little *place* and the surrounding houses have many ancient blocks built in. On the wall of the spring stands a capital of the lotus type. From the fountain the wall proceeds in the direction of the 'Genoese' tower, and so to the garden of the *metochi*, where we began our survey. Between this and the fountain it is visible at one point only (Pl. XIV. 18).

We have now reviewed the *enceinte* of the wall and the buildings of the Acropolis in detail. Earlier travellers have sought with much learning and some success to reconcile the different styles of masonry with the scanty data gleaned from literature of the historical changes in the island (cf. Conze, p. 15; Friedrich, p. 217); yet since unwritten history is vastly greater than the recorded, such attempts can never win more than a measure of plausibility. I append a tentative chronological sequence of the remains, based on their technique alone. The figures in the Acropolis column refer to those in the Plan, Fig. 1.

OLDEST PERIOD.

CITY.

ACROPOLIS.

- (1) Outwork at N.E. corner (37).
- (2) E. wall (28-29), lower courses only.
- (3) W. wall, outworks (8, 14).

SIXTH-FOURTH CENTURIES.

- (4) N.E. polygonal wall (p. 205).
- (5) Wall of Parthenon (p. 219).
- (6) Wall from Acropolis to temple (p. 213).
- (7) Temple platform (p. 214).
- (8) Wall from gate at angle (Figs. 9, 10) to plain (p. 221).
- (9) Wall S. of the temple (p. 215).
- (10) Wall on the plain (pp. 221-4) including the N.W. wall (p. 204).

ANCIENT BUT LATER.

- (9) E. wall (28-29), upper courses only.
- (10) S. end (2-3 and 4-5) in its original state.
- (11) N. end (20-21).

ANCIENT BUT OF QUITE UNCERTAIN DATE.

- E. wall (24-25).

EARLIER MEDIAEVAL

CITY.

- (12) So-called Genesis tower (p. 227).

ACROPOLIS.

- (13) S.E. angle, rebuilt tower (29-30).
-
- (14) W. wall, rebuilt gate (15-18).

LATER MEDIAEVAL

- (16) The building on the islet (p. 205).

- (15) The two castles on the W. wall (6-10, 12-13).
-
- (17) The better built portions of walls of small stones throughout.

Without claiming certainty for the details of the above I think it is clear from the table as a whole that the Acropolis lacks any remains of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. It is quite likely that it was in those ages a worthy crown of this great city, and the denudation must be attributed to the vehemence with which it was taken and re-taken in later times. Only the megalithic remains of an earlier age could withstand those fierce onslaughts.

Now that we have completed our circuit of the walls it will be well to notice certain points of interest within the *circuit*.

It will be remembered that we made our start with the stretch of wall which now forms the E. wall of the garden of the *metochi* near the longer mole of the harbour. Between this piece of wall and the irregular row of houses mounting the hill parallel to it is a stretch of waste land containing at its S. angle a large well (Pl. XIV. I). Starting from this are traces of an ancient wall ascending at first in a direction nearly parallel with the town-wall. In the enclosed vineyard in which it terminates will be found remains of three tiers of walls at a slight angle to the first. The best preserved fragment (8-40 m.) is in the uppermost tier of all.

If we continue our ascent by the well-marked track we find ourselves on a ridge separating the depression containing the theatre from the main *oikos* of Thasos. The theatre itself is to-day a deep pit so filled with boulders and the unyielding growth of the wild olive that it is difficult to get even its orientation. Cleared of these it might well yield further inscriptions and details of interest. In the upper eastern edge of the auditorium²² are the remains of some seats rudely inscribed which are apparently not included in the inscriptions collected by Bent (*J.H.S.* viii. 435-7).

Continuing our course in the direction of the Acropolis just to the S. of the solitary shepherd's hut, which as we have seen above (p. 205) is on the line of the city-wall, we come to a little irregular plateau marked 2 on Pl. XIV. Its edge towards the valley is marked by ancient masonry following the lines there indicated and there are two detached blocks in the field itself. It is quite possible that the whole is merely the *débris* of the town-wall at this point flung together to make a safe edge to this tiny pasturage, but it would be worth further examination to verify this.

Of the remains on the slope below the Acropolis and temple-platform I have

²² The dotted outlines in the plan are purely conventional.

already described those marked 3, 4, 5, on Pl. XIV. which lie close to the Acropolis. Nos. 6, 7, 8 are lower down. 6 is a retaining wall 18 m. in length; 7, lower down on the same slope, is a little plateau (11 x 7 m.) partly cut out of the natural rock. To reach 8 we have to cross the hollow between the ridge descending from the Acropolis and that descending from the hill on which lies the shrine of Pan. In this hollow appear here and there traces of a rock-cut descent from the Acropolis and temple to the town. No. 8 is a long curved retaining wall only the ends of which are preserved (upper end 11 m., lower end 12.50 m.).

On the further side of the rocky ridge leading up to the highest peak is (Pl. XIV. 23) a solitary foothill, the level top of which is now occupied by the large gabled *gendarmérie*, the headquarters of such military force as the Government deems necessary for the island. This would be in every way a suitable spot for the temple of Heracles which as we know from the phraseology of Hippocrates²² could not have been the temple (see above p. 214) on the lofty platform between the Acropolis and the highest peak. This hill was surrounded by a massive wall, of which frequent traces are to be found among the line of houses (Pl. XIV. 21) running along its northern edge.²⁴ The first piece of wall (Pl. XIV. 22) is a right angle in the yard of the first house on the right-hand side of the road from Panagia. It may be picked up on the other side of the commandant's house which comes next: thence it turns to the right and is frequently visible in the yards and gardens of the small houses along the northern edge of the hill. There are also traces of a wall at right angles to this running down the hill in the direction of the big planes, which stand at the cross-roads.

In the olive-garden opposite, which is the property of the *mitochi* of Vatopédi, at the point marked 20 are the remains of the triumphal arch 'excavated' by Bent.²⁵ The inscription²⁶ is lying in fragments on the ground. The remains of four portions of the structure lying in a line (12.60 m.) N.W.-S.E. can be traced, but of these the tall standing block to the S., with a floral moulding at the edge, can hardly be *in situ*.

If we leave this district and make our way N. to the conspicuous 'star' formed by the intersection of three roads we shall see in a piece of waste ground to the right (Pl. XIV. 19) fragments of Doric columns and metopes lying on the ground, which has here been disturbed as if by a rough excavation. A metope has the dimensions 41 cm. x 38, a column the diameter of 50 cm.²⁷ From this point we may conveniently visit the church of 'Α. Νικόλαος. In the façade are many ancient fragments built in, and the interior is supported on Doric columns of a diameter of about 50 cm. This corresponds with the drum just mentioned as lying at point 19. Should that prove to

²² *ἡ συνήθεια ἐκείνη τοῦ Ἡρακλέους*, Hippocrates, ed. Littre, II. p. 692. See Courte, p. 10.

²⁴ This is in effect a small Turkish hamlet occupied by the families of the soldiers above.

²⁵ *J.H.S.* viii. (1887), p. 437.

²⁶ *Id.* p. 426.

²⁷ In the plan this point is inadvertently indicated by a rectangle, which gives the erroneous idea of an existing foundation. Such may exist but is not visible on the surface.

have been a temple site the church should be carefully examined for further data.

Nearer the harbour, and just at the point where the dotted lines in the plan, which represent the probable course of the city-wall at this point, terminate, is the so-called Genoese tower, a massive structure (15 × 10 m.) with a wing projecting seaward (4.50 × 2.20 m.). It is built almost entirely of ancient blocks in poor style but the angles are curiously true. There is, I think, no detail of the buildings on the Acropolis which this tower exactly resembles.²⁸

There are still to be noted outside the city-wall some points of interest. I see that Herr Friedrich in his plan marks all the narrow district between the N.W. wall and the sea as *Gräber*. There is antecedent probability for this having been a cemetery, and the records of earlier travellers cited by him seem to make the point certain; but the W. portion of the district is entirely occupied by modern *Limena*, and neither there nor in the corresponding E. portion covered by the *metéchi* gardens did I remark any graves. These occur frequently on the slopes between the Acropolis and the coves on the sea-shore marked 30 and 31 on Pl. XIV.: they are also found on the well-marked ridge (24) connecting the Acropolis and the high peak to the S.E. (25).

According to Bent²⁹ the plain to the S. of the city was marked with radiating lines of tombs converging, if I understand him rightly, on the gateway (Pl. XIV. 15), outside which still stands the sarcophagus of Polydamas (16). If his description was correct these must have suffered greatly since his visit. I have found occasional isolated fragments, apparently of sarcophagi, among the olive-gardens on the road to Panagia, but the well-marked system described by Bent has utterly disappeared.

At the extreme S. of the map will be seen a point (marked 26) some 200 m. to the E. of the usual route to Panagia. Here, on the S. edge of the grazing ground, there are ruins occupying a low mound, which is one of the most northerly foothills of the range that must be climbed to reach Panagia.³⁰

²⁸ Before leaving the interior of the city it will be convenient to tabulate the roads, as sketched on Pl. XIV.

1. Along the sea-shore from the *metéchi* at the start of the longer harbour-mole on the E. to the governor's house on the W. (the last house on the fore-shore).

2. From the same place turning off by the Genoese tower, keeping the church on the left, to the gate where stands the *stèle* of Zeus and Niké. Pl. XIV. 15. Here issues the W. route to Panagia.

3. Another route connecting the same two points but following a more easterly course at the foot of the hills.

4. From the little *fontaine* near the modern landing-place just the fountain to the ruined gate in the S. wall (Pl. XIV. 8). This is the ordinary route to Panagia.

5. From the church to the fountain and

thence following the course of the ancient wall to the extreme W. point of the wall circuit where it leaves *Limena* for Bourgaro.

6. A straight reach from the soldiers' quarters, Pl. XIV. 22, to the sea-shore.

The wall circuit may be followed without difficulty throughout its course, but except for the region of the plain it is better to be on foot. The quickest ascent to the Acropolis may be made from the region near the longer harbour-mole, up the ridge which separates the depression containing the theatre from the main *cavea* of Thasos, and so southwards, along but within the wall-line to the Acropolis.

²⁹ *Class. Rev.* i. pp. 210, 211.

³⁰ The spot is said to be called *Archonida*, but I place reliance on no name in Thasos given off-hand in answer to query. One's next informant will be sure to give a different one.

The rough disposition of the walls traceable on the surface can be seen on the plan. The most easily recognised feature is a rectangle (2 aides only) 28.50 x 17 m. These dimensions would accord well with a temple, and so



FIG. 14.

would its striking position. On the other hand, the structure may prove to be a fort commanding a S. road to the city. If the reader will look once more at Pl. XIV. he will see a point marked 11, in a S.W. direction from the tower at the foot of the steps, at the beginning of the wall of Parmenon. This is the entry to the ancient mines of the town of Thasos, of which I think there is no record. They penetrate in very complicated plan a great way under the ancient city, reaching, if I remember rightly, at some points nearly to the sea.⁴¹ The entry, Fig. 14, is not easy to find and few of the inhabitants know of its existence.⁴² So far as I penetrated it it showed, what I understand are constant features of ancient workings, more tortuous passages and lower galleries than are now made. At first sight the entrance seems hardly to betray the hand of man, but the oblique line towards the left of the photograph has been cut by the pick. If the reader will turn for a moment to the natural grotto of Pan (Pl. XX. c), he will see the contrast.

This concludes my notes on the ancient city of Thasos and its immediate environs.⁴³

⁴¹ I write from the recollection of a detailed plan shown me by M. Speidel, head of the firm carrying on mining operations in the S.E. of the island.

⁴² I found it difficult to enter the spot correctly on the plan, but I believe it to be correct in its bearing on the tower at the foot of the steps.

⁴³ I have endeavoured to indicate on Plate XIV. the character and extent of the modern occupation of Limóni. The purpose of the insertion of these details is sufficiently obvious, but it may be well to state succinctly at this point what might be expected from a properly conducted excavation. Broadly speaking there is little hope of finding either a stratified area or the remains of imposing buildings. On the other hand, the works of ancient art that have

come from the island are of as fine a quality that a systematic search for these within the *enceinte* of the ancient capital seems highly desirable. I append particulars of some likely spots.

(a) The theatre seems to have been rifled rather than excavated by Miller and Bent. It would have to be cleared of the extraordinarily dense growth making it at present impassable, a task of some difficulty; and structurally it might prove of little interest; but the region below and to the west of it should certainly be examined. (b) A strip of waste land in the region E. of the start of the longer harbour-mole, between the ancient town-wall, which now forms the E. side of the *metéchi* garden (see above p. 204), and the line of small houses ascending the hill, is marked *Gedder* by Herr

After reading the accounts of Dr. Conze and M. Perrot the traveller will be disappointed in the neighbourhood of Líména. The excavations of Miller and Bent and the vandalism of the worst elements in the population have left little behind them. I noted only the following.

Taking Dr. Conze's route⁴⁸ along the coast towards the promontory of Μεγάλο Κλαδί I identified the following which are entered on the map Pl. XIII. In a field close to Líména on the N. coast on the road to Μώλος, a large sarcophagus with the inscription Μῆκεδονία κτλ. At Μώλος an empty sarcophagus without its roof and a Doric column; at Μυρσινιά two sarcophagi close to the sea; on the hill to the left of these at a spot called Μάρμαρα traces of an ancient fort where I found a large bronze nail. A little further N. at 'στὸ Γλυκαδί traces of a sea-wall, a well, and a recently ruined sarcophagus.⁴⁹ As showing the construction of these well-known monuments, and as an instance of the lamentable destruction of antiquities in progress, I give an illustration of this last, which was wrecked with a dynamite cartridge just before I saw it (Fig. 15.)



FIG. 15.

Among the foothills to the W. of the track to Mariés I found two ruined churches to which the names 'Α. Φωτῖδα and 'Α. Μαρῖνα are attached. Lying among the *débris* of the former was a rude Byzantine relief of two lions of animals meeting, with a circle between them, possibly a Last Judgment. At 'Α. Μαρῖνα I found the fragment of the Latin inscription with the name

Friedrich (Fig. 2) and here ancient remains are very likely to be found. (c) The caeca formed by the Acropolis, temple, and Pan-shrine hills in all probability hides beneath the vegetation and later *débris* the architectural remains of the buildings that once crowned these heights. (d) The well-marked hill on which stands the modern *gendarmérie* has obviously been denuded, but its N. side, including the region of Bent's triumphal arch, might repay investigation. (e) The whole of the district adjoining the 'star' formed by the intersection of the three cross-roads should be investigated. This is all waste ground and lies in the heart of the ancient city: at the spot marked 19 in Pl. XIV, metopes and triglyphs still lie upon the ground, and from the circle of the houses

S. of this came, if I am correctly informed, the relief of which a detail is given on Pl. XXII. Outside the ancient city-wall but still in its immediate neighbourhood the following districts call for examination:—(f) The region between the Acropolis and the sea to its N.E. (g) The ridge (Pl. XIV. 24) connecting the Acropolis with the commanding height to the S. (25) and (h) the foothill called Αρκοῦδα (26) on the other side of the pasture to the E. of the road to Παργία.

⁴⁸ Conze, p. 22.

⁴⁹ This sarcophagus is 2.67 m. long, 1.84 m. broad, and (including the lower chamber, which is not visible in the illustration), 3.55 m. high.

Aeliana (see above, p. 94, No. 7), and many antique fragments. On the sea-coast on the E. side of the island reached by crossing the low *col* at the E. end of the grazing grounds just S. of the city are two churches, 'A. Ἀρχάγγελος and 'A. Ἰωάννης. Near the first are many ancient blocks; in the murther, on to which a house is built, are three measuring over 2 m.

The road to Panagia, which cannot be mistaken, after traversing the plain and foothills to the S. of Liména ascends the course of a stream and reaches a point where there is a fountain, close by which is a little monastery.⁴⁶ It then ascends rapidly to the ridge, on which is a chapel to 'A. Παντελεήμων and then descends less steeply to the village of Panagia, one of the largest and pleasantest in the island. Except the inscription copied by Dr. Conze⁴⁷ I saw no antiquities here.

Panagia, like most of the villages in the island, is exquisitely situated, and the water supply even in the hottest months abundant. There are two fountains, each shadowed by the gigantic planes which are a feature of the little *place* of every Thasian village.⁴⁸ It stands about 3 km. from the sea, and looks E. down on Potamia bay across the small intervening plain, which is well watered and cultivated. On the W. rise the heights of H. Elias and 'Psarió, the outworks of which descend in finely forested slopes to the sea, enclosing the plain N. and S. If we descend by the main winding path which leads from the village to the sea we pass after a few minutes the little church of H. Ioánnes Theológos, in the yard in front of which I dug up the sculptured stele inscribed with the name Olympias.⁴⁹

Crossing the plain along its N. limit we leave high above us a deserted Byzantine fort, 8 m. square, of little interest, marked *Καστρί* in the map, and reach the N.W. angle of Potamia bay. After passing a spring where there are some small traces of the ruined chapel of H. Paraskeuē, and

⁴⁶ Possibly it would be more correct to call it a nunnery, as it is occupied by a solitary nun (the only one in the island), who has a great reputation as a doctor.

⁴⁷ P. 27.

⁴⁸ I made my headquarters here for several months. A traveller who voluntarily seeks a land where there is no recognised accommodation for strangers must necessarily look in a kindly spirit on the village life into which he intrudes unasked. This conceded, I have none but most grateful recollections of the personal kindness I met with on all sides. Since at the close of this paper I give an impression wholly unfavourable of the political and commercial outlook in the island, I particularly wish to record here my sense of the personal kindness shown me by the Monks and inhabitants of all the villages, and of these I should naturally

name my friends at Panagia first. I must particularly mention my respected old friend M. Christides, of whose services Dr. Conze speaks warmly in his memoir. He was so good as to show me the same kind offices exactly half a century later.

I feel at this point compelled to protest against the disservice done to travellers by harsh criticism of the personal characteristics of the inhabitants in the writings of their predecessors. Every traveller in the Mediævæan will sympathise with what M. Perrot complains of, but it is, I submit, impolitic to print such remarks as occur on p. 46 of his monograph. They are, as a matter of fact, remembered to this day, and were quoted to me on the quay at Liména.

⁴⁹ See above, p. 94, No. 8. This I placed in the little church for safe keeping.

following the coastline, I found the ruins of a Hellenic building at a spot named 'στ' Αἰλάκια (Fig. 16). The remains are so much overgrown that they are difficult to find, but the modern features now obscuring them are indicated in the cut and they are close to a Byzantine well (now either dry or foul) of which the inhabitants know. In proportion and disposition they resemble closely a smaller building which I found near Alikí (Pl. XVI No. 5), but the masonry of the N. part of the W. wall at 'στ' Αἰλάκια is superior to anything in the latter. The building consists of a rectangle (of 33×21 m.) unequally divided and having its axis N.N.E.-S.S.W. The masonry on the E. wall is of rough unsquared blocks, one of which measures 2.20×70 m. On the corresponding W. side one course of good ashlar masonry is preserved.

Proceeding further E.-ward I found without difficulty the lighthouse which marked the N.E. angle of the bay and gave it the name Cape Purgos, which put me on its track. It measured 5.20 m. across and 16.60 in its circumference, about half of which is preserved to a height rising on the S. to 2.25 m. The blocks are about 40 cm. thick and 2.20-2.60 m. in length. Partly *in situ* and partly among the *debris* below I found the inscription²⁰ which gives the purpose and approximately the date of the structure. Fig. 17 gives the lettering in facsimile, arranged in six lines instead of two to secure adequate scale, and with the addition of Mr. M. N. Tod's restorations. From the style of the lettering it seems clear that this lighthouse was erected, where it still stands, 'at the roadstead's utmost point to bring safety to ships and to sailors,' in the latter part of the 6th century. Now the masonry of the tower, as will be seen from Fig. 18 which gives a detail, is neither better nor worse than most of the towers of Thasos and by no means as primitive in character as some. We need have no hesitation then in referring these structures as a whole to the Hellenic era (see below, p. 246).

N. of this point as far as the church of 'Α. Ἰωάννης the only point occupied is a little harbour named Βαθύ, where good caiques are built by

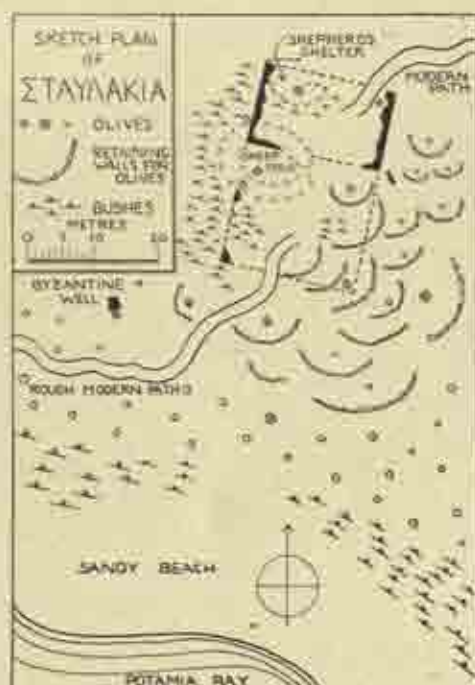


FIG. 16.

²⁰ See above, p. 96, for Mr. Tod's transcription, and below, p. 259, for Prof. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf's suggestion.

the owners of a French concession. An attempt here made to start a marble quarry was abandoned.

We may now circumvent the bay. Halfway across, lying on the shore

ΚΗΓΑΤΩΕΜΙΜΝΗΜ
ΑΙΩΘ ~~ΙΗΡ~~ ΙΩΩΚ
ΕΙΜΑΙΔΕΕΤΑΚΡΩΝΑ
ΥΕΤΑΟΜΩΞΩΤΗΡΩΝ
ΝΗΥΕΙΝΤΕΚΑΙΝΑΥΤ
ΗΞΙΝΑΝΝΑΧΑΙΡΕΤΕ

FIG. 17.

near a well, which is, I think, disused. I found the inscription *Ἀνθε χαῖρε* (see above, p. 97, No. 10). Near the little *scala* of Potamia is a church of H. Nikólaos (for the relief on which see Conze, Pl. X. No. 8).



FIG. 18.

The *scala* which is at the angle of the bay possesses some sort of anchorage.⁴¹ At the S.W. extremity of the bay is an isolated rock called Grabousa where I hoped to find a lighthouse corresponding to that at Purgos. It was fortified in the Middle Ages and contains an oval cistern, but has no Hellenic remains. There is a spring on the shore in the bay to the S. of this rock.

The village of Potamia, smaller and poorer than that of Panagia, lies prettily situated above the S.W. angle of the bay. If from here we take the road to Theológo we reach in half an hour the Vlach *metochi* of H.

⁴¹ I once witnessed a little ceremony here of some interest. At nightfall some little groups of fishermen were seeing to their nets which were spread out on the beach. A

Demetri²⁸ the little church of which with its gabled and painted wood façade would better suit a northern landscape. From the good monks who farm here it is best to get word of the position of a ruined tower called ἄρτο Ἑλληνικό which lies E. of the monastery with traces of a large mediaeval settlement all round. This tower is 10 m. square and shows above three lower courses of ashlar masonry a course of much larger blocks, 2-3 m. long.

We may now consider the district of *Kínara*.

KÍNARA (Pl. XV.)

To reach *Kínara* bay from *Potamia* bay we have to cross in a S. direction the massive outworks of the Ὄρος Τσινταούλα which descend to the sea in two capes, that of Γράβαυσα to the N. and the Κομμένος Κάβος to the S. The region between these two is an irregular pile of hills covered with pines and terminating at the sea so abruptly as to leave no foothold round the coastline. The district through which the devious track winds is uninhabited and at no point are traces of ancient civilisation evident. Reaching at length the spot where the path begins finally to descend we have a fine view to the S. of the bare islet of *Kínara* and the coast as far as Cape Στανρό, and to the W. of the densely wooded slopes of the Ὄρος Κυριακή. These extend to the sea and form the S. limit of the bay, which has nowhere any considerable breadth from E. to W. The accounts of different travellers being hard to reconcile I will enumerate carefully the different points to be noticed from N. to S.

(1) The N.W. portion of the bay bears the name Παλαιοχωρό and the traveller who takes the road from *Kínara* to *Theológo* will notice among the dense undergrowth the heaps of rubble and shapeless stones that justify the name. These remains belong evidently to the post-classical period. Of the three churches marked in the plan and mentioned by Dr. Conze, H. Apóstoloi (Pl. XV. 2), situated about 100 m. to the right of a point on the track to *Theológo* marked by a group of καλύβια, is a tiny ruin, lost in the undergrowth, with more traces of detail in mouldings and niches than other Thasian chapels show; Ἁ. Τριάδα, perhaps 250 m. to the N.N.E. of this, has been recently rebuilt, and shows in the setting of the door some adaptation of ancient blocks; Ἁ. Στυρίδα, higher up on the mountain slope to the N.W., is of no interest.

(2) *Kínara* proper is really the E. *seal* of the village of *Theológo* to which it belongs, and is unoccupied in the summer except for one or two gendarmes. It is situated on a small rocky projection due W. of the N. end of the islet of *Kínara*, and is incorrectly placed on all previous maps. Over

women with a bundle of (mown) wheat round to each group as if to advise them, using apparently the same form of words to each. It must, I think, be unusual for women to take any part in the orthodox ritual.

²⁸ The monks in this lovely spot are good

farmers and kindly hosts. They all speak Greek but the letterpress of the gaily European prints of their mother monastery which hang on the walls is in Roumanian. The *Mataci* is a little repulsive without superior.

the lintel of a door is the inscription No. 25, p. 101, brought hither from Alik and now lacking the third line.

(3) S. of this *scala* the flat beach extends for about 1 km. before it is again interrupted by rock. This reach is called 'στέ Αοερπά though it is not well adapted for bathing. Set back from this on a rising ground S.S.W. of the *scala* a small hut is visible. This is built inside an ancient tower (Pl. XV. 1). The eminence on which this fortress stands is bounded by a narrow gorge on the N. and a broader ravine on the S.; in front of it extends a little plateau, at the E. end of which the ground falls away abruptly to the sea: under ancient conditions it must have been impregnable. The tower proper is 7 m. square and is built mostly of long, narrow, rough blocks of only moderate size: it has a kind of exterior step



FIG. 19.

on the E. and S. side and there are retaining walls to the S. and W. I have described this in some detail as I am still in doubt whether to identify this ruin with M. Perrot's *vestiges d'une acropole* and *fortresse à tours carrées*.²³ Dr. Conze did not apparently see these remains.

(4) Descending to the sea and continuing our way S. along the flat beach we reach the projecting rocks which terminate it. Climbing these I found another relic of the classical age of Kinara in the shape of a Doric capital, small but of fair style (Fig. 19). This was lying on a pile of other fragments which

had been heaped together to make a rude cliff-wall for a field of Indian corn.

(5) Close at hand but separated from us by a small ravine the hill immediately to the S. rises in an unbroken line to a conspicuous tree. On the slope I found numerous fragments of ancient pottery and the traces of a circular foundation 32 m. in circumference.²⁴

Herodotus having expressly stated²⁵ that the Phoenician gold mines lay between a spot named Ainyra and Kinara on the coast facing Samothrace, previous travellers have endeavoured to identify the site of Ainyra and the mines themselves. It would seem from Herodotus' statement that Ainyra must lie either N. or S. of Kinara. Having traversed both regions more than once I feel convinced that there was no place for an ancient city to the S. of

²³ Perrot, p. 85.

²⁴ I hope that from the above it is clear that both 4 and 5 lie just above the complicated

formation of rock and gully forming the S. end of the level stretch of beach.

²⁵ Herod. vi. 47.

Kinara, and that Airyra should be identified with some site in the district of Potamia, very possibly as Herr Friedrich suggests³⁶ with the ruined village of Aidina, which lies not far from the Vlach *metéchi* of H. Demetri in the neighbourhood of the fortress known as *στὰ Ἑλλημεκά*.³⁷

Along the precipitous slopes descending to the sea which extend from the district of Kinara to Cape Stauró I saw no traces of ancient or indeed of modern habitation. But having on a former occasion sailed round the rock-bound cape I later crossed the ridge which separates the triangular mass of Stauró from the main S.E. range, and descended in a S.W. direction to the little bay, which, I believe, no previous traveller has examined. It seems to be known by the name *Ἀ. Ἰωάννης* which is also an alternative name for the cape.³⁸ Here I found the remains of which plans are given in Fig. 20. On the W. side of the gulf, above the steep rock before the flat beach is reached, is a tower, the sides of which measure 10 m.: the blocks are rough, average 25 cm. in thickness, and are of greatly varying length. On the extreme edge of the cliff and parallel with it runs an outer wall ending in N. and S. walls at obtuse angles to it. Looking back on this fortress from the other side of the gulf I thought I could make out the ancient harbourage for boats beneath, but this detail I was unable to verify. On the E. coast of the gulf, and set further back from the sea than the W. tower, was the round defence work figured in the same cut. This consists partly of natural rock, partly of mediaeval masonry, but it shows traces of having been fortified in ancient times. These are the most easterly of the long series of towers that kept ward over the ravines of the S. coast. What it was necessary to guard in both ancient and mediaeval times in this secluded spot, it is difficult to say. The only exits from the *λίμνη* on which the beach gives are too steep and tortuous to have been ever much used.

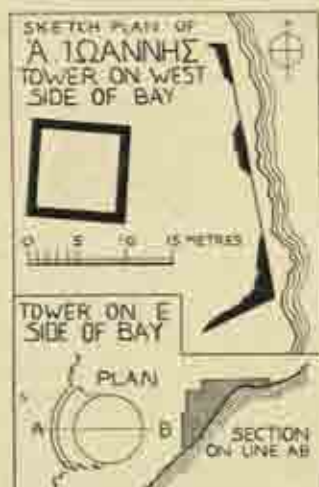


FIG. 20.

³⁶ Friedrich, p. 242.

³⁷ Archaeologists have looked for ancient metal workings along this coast in vain, but Herr Edwin Spießel, who is conducting mining operations in the S.W. region of the island, informed me that he had discovered

ancient workings near Kinara, but that these contained no trace whatever of gold. I am not sure of what precise point Herr Spießel was speaking.

³⁸ There is no authority for the name H. Nikolaou in my map.

ALIKI (Pls. XVI. and XXI.)²⁰

Of this name M. Perrot writes *Je dois dire que cette forme [Alikí] n'a pas frappé mon oreille pendant mon séjour dans l'île et que c'est toujours 'Alikí' que j'ai entendu prononcer*, and therefore suggests that the name is derived from ἀλκή, 'force,' either in allusion to the muscular energy required of the marble-quarriers, or as an equivalent for a fortified place. For these somewhat strained derivations there is no need if we remember that in the ordinary N. Greek pronunciation an unaccented *i* is dropped, and thus Alikí would be the popular rendering of Alikí. This conceded, we are able to adopt Dr. Conze's far more natural derivation of the name from ἄλς, ἁλός, 'salt,' though I was at first puzzled to know where in this district of rocky coast and deep water there could have been place for the salt lagoons, or places for the accumulation of the deposits of salt, which the name seemed to require. The explanation is a simple one. When the quarries fell into disuse a large area of the marble peninsula was left cut down to the level of the sea surrounded on its outer edge with a ring of natural rock. With little additional aid salt could be procured hence by the rapid evaporation of the shallow water on the hot marble surface. If this suggestion is correct it follows that the name is of no remote antiquity, not having come into use till the quarries were cut down to their present level. On my maps the word appears as Ἀλική. Ἀλική would be a preferable spelling.

The district of Alikí is one of the most interesting and one of the most deserted in the island. The reason of its desolation is not far to seek. The abundant water supply of the rest of the island here fails and the region is now practically untenanted. It will be a convenience for future travellers to give succinctly the 'accommodation' in respect of water and houses as they were in 1907. At the extreme E. of the plan is a little cove named Πέχια. Here about 200 m. from the shore is a well in which the water, usually low, is good. On the isthmus of the peninsula is another (marked on the plan with a dot to the left of the arrow-head) of which the water is undrinkable. On the flat W. beach of the isthmus is a house occupied by a solitary fisherman and there are generally one or two gendarmes in the only other house in the same little hamlet which is kept in repair. There is no water thence westward till the bay of Θυμάρια is reached: here is a stream bed in which there is usually water, though in the

²⁰ The plan on Pl. XVI., which differs in a marked degree from those previously published (Conze, Pl. II., Perrot, Pl. III.), may be taken as accurate in outline and measurements.

The view as one rounds Cape Stauró for the S. of the island can be extraordinarily impressive. After a morning spent strolling among the hot marble rocks of the E. coast of the island, where the vivid green of new larch

shuts out all air and view, I got a boat at Kíama and for the long afternoon crept down southwards under the shadow of the shore. An hour it may be after sunset I made the rocks off Stauró. Here and suddenly over the vast waste of silver water, I saw for the first time the lone peak of Athos, 60 miles away, silhouetted against a sky of chrysoprase.

hot months it is necessary to ascend the bed nearly a mile before it is found in sufficient quantity. The house on the shore at the S.E. angle of this bay, a *metochi* of one of the monasteries on Mt. Athos, is generally unoccupied.

We may now turn to the ancient remains of the locality. On the isthmus itself are the following remains: they are all marked on the plan though necessarily on a minute scale. In the middle of the cove on the E. of the isthmus in the shallow water are traces of an ancient well which, unless the area was formerly protected by a sea-wall, are proof that the sea has here encroached N.W. of the well on the level ground, and just visible in the plan, are fragments of two large sarcophagi. Traces of an ancient wall across the isthmus, as described by M. Perrot,¹⁰ are hard to find. However, there are indications of its start just to the S. of the sunken well mentioned above, and it may have followed the N. limit of the *débris* in the direction of a large fragment of mediaeval masonry on the edge of this. The bad well lies due W. of this fragment. All the remains mentioned hitherto are N. of the limit of the confused havoc of mediaeval remains occupying the S. part of the isthmus. I have indicated in this region, which is shaded on the map, the only points worth identifying on the surface. In the centre is another ancient well now dry; a little to the S.E. of this lies the huge and ugly sarcophagus of Chrysis¹¹. Further to the S. of the well is a ruined building with an apse. These three points lie in the centre of the *débris*.

Returning to the coast of the E. cove we find at its S.W. angle the singular building¹² 'excavated' by Mr. Bent. To anyone who has read his account in the pages of this Journal,¹³ the present state of the site will be a disagreeable surprise. A temple on the sea is a sufficiently rare feature of Greek architecture to merit better treatment than this has received. Most of the inscriptions have been carried off and one pit has been dug. I give a plan (Pl. XVI, No. 7)¹⁴ of what is left. This and the following particulars contrast unfavourably with the elaborate account cited. I believe my account to be more accurate. A flight of perhaps six steps led up from the water's edge to a platform facing the N.E. *Débris* is piled high on the seaward edge of this, but the earth a little further inland has been removed, showing that the building of which this platform was the floor was divided into one large outer and one narrow inner chamber. From the short S.W. side of the inner chamber a wall projects forming two recesses. N. of the platform and of the same orientation a wall of very large blocks (two of which measure as much as 4.80 × 1.05 m. and 4.40 × 1.40 m.) descends to the sea. If the steps extended thus far, what I have called a wall will merely be their northern termination. A few blocks have fallen into the sea at this point. M. Perrot thought that excavation might here reveal a temple consecrated to the patron god of the workers in the quarries. Bent's pit is not

¹⁰ Perrot, p. 90.

¹¹ For transcription of its inscription see Couze, p. 31; Perrot, p. 191.

¹² Perrot, p. 32 and Couze p. 30.

¹³ *J.H.S.*, Vol. viii, (1887), p. 434.

conclusive, but the enormous blocks on the N. side suggest a structure of dignity and importance.

As we proceed S. on to the main peninsula we come across the ruins of two large Byzantine churches, Pl. XVI No. 6. It is curious that so much of both these churches, the plans of which intersect, should be left, and that one was not pulled down to erect the other. The longer and more northerly church is the older, for though the foundations of the S. wall of this *towards the upper* are still traceable, while nothing remains of the shorter church at this point, yet the still standing side entrance to the shorter church is built over this same wall *towards the north*. It may have been from these churches that the Byzantine capitals came which now form the outside stairway to the upper room of the fisherman's hut on the W. coast of the isthmus. Pl. XXII.d gives a view of these. The topmost shows three crosses in a row, that at the bottom two doves with a cross in a circle between, and the intermediate step a solitary cross. This is sufficiently like the drawing made by M. Perrot⁶⁴ of a capital which he saw 'au nord-est du promontoire vers l'endroit où il se rejoint à l'isthme,' presumably the site of the churches in my plan.⁶⁵

We now reach the quarries on the peninsula which is about 750 m. in length and 250 broad, its axis lying N.E.-S.W. The lower third of this,



FIG. 21.

circular block left intact, perhaps intended for the capital of a Doric column. C I take to be a hole for a hawser used for mooring the marble boats.

⁶⁴ P. 90.

⁶⁵ Though I was keeping a lookout for M. Perrot's capitals I saw nothing of them till the last day of my visit, when a boat came in

for a cargo of ruin. This was stacked against the side of my house: when it was removed I found the capitals forming the stairway to my quarters, as shown in Pl. XXII. d.

It is cut out of a mass of marble which projects into the extreme N.W. corner of the quarried area. Hard by is a deep cove and between the two the marble has been roughly shaped as if to facilitate the shipping of the marble blocks. The accompanying cut (Fig. 21) makes the arrangement clear. In this *A* is the hole and *B* the landing-place.

The whole of the E. side of the peninsula has been quarried into a series of ten recesses of unequal size, facing the sea. At a point between the southernmost of these and the N. limit of the great completed quarry, I uncovered from the surrounding *débris* of fragments a monolith column 8.70 m. in length, and, as far as I could judge from the small width I could uncover, 1 m. in diameter; it had at one end a plain flat projecting moulding. A large fragment of a similar column (4 m. long, 1 m. diameter) lay at the same point nearer the shore. These, as I have said, lie at the limit of the part of the quarry completed: perhaps we may infer from this that the quarrying on a large scale was suddenly and perforce abandoned while an important commission was on hand; or it may merely have been that the engineers of Thasos found the task of shipping blocks of this great size beyond them.

Across the peninsula in its steep unquarried W. edge is another relic of antiquity that has escaped notice. This is a small rock-cut burying place (Fig. 22) shaped roughly like the letter B. One chamber has been converted into one of those desolate little shrines with which all travellers are familiar — a broken cross-marked slab, a burned-out lamp, and a handful of mouldering tapers. The central niche has a pointed Byzantine inscription now illegible. The further chamber has had the floor opened and piles of bones lie round the orifice. In its eastern side is a roughly circular recess like a *loculus*. The ground beneath the entrance is hollow, and the spot would probably repay investigation.

We will now visit the remains along the coast W. of the peninsula. Immediately opposite the burying place just described are the ruins of a small church called *Θεοταγγάδι*. So far as I can understand Dr. Conze's sketch-plan, which is very inaccurate, this bears the name of *Φραγκοεκκλησία*. M. Perrot in his footnote on p. 94 appears to give this name to the church on the isthmus. I found the name applied with some certainty to a church above the quarries on the neighbouring bluff of *Ντερίρ Χαλκός*, and have so entered it in my map. All one can be certain of is that this name connotes a western, perhaps an Italian, tradition in the district.

After proceeding $\frac{1}{2}$ km. along the unindented shore I found, near a spot

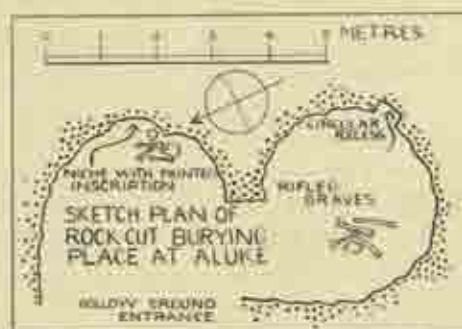


FIG. 22.

called from some story of a fisher-boy's death Φορέα πλάκκα,⁶⁶ the remains of a rectangular precinct, greatly destroyed in its N. half but still showing traces of a ramp and entrance on the side facing the sea. I found here portions of a large *pithos*. The remains finds a close parallel in those on the N. shore of Potamia bay (see above, p. 231). Both are double, in both the two portions are nearly but not quite equal, and both lay on the sea. I supposed this one to be a sort of fortress covering the approach to the little cove which we now reach.

The promontory separating this cove from the next is thickly strewn with the formless ruins with which we meet in profusion in this district. Among the *débris* between the quarries, which reappear at this point, and the sea, we can make out (1) a long wall of rude workmanship in a line N.W.-S.E. at the head of the first cove, (2) a Byzantine church (Pl. XVI 4), and (3) the ruins of a square Hellenic tower (Pl. XVI 3), with outworks to the seaward side. Much maltreated as this edifice has been, observation shows that it once presented a very different appearance. I am inclined to include it among the best of the Hellenic towers in the island (see below, p. 247).

The next peninsula yields nothing and, continuing our route to the W., we reach the open beach of Θυμανιά bay. On a hill to the N.W., isolated on every side except the W., where it joins the promontory of Ντεμip Χαλκᾶς, stands the largest and best preserved of the Hellenic towers of the island (Pl. XVI 2). A detail of the masonry is shown on Pl. XXI 4. The ancient corbelled opening is on the E., and a rectangular bastion stands on the same side. Its purpose and precise relation to the circular tower are not easy to determine. Another opening has been made on the E. side giving on a rectangle of poor late walls as indicated in the plan. M. Perrot⁶⁷ correctly points out that this structure, measuring 18 m. in diameter, is too large to have been a tower in the sense of having once sustained an upper story. It was probably a fortified shelter.

From this plateau we may gain the slope of the hill descending to the bluff of Ντεμip Χαλκᾶς. As we near the sea we pass the ruined church which I have called Φραγκοκαλησία in the plan, Pl. XVI 1 (see above, p. 239). It is, as it were, fortified by an outer and more massive apse, the E. end of which has been demolished. Immediately after passing this we find yet further quarries reaching to the sea and descending among them stand on the fine bluff of Ντεμip Χαλκᾶς (Pl. XXI 7). The whole façade, standing perhaps 60 feet high from the water's edge, has been cut sheer in antiquity. The spot whence quite recently was torn the huge iron ring, from which the bluff takes its name, is still visible. This was doubtless part of the original equipment for lowering the blocks into the marble boats. For these the shore is singularly exposed, but they could lie or beach in Θυμανιά bay.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ Dardanus's Rock is a good English equivalent.

⁶⁷ Perrot, p. 88.

⁶⁸ The effect of Ντεμip Χαλκᾶς as seen in the morning light from a boat below is indescrib-

ably beautiful, when the glittering scarp is mirrored far into the opalescent depth below. I do not think that anywhere in the world can be water more crystal clear.

ASTRIS AND NEIGHBOURHOOD (Pl. XVII.)

We may now continue our journey W. and enter on the field covered by the sketch-map given on Pl. XVII.⁶⁶ A comparison with Dr. Conze's map (Conze, Pl. I.) will show that I have differed from him entirely in locating the points presently to be discussed. I am sorry to take leave of so good a guide but am positive that the district of *Βαθιά Ποταμιά* and the church of the Taxiarch lie where I have marked them, to the W. of *Ντεμυρ Χαλλκάν*, and not as he has placed them towards the S. promontory of the island.

The church of Ἁ. Ταξιάρχης is a conspicuous object from the sea poised high upon the cliff among the quarries to the W. of *Ντεμυρ Χαλλκάν*. It has the curious feature of affording a home for olive gatherers and dressers during the olive season: though this may be a modern adaptation of what was a place for incubation before the healing water deserted the church. Its W. end terminates in a spacious room containing large raised platforms for sleeping. This is open on the S. side, where it is approached by a flight of steps: in the rafters of the roof are stacked the olive baskers of the usual primitive type, made of a single lopped larch. In a chamber at the back of the sanctuary is the conduit where once flowed the water which was famous in the locality for its healing powers. By some seismic disturbance it suddenly failed at this point and now issues from the face of the rock on the sea-shore far below. This spot is most curious: twenty feet above the sea-level is a horizontal cleft by which a man may just creep into a kind of natural grotto, some way within which is a clear rock-pool. All round the stalactite formation at the mouth of the orifice is tinted rose-pink, green, sulphur, and orange by the deposits of the water. Hither once a year on the third day after Easter crawls the priest, with as much ceremony as the locality permits, to fetch holy or healing water for the year.⁶⁷ Somewhere in the neighbourhood (where I could not be sure, but not apparently as recounted on the islet of Astris) are hot springs under the sea, the water of which is used as a specific for many complaints, particularly diarrhoea.

Passing a cove where there is an ascent to the church we now reach the open beach of the *λάκκος* of *Βαθιά Ποταμιά*: on a little plateau to the E. are the remains of a round tower (Pl. XVII. 6) 7-60 m. in diameter. Eight m. to the S. are traces of an outer zone: the entrance was on the S. The whole structure is much ruined, but some of the fallen blocks are well cut. At the E. angle of the beach of *Βαθιά Ποταμιά* is a house (unoccupied)

⁶⁶ This, it will be noted, is on one-third of the scale of the last map, Pl. XVI., but the insets are on approximately the same scale in both. The coast outline has been enlarged from the Admiralty chart, and the contours from the Anetian staff map; the details and

insets I have added.

⁶⁷ Every effort is made by the good priest to connect the water with the church above, and visits like mine from the sea are discouraged for obvious reasons.

and a spring. Deep in the *λάσχος* is a curious natural cave, used as a sheep-fold, shaped not unlike the little burying place at Aliki but larger. We may now double the southernmost point of the island, where we are in the neighbourhood of the islet of Astris. This is bare of trees and shows no marks of occupation except the usual chapel to the Panagia. The cape, appropriately called *στρά Κόκκινα*, is of the red ironstone formation with which we become familiar in this part of the island.

About 2½ km. to the N. of the cape we reach the little *scala* of Astris. On the rock to the W. of the beach are ruins of a church which, according to M. Perrot, gave evidence of belonging to a structure superior to the rough little round-ended barns which are the normal churches of the island.

The village, which lies 2 km. to the N.E., straggles for some distance over the gentle W. slope of the valley, which opens on the sea at this point. The heat in this district is apt to be extreme and as at Aliki, in comparison with the rest of the island, the water supply is bad. In the village itself are the following (marked in black on the map):—(1) The well-built round village well, 9 m. in circumference, from which water can be obtained by a bucket from above or by descending a flight of steps on its W. side. (2) About 200 m. to the S. of this the remains of an ancient tower, of which two adjacent sides only are preserved, measuring 11 m. and 9.50 m. This building now serves as the retaining wall of a little platform, on which is built the hut which serves as the *gendarmerie*. (3) Less than 50 m. to the E. of this a ruined church of H. Ioánnes containing a small ancient altar cut in two.

It now remains to describe the ancient fortifications of the neighbourhood. These are more plentiful than in any other district. If we leave Astris and cross the hill immediately to the W. we descend presently to another valley where, with the exception of the well mentioned above, is the only good supply of water in the neighbourhood. This is on the road from Astris to Theológo. Some 200 m. below the spring, on the E. side of the road which it commands, lies the fortress called *'Αβαραμιά* (Pl. XVII. 3). It is a rectangle (30 × 23 m.) with its axis N.E.-S.W. In the N.W. corner is a tower (7 × 8 m.). Rained as it is, this structure was one of the best built of the Thasian towers. The blocks average 110 × 60 cm. Fig. 23 gives a detail of the masonry on the exterior of the N.E. wall of the tower near its E. angle.

Retracing our path to the spring and following the road northward to Theológo we presently see on the right-hand side a dry stream bed descending into the track. Following this stream bed upwards for about twenty minutes I found on the W. side in a spot called *'στὴν Τραπεζίην* (Pl. XVI. 2) a fortress, which is built in four descending levels. The topmost portion is a tower (8 m. square) much rebuilt but still showing throughout its lower side, and in portions of the two sides adjacent to it, ancient workmanship. The terraces between this and the lowest bastion are partly of natural rock. The lowest wall of this bastion is of rough polygonal masonry, one of the stones measuring 140 × 80 cm.

On a hill to the W. of this and across difficult intervening country,

and so probably more easily approached from the *scala* of Astris, stands another fortress in a locality called *Kamropoxyáico* (Pl. XVII. 1). This again gives an interesting ground plan, combining the features of the two fortresses just described. At the N.E. corner of a rectangle (26×13 m.) is a tower (7.50×5 m.) which has been rebuilt more than once inside the original walls on a smaller scale, so that it has now something of the appearance of a stepped pyramid. This commands a court, the entrance to which, much rebuilt, is on the S. Separated by a wall is a lower court, which extends to the W. limit of the castle. The wall forming this is continued to the N. for a distance of 16 m. The masonry of this W. wall is the best. Probably the fortress was originally terraced and did not descend as now in a continuous slope from E. to W.

Returning to Astris *χασμῖό* by the *scala* we may visit two ancient buildings described by M. Perrot⁷¹ which Dr. Conze was unable to find. I believe I have located them accurately on Pl. XVII. The nearest to the *scala* is marked with a 4 on Pl. XVII, and a plan of it is given, inset No. 4. It has been razed to the foundations to make the modern walls close by. One of these crosses the building diagonally and terminates abruptly at its N.E. angle. This will be a help in finding the place. The building consisted of a rectangle of 20×14 m., the axis of which lies N.W.-S.E.; cross walls divide it into four equal and similarly proportioned parts. Such remains as these are appear undoubtedly ancient, but I know of no Hellenic building of a similar plan. Probably we have to do with mere foundations which give little clue to the structure superimposed. E.N.E. of this, and in the stream bed which descends the broad valley from Astris *χασμῖό* to the *scala*, I found with difficulty a rectangular platform with its axis E. and W., measuring 33×21 m. The low retaining wall is ashlar and the blocks fairly isometrical. I make no doubt that this is M. Perrot's temple, though the mediaeval tower composed of ancient blocks which he describes as occupying the centre of the platform has entirely disappeared. The measurements and orientation would suit a temple well.

While searching the promontory *ἑστὰ Κόνεινα* for an ancient lighthouse



FIG. 23.

⁷¹ Perrot, p. 95.

I found on the summit of the hill above, at a spot marked in the plan, but unnamed, the remains of another fort which differed from all the others described in the materials of which it was built. Two sides only of a rectangle 9×12 m. could be traced consisting of three courses of isometrical ashlar masonry of moderate-sized ironstone blocks averaging 60×40 cm.

We have still one more fortress to name in this district. On the track from Astris χωρὶς to Βαθιά Ποταμιά and about halfway between the two, in a locality called Ἀμυγλαδιά, is a square tower, 7.50 by 8 m. (Pl. XVII, 5) preserved to a considerable height, but showing frequent traces of rebuilding.

N.W. of the district of Astris, on the coast lies the hamlet of Potó, the W. *scala* of Theológo, with which it is connected by an easily followed route.⁷⁵ Potó lies at the W. end of a beach cut in the centre by the stream bed, along the course of which the road from Potó to Theólogo ascends. This has seldom water in it in the summer months, but there are two wells right and left of it not far from the sea. At the S.E. end of the beach a few metres in shore lie the ruins of the Church of Panagia, which, judging from the sculptured slabs, may have been of some pretensions. On the W. side of the road to Theólogo, near the ruined church of Ἁ. Κατερίνα, are traces of a large ruined village with ancient blocks and many fragments of pottery in the debris. The fortifications described by Dr. Conze⁷⁶ and M. Perrot⁷⁷ in this locality I did not see.

Passing by the hamlet of Potó, which contains nothing of interest, we reach Hamadih, which, before its transformation by the discovery of the mines, was merely the *scala* of Kástro. Seeming discrepancies in travellers' accounts of this region are due to the changes in nomenclature. The following note will make the matter clear. Three places have at one time or another borne the name of Kástro:—(1) The present Hamadih, the seat of the mining industry, formerly the *scala* of the village of Kástro. Here the only antiquities to be seen are the inscription on the Church of the Evangelismos (see above, p. 107, No. 22) and two wells, the blocks surrounding which are ancient and, in one case, perhaps *in situ*. (2) The *καλύβια* of Kástro, now generally known as Μέση, a village in the plain, half an hour to the N. of Hamadih. Here is the Church of H. Geórgios, which still contains

⁷⁵ Standing on the tall cape which separates Astris from Potó we look W. across a scene strangely different from those we have encountered in our wandering in uninhabited regions among the fragments of a forgotten past. In the centre of the semicircular reach now before us lies a fleet of boats, a steamer waits off a small pier, an irregular mass of workmen's shanties lines the shore, the hard lines of mineral workings scar the hill above, and a large white gabled building on a height commands the whole. Such is the transformation effected by Herron Speidel, a German firm holding concessions for the mines of valuable zinc ore which have been discovered here and at Sotéro. Their

operations, however, are confined to a small area and the mine are we shut off by the surrounding hills that it is difficult to remember elsewhere in the island that there is a part of it where modern industry is thus strenuously pursued. The mines are on the site of ancient workings, but those, I learn, have been destroyed in the new undertaking. Herr Speidel was good enough to give me valued help in the preparation of the general map, and I have the most grateful recollections of the hospitality and goodness of the engineering and medical staff in a most inopportune case of sickness.

⁷⁶ Conze, p. 36.

⁷⁷ Perrot, p. 98.

the four inscriptions described by Dr. Conze.⁷⁵ (3) The village of Kástro proper which lies to the N.E. about three hours distant from the sea, in the church of which is the mediaeval coat of the Gatselusi family⁷⁶ and nothing else of interest. It is the poorest and least hospitable village in the island.

Of the W. side of the island I have little of even relative importance to add to the observations of earlier travellers. For reasons difficult to understand the W. side of the island has been denuded of the traces of ancient civilisation to a far greater extent than the E. From this point onwards therefore I will merely note a few isolated points of supplementary interest.

On a height to the left of the road ascending from Hamallieh to Mariés about 30 minutes after leaving Mées (Kástro *καλύβια*) is a ruined mediaeval settlement and cistern. About 30 minutes higher up the road, at a spot called H. Bastileus are the remains of a Hellenic tower much ruined but with finely cut blocks.

The route from Mariés to *Κατηράχι* is particularly beautiful. At the end of August I here witnessed a forest fire: the incredibly swift onslaught of the flames was stopped by a change of the wind. At one time it seemed impossible that the fine height of H. Mats (*Ἁγ. Ἀσώματος*) would escape.⁷⁷

Between *Κατηράχι* and Sotéro is a conspicuous round tower 23·30 m. circ. on a hill. This I believe to have been a mill. The masonry is quite late.

On the road from Sotéro to Sotéro *scala* I found the curious inscription *Ἡρακλῆς ἐνθάδε κατοικεῖ* (see No. 15, p. 99, above, and also, below, p. 250, for Dr. Farnell's criticism on my explanation of this).

At *Καζαβήτη* we have the same confusion of three villages occasionally referred to by the same name, which we noticed in the case of Kástro: the village proper, its *καλύβια* and its *scala*. I found in this hospitable village the inscriptions Nos. 16 and 17 (see p. 100, above). The *scala* can be reached by two routes on both of which ancient remains are to be noted. Following the main descent of the valley in the direction of the *καλύβια* we reach, after perhaps half an hour's walk from *καζαβήτη*, the fortress of *Τσουκνίδα*⁷⁸ lying above and to the right of the path. Returning to the village and crossing the ridge to the N. we find that another valley runs down to the *scala* in a direction roughly parallel to the former. Descending this I found, at the spot marked in the map with the name *Κκίμα*, a wall of good ashlar masonry, with a slight tendency to polygonal, running N.E. to S.W. for a distance of 14·20 m. and attaining a height of 2 m. (Fig. 24).

At Bourgaro I was present at a large Panegyris, the focus of which was the

⁷⁵ Conze, p. 26.

⁷⁶ Conze, Pl. III. 4.

⁷⁷ Schinas, a Greek geographer, gives *Μαυροκαστα*, γ. p. 344, the form *Ἀσώματος* which I incorporated in my map before I had noticed

Dr. Conze's elucidation of the form 'Mats,' which is in general use.

⁷⁸ Conze, p. 49. I found among the ruins one of the inscribed amphora handles (see above, p. 100).

irregular precinct outside the church at the lower fountain. Exceptionally beautiful surroundings, the kindest hospitality and the many picturesque incidents of a long day's merrymaking could not conceal the fact that there was a singular absence of historical interest in the functions.¹⁹ From Bourgaro I returned to Panagia, without descending to Limena, by a toilsome route above the ruined village of H. Georgios.

I have omitted any mention of Theolôgo, the former capital of the island. I visited it twice and found four new inscriptions (see above, pp. 98-99, Nos. 11-14). On the hill to the S.E. the mediaeval fortification of *Κονφάκαστρο* is of interest. An enormous isolated rock has been turned into a castle. The entrance, for which a ladder is necessary, still sustains a little chamber for the discharge of molten lead on besiegers, and the doorway shows the large hole in which the massive bolt barring the gate was shot.

In the course of our survey of the island we have noted the remains of

some twenty 'Hellenic towers,' and it will be well now to offer a few remarks on the date, disposition, and purpose of these monuments.

Having at first been doubtful as to their date I now make no question that these belong to the Hellenic epoch. In the tentative table given below, the lighthouse at Purgos, with the inscription of the sixth or early fifth century preserved *in situ*, comes halfway down the series, being neither the most nor the least archaic of the fortresses. A fragment of another inscription occurs on the S. wall of the large round tower at Thumonia



FIG. 24.

(Conze, p. 32). Further, I searched the neighbourhood of all of them for pottery sherds, and at some half-dozen of those placed latest in the list I found amphora handles of the well-known inscribed Thasian type and fragments of painted pottery. These last were too fragmentary, however, to allow of classification as red and black figured. It is important to notice that the greater part of this evidence of antiquity came from the sites of which I was most in doubt. Of those placed earlier in the list there can never have been any question.

As to their purpose, nearly half of them are actually on the sea-coast; of these, one, that at Purgos, I have shown to have been a lighthouse: the very

¹⁹ Nothing could be more effective than the women's dresses of magenta, crocus, and violet flashing in the light against the shadowed grey of the church wall. But they were

one and all bought, I fear, in the bazaar at Salonika, and I saw not a stitch of local embroidery.

similar structure at *Bathá Parapá* (Pl. XVII. 6) may well have been another; while those at Mármara, Anlákiá, Loutró, H. Joáunes, the two fortresses at Aliki (Pl. XVI. 3, 5) and the small fort at the S. extremity of the island are obviously of the nature of coast defences. Of those which lie further away from the sea two only are on conspicuous hills: those at Thumonia and *Kamvopoxáiko*. These, from their dimensions and plans, are not properly towers but castles, whither, one may suppose, the inhabitants might fly for shelter when sinister sails were sighted by the watchers on the coast towers below. The other towers are to be found either set on the sides of fairly open valleys, as is the case with Tsouknida, H. Basileús and 'stó Hellenikó, or have to be sought in the undergrowth at the side of deep gorges like 'στῆν Τρεπῆ-ρῆν and 'Αβαραμιά. These would doubtless be erected, not as watch towers or shelters, but as forts to keep the roads and passes above which they are set.²²

I cannot take leave of Thasos without considering for a moment its political situation and future.

The Egyptian ascendancy is dead. Of the Turkish administration of the island at the time of my visit (1907) the inhabitants had little cause to complain, but they are the heirs of its past unhappy history. For this melancholy record the Turk can hardly be blamed. They failed, as every power since antiquity has failed, to keep the island free of the curse of sea-thieves attracted by the cover given by pathless forests reaching to the water's edge, through which hidden *χαράδραι* lead to the fastnesses of the mountains. From these aggressors the island was never really free till the time came when the Mediterranean was

²² I append at this point an attempt at a chronological sequence of these buildings.

I. Good roughly dressed ashlar, with a tendency to polygonal. Of this period Kilim (p. 245) is the only example; this may be contemporary with the earliest work on the acropolis at Lindos, viz. the N.E. bastion and the lower courses of the S.E. wall.

II. In this group the stones have their faces carefully dressed and the jointing has been minutely executed. They belong in short to the best period of Greek building. Of this group 'Αβαραμιά (p. 242) is the best. The detail of the masonry of the N. face of the tower (Fig. 22) shows the surety with which the blocks are adjusted. H. Basileús (p. 245) is now in ruins, as is the round tower of *Bathá Perseú* (p. 241), but an examination of the scattered blocks gives evidence of the same care. The square tower at Aliki (Pl. XVI. 3), though the vertical faces are rougher, belongs to this group, to which lastly the fortress of *Kamvopoxáiko* (Pl. XVII. 1) may be assigned, on the strength of the well-cut blocks of the long W. retaining wall.

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III. We have next to deal with a group which show no less engineering skill and doubtless all useful accuracy for the purpose for which they were intended, but lack the unmistakable refinement of finish of the previous set. The large round tower of Thumonia (Pl. XVI. 2), the lighthouse at Purgos (p. 232), and probably the fortresses at 'στῆν Τρεπῆρῆν (p. 233) and 'στῆν Αἰλιάειν (p. 231) form this group.

IV. In this set the stones though still large are but roughly trimmed to rectilinear form, their vertical surfaces are undressed, and they are juxtaposed rather than jointed. H. Joáunes (p. 235) and a considerable part of the square tower at 'Αστυχάδρα (p. 244) belong to this set. The oblong fort above the beach at Aliki (Pl. XVI. 3) may also be assigned to this group.

V. We have lastly to do with a set of fortresses in which the same characteristics prevail, save that the blocks are considerably smaller and generally rather better finished. It comprises the buildings at Tsouknida (p. 245), 'στῆν Αβαραμιά (Pl. XVI. 1), and probably the trousters fort at the S. extremity of the island (p. 244).

dotted with steamers which could outpace the best handled *caïque*. The respite came, as I judge, too late. Centuries of apprehension and insecurity have left their mark on the inhabitants, who are apathetic and desponding of amelioration to a marked degree. The few simple industries have deteriorated or fallen altogether into disuse. The great limekilns of a generation or two ago are already mouldering away. I have come across masses of mouldering bee-skeps and never seen or tasted honey in Thasos; there is good potter's clay in the N. of the island, but the horrible empty petroleum tin from the Black Sea has killed the potter's art. Moreover wherever sound building, good farming, or praiseworthy individual enterprise of any kind is shown, it is almost invariably in a *metochi* of Mt. Athos, or on the property of one or other of the few non-native Greeks in the island. For the mining industry carried on successfully in the S.W. of the island they show little aptitude, and in this the future of the island is likely to be involved. And a future before it the island certainly has. So beautiful and richly endowed a spot will not under the new conditions long escape notice. For better or for worse it will pass again into the political furnace. In good or evil days those who know Thasos must needs wish it well.

JOHN FF. BAKER-PENYOIRE

APPENDIX A.

FIG. 25.

The following nine villages of Thasos, Βούργαρο, Κακηράγι, Καζαβήτη, Κάστρο, Παναγιά, Μαρτιάς, Ποταμιά, Σωτήρο and Θεολόγο had till recently the right to superstrike the ordinary copper coinage of Turkey with the seals of their respective churches. According to Mr. H. F. Tozer, who wrote in 1890,⁴¹ these were only current in the village or parish in which they were struck. It is difficult to see what could have been the compensating advantage of so cumbersome a system. Apparently it was not long in use, as the coins now circulate freely. The right to superstrike in this fashion has, however, now been withdrawn, though one or two of the churches have evaded the order to return their seals. The accompanying cut, which contains a coin⁴² from each of the nine villages, fully illustrates this curious little backwater of numismatics and is of some further interest as showing the hold their church has had on these poor people. It will be noticed that Hamadiéh and Láména are not represented. Hamadiéh is merely the *seala* of the little village of Κάστρο and has only recently been raised to new importance as the scene of the mining operations in the S.W. of the island. Láména, the ancient capital and now the seat of such government as the island requires, has only reacquired its present importance since some kind of regular communication has been opened with Kavalla. It was formerly regarded as the *seala* of the village of Panagia. The following is the explanation of these curious countermarks.

⁴¹ Tozer, *Agass Islands*, p. 325.

⁴² This set of coins has been presented by the author to the British Museum. [Ed.]

1. Βούργαρο. $\begin{array}{c|c} \text{Ε} & \text{Β} \\ \hline \text{Κ} & \text{Θ} \end{array}$ Ε(κκλησία) Β(ουργάρου)
Κ(οίμησις) Θ(εοτόκου).
2. Κακηράχι. $\begin{array}{c} \text{ΚΑΔ} \\ 188 \end{array}$ Κ(ακηράχι) Α(γίος) Δ(ημήτριος).



1



2



3



4



5



6



7



8



9

Fig. 25.

3. Καζαθήτη. $\begin{array}{c} \text{ΚΑ} \\ \text{Α} \end{array}$ Κ(αζαθήτη) Α(γίος) Α(πόστολος).
4. Κάστρο. $\begin{array}{c} \text{ΑΘ} \\ \text{ΧΚ} \end{array}$ Αθ(ανάσιος) Χ(ωριό) Κ(άστρο).

5. Παναγία. ΠΑΝΑΓ(Ι)Α Παναγία Θεσιών.
ΘΑΣ(Ι)Ω(Ν)
6. Μαρίας. ΜΡ Μ(αριές) Π(αναγία).
7. Ποταμιά. ΠΕ Π(αναγίας) Έ(κκλησία) Χ(ωριό) Π(οταμίας).
ΧΠ
8. Σωτήρο. ΣΓΧ. Σ(ωτήρο) Γ(έννησις) Χ(ριστού)
9. Θεολόγος. Α+Γ Α(γία) Π(άρασθενή).
ΤΡ

APPENDIX B.

When going to press I received the following communication from Mr. M. N. Tod, who was so good as to edit the inscriptions published above, pp. 91-102:—

No. 9, pp. 99 ff. Professor U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf has kindly suggested to me that [Α]εναία should be read in place of Καλαία, partly because the former, unlike the latter, is a known Greek name, partly on metrical grounds, since *maia* is admissible, but not *hista*. Dr. C. Friedrich, who is editing the Thasian inscriptions in the *I.G.*, has proposed [Α]εναία or [Ν]εναία. I had considered [Α]εναία, which was originally suggested by Mr. Penouye, but rejected it because (1) the third extant letter on the square seemed to me to be a λ rather than a ρ, and (2) the α appeared to be the first letter on the block. But the evidence seems strongly in favour of the restoration [Α]εναία. The α of *εναία* was probably the first letter of the second line.

No. 15, p. 100. To Dr. L. E. Farnell I owe an explanation of this inscription which renders unnecessary, or even impossible, the supposition that it is a mere jest. Dr. Farnell sees in the words *Ἡρακλῆς ἐσθλὸς κτασέσθαι* 'part of an apotropaic formula, not uncommon on houses.' *Heracles* frequently appears as *ἀσπίδαρος*, and in a wall-inscription from Pompeii (*Zangemeister, Insur. pariet. Pomp.* 733; *Krieger, Epigr. graec.* 1138) we find the lines

ἰσχυρὸν Διὸς τοῖς καλλίστοις Ἡρακλῆι
ἐσθλὸν κτασέσθαι· μὲν εὐεταῖρα κούρῃ.

Euchaler, in commenting on this inscription (*Rhein. Mus. N.F.* xii. 248), refers to the mutilated text (Grill-Henzen, 7287)

his *hātāt*: nihil int<+> ret mali.

These last words suggest that *εὐεταῖρα* is to be regarded as a misspelling of *εὐετα* rather than of *εὐεταῖρα*.

APPENDIX C.

It was my good fortune while in the island to be able to notify to the authorities of the Imperial Museum of Constantinople the discovery of a fine funerary relief. After an anxious time of waiting I learn with satisfaction that by the exertions of H. E. Hamdy Bey this marble has now been safely transferred to Constantinople and will be adequately published in the *Monuments Piot* with an article by M. Mendel. I will not anticipate his publication further than by saying that the relief is a singularly beautiful example, from the noblest period of Hellenic art, of a familiar theme—the funerary banquet. A dignified figure of a bearded man reclines upon a couch, a graceful nude boy draws wine from a crater before him, while a lady sits behind and spins. On the wall hangs the hero's armour, beneath the couch stands his hound, beneath the lady's chair a quail. To enumerate these elements is to describe a familiar type, but the refinement and *decor* characterising the sculptor of the second quarter of the fifth century give this example a distinction of its own. Pl. XXII. gives a detail, the upper portion of the seated lady, from a cast which I made when the relief was found. The defects in it are due, as will be seen from M. Mendel's plate when it appears, to defective casting.

J. H. B.-P.

DIONYSUS AND THE SATYR OF TRIPOD-STREET.

IN his description of the Street of Tripods at Athens Pausanias notices certain important works of art by Praxiteles. The passage¹ has given rise to much dispute. The author states that in this street was preserved that Satyr of which Praxiteles was very proud, and quotes an anecdote to show that the artist ranked it with the Thespian Eros as one of his masterpieces. He then concludes with the words:—*Φρύνη μὲν οὕτω τὸν Ἐρώτα αἰρεῖται· Διονύσῳ δὲ ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῷ πλησίον Σατύρος ἐστὶ παῖς καὶ δίδωσιν ἑκπώμα· Ἐρώτα δ' ἐστηκεν ὁμοῦ καὶ Διονύσου Θυμῖλος ἐποίησε.*

Three important questions arise out of this concluding passage:—(1) Is the *Σάτυρος παῖς* by Praxiteles? (2) If so, is it to be distinguished from the Satyr of the anecdote? (3) Was it associated, as part of a group, with the statues by Thymilus? The aim of the present paper is to show (a) that the first and second of these questions should be answered in the affirmative, the third in the negative; (b) that the Satyr, however, did not stand alone, but was grouped with a figure of Dionysus; and to suggest a restoration of this group.

We may glance first at the conflicting views which have been put forward. (1) E. Q. Visconti² equated the Satyr of the anecdote with the Periboetos of Pliny and this in turn with the *Resting Satyr* of our museums. (2) Friederichs,³ however, while accepting Visconti's identifications, held that Pausanias saw *two* Satyrs, both of which were by Praxiteles. (3) Stephani⁴ urged that only a single statue was referred to, because: 'after the tale of how Phryne came into possession of the Eros, logical continuity demands information as to the whereabouts of the Satyr; this necessity is made clear enough by the antithesis *Φρύνη μὲν οὕτω τὸν Ἐρώτα αἰρεῖται· Διονύσῳ δὲ . . . Σάτυρος ἐστὶ παῖς*, which names the two owners of the parallel works of art.' (4) Klein⁵ (who reviews the controversy) believes that a single Satyr is referred to, that this is the *Satyr pouring wine* of our museums; and that the Satyr was offering a cup

¹ Paus. i. 29. 1.

² *Museo Pio-Clementino* II. pp. 218 sqq.

³ *Praxiteles*, pp. 12 sqq.

⁴ *Pausanias Arch.* 25; *Mélanges grecs-romains* III. p. 363.

⁵ *Praxiteles*, p. 183. 'So nahm denn Phryne für sich den Eros, dem Dionysos aber gehört . . . der jugendliche Satyr der then (= Dionysos) das Trankgefäss reicht.'

to Dionysus. (5) Furtwängler⁶ held that there were two statues, both by Praxiteles, the second of which formed part of a group to which Thymilus contributed two figures. The view taken in this paper arose from an endeavour to 'place' the fine Dionysus shortly to be described, and though formed independently, coincides partly with Friederichs', partly with Klein's interpretation of Pausanias.

What light does the text of Pausanias throw upon the three essential questions stated above? Firstly, is the *Σάτυρος παῖς* by Praxiteles? Pausanias has been dealing with the two Praxitelean masterpieces (Eros and a Satyr); then he refers to the boy-Satyr without naming the artist. Thirdly, he notices two more statues, stating distinctly that they were by Thymilus. Is not the presumption very strong that the 'anonymous statue,' coming between works whose authors are named, is to be understood to be the work of the first named? An analogy may make this point clearer. Suppose a modern tourist were to write: 'In Florence there are many works by Donatello, such as the S. Mark at Or San Michele... In the Museo Nazionale is a statue of S. George holding a shield. But the S. Peter (cf. the *Ἐποίησις* of Pausanias) is possibly the work of Nanni di Banco'; would it not be tolerably certain (apart from other considerations) that the writer meant that the S. George was a work of Donatello? If we add the fact that we have a Satyr who 'offers a cup' and is obviously Praxitelean,⁷ we are surely as near certainty as is possible in matters of this kind.

Secondly, granted that the Satyr is by Praxiteles, is it identical with the Satyr of the anecdote, which must have stood alone? Stephani's argument based on the *μέν... δέ* seems at first sight to be strong evidence in favour of this. But the absence of a definite article before *Σάτυρος* is even stronger evidence the other way. Moreover, the presence of *μέν* may be naturally explained either (a) as a case of false antithesis,⁸ or (b) as having the corresponding *δέ* supplied from the sense. Pausanias undoubtedly meant that the Satyr of the anecdote belonged to a choragic monument, as the sentences preceding the anecdote show: 'Ἔστι δὲ ὁδὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ προταναίου καλουμένη Τρίποδες ἀφ' οὗ δὲ καλοῦσι τὸ χωρίον, ναὶ θεῶν ἐς τοῦτο μεγάλοι, καὶ σφισὶν ἐφιστήκασι τρίποδες, χαλκοὶ μὲν, μύρης δ' ἄξια μάλιστα περιέχοντες εἰρησμένα. Σάτυρος γὰρ ἐστίν...' The *δέ*-clause in the passage under discussion is left to be supplied by the reader: 'Phryne, then, came in this manner into possession of the Eros [the Satyr, as you will remember, I hinted above, is on one of the choragic monuments]. In the neighbouring temple is a Satyr, etc.' Lastly, while the words *τῷ πλησίον* remain in the text, it is impossible to equate the Satyr of the anecdote

⁶ *Masterpieces* (trans. E. Strong), p. 311. He holds that the Dionysus and Eros of the supposed composite group are reproduced on a relief at Naples (Gerhart and Panofka, *Neapel und Bildn.* No. 26, p. 36).

⁷ Furtwängler, *op. cit.* p. 311. It may be

observed that the 'Satyre variant' is a work in the Praxitelean manner only; but no imitator would choose the artist's early and undeveloped in preference to his mature style.

⁸ Cf. Paus. i. 20. ἵ χαλκοὶ μὲν, μύρης δ' ἄξια περιέχοντες (of the tripods).

with the boy-Satyr.⁹ The 'très légère correction' as M. Collignon¹⁰ regards it, which excises these words seems decidedly arbitrary; for it is by no means obvious why any copyist should have inserted them. Having no knowledge of topography (as we may surely assume) he would regard one *παός* as being as suitable as that 'near by.' Moreover, Pausanias has only *implicitly* mentioned any *παός* at all, so that there is the less reason for supposing a duplication. There is, then, good reason for supporting Friederichs' contention that there were *two* Satyrs, the 'Satyr of the anecdote' and the 'boy-Satyr.'

Thirdly, it must be ascertained whether or no the boy-Satyr formed part of a group to which Thymilus contributed a Dionysus and an Eros. This 'group-theory' rests entirely on the word *ἀμαυ*. Yet this is quite ambiguous. It might mean 'in the same group' and, equally possibly, 'in the neighbouring one'; just as 'close by' is ambiguous in English. So far, then, the question is quite open. But though such collaboration as is suggested can be paralleled, it certainly must not be assumed without precise information to that effect. Had there been a composite group Pausanias would surely have noted the fact as definitely as he does in the case of the group at Megalopolis.¹¹ We are justified, therefore, in isolating the Satyr from the works by Thymilus.

We can now turn to the reconstruction of the Praxitelean group, whose existence has been vindicated in the preceding pages. As to one figure, as I have already shown, there can be no reasonable doubt. It is the *Satyr pouring wine* of the museums. The figure is too well known to need long description.¹² It represents a boy-Satyr standing to the front in the attitude of 'arrested motion,' the left leg bearing the weight of the body and the left hip arched. The left upper arm hangs straight from the shoulder and the forearm projecting to the left-front should hold a cup (probably a *kantharos*). The head is bent in the same direction, the eyes fixed upon the cup. The right arm is raised and bent as in the act of pouring wine. Numerous copies survive to prove the fame of this figure¹³ and there is no doubt as to their restoration, as Professor Tren kindly informs me that in the right hand of two of the Dresden copies a fragment of the handle of an oenochoe still remains. As Furtwängler has shown,¹⁴ this figure stands at the beginning of a series of works by Praxiteles which lead up to the *Hermes of Olympia*. The motive, of course, is identical with that described briefly by Pausanias. The replicas, to be sure, are labelled 'Satyre versant,' or 'Einschenkender,' and Pausanias does not notice the action of pouring even as he deals summarily with the Mantineaian basis;¹⁵ but this part of the motive only becomes essential *when the figure is isolated*. When the figure is restored to its proper context it

⁹ See Frazer, *Pausanias* ii. p. 211.

¹⁰ *Hist. de la Sculpt. grec.* ii. p. 264.

¹¹ *Pausanias* viii. 26. 16.

¹² For illustrations see Klein, *Praxiteles*.
Fig. 29; Furtwängler, *op. cit.*, Fig. 131 etc.

¹³ See list Klein, *Praxiteles* pp. 190 and 192.
The examples at Dresden and in the Museo
Barnescompagni are the best known.

¹⁴ *Op. cit.* pp. 310-313.

¹⁵ viii. 2. 1.

becomes clear (as we shall see) that *δίδωσιν ἔκπωμα* describes the really important action.

Now this Satyr certainly should not stand alone. Furtwangler has justly pointed out that the Satyr is not pouring out wine for himself. And if he were, the action would not be directed, as it is, to one side. Moreover, to offer a cup to—nobody, as he would be doing if isolated, would be an innuity of which Praxiteles was incapable. We must look, therefore, for some one to whom the Satyr offers the cup, for whom he would use this ceremony. Dionysus naturally suggests himself; and I believe the text of Pausanias materially strengthens this *a priori* suggestion. The MSS. read *Διονύσῳ δὲ ἐν τῷ ναφῷ... Σάτυρος ἐστὶ παῖς καὶ δίδωσιν ἔκπωμα*. Alterations have been proposed. Kayser,¹⁶ *et al.*, proposes *δίδουσι αὖ* for *καὶ δίδωσιν*; but this is to make the reading fit the theory, and the supposed corruption is hard to explain. Others read *Διονύσου* in place of the dative: but here again the supposed corruption is from the easy and obvious to the more difficult. The text then must stand as it is; but since the rendering which takes *Διονύσῳ* to be possessive has been implicitly rejected, some fresh explanation must be offered. Pausanias is liable to fall into confusion and he may have done so here. In this case he has confused two modes of expression: (a) *Διονύσῳ Σάτυρος παῖς δίδωσιν ἔκπωμα* and (b) *ἐν δὲ τῷ ναφῷ Σάτυρος ἐστὶ παῖς καὶ δίδωσιν ἔκπωμα Διονύσῳ*. Or it is possible that Pausanias actually wrote as in (b), that *Διονύσῳ* was accidentally omitted, but added in the margin of the MS. and thus found itself at the head of the sentence. The transposition of the particle would naturally follow.

At this point it is necessary to pause to inquire whether such a group is in the manner of Praxiteles. That he made groups is well known, but unfortunately no other example by this master is extant. Happily Pliny¹⁶ has recorded two examples of Praxitelean groups of two figures: a Poseidon and Apollo in the collection of Asinius Pollio, and an Agathodaemon with Agathe Tyche which stood in his day on the Capitol; though from this we learn no more than that a group of two figures would find other parallels in a complete catalogue of the artist's works. The Apollo and Artemis of the triple group reproduced on a Megarian coin¹⁷ might be cited in this connexion, but I suspect that the figure of Leto was actually seated with Apollo and Artemis standing on either side (as was the Hera between Athena and Hebe at Mantinea¹⁸), but was transformed by the die-cutter for his own reasons into a standing figure. We must therefore proceed with our restoration without the aid of any reproductions of other groups.

There exists no series of replicas of a Praxitelean Dionysus satisfying the conditions which our Satyr lays down. Indeed there exists, so far as I know, one figure only which completely fulfils them: it is fortunate that this copy is apparently a good one, and in tolerably perfect state.

¹⁶ *Rhein. Mus.* N.F. 5 (1847), p. 352.

¹⁷ *Not. Hist.* xxxvi. 23.

¹⁸ Inhofen-Rüster and P. Gardner, *Narr.*

Comus, on Paus., A 10.

¹⁹ Pausanias viii. 2. 3.

During the excavations in 1886 on the site of the barracks of the *Equites Singulares* at Rome, several fine works of art were discovered. Amongst them was a statue of Dionysus⁷⁹ (Fig. 1), 1.50 m. in height and of Pentelic



FIG. 1.—DIONYSUS FROM BARRACKS OF THE *EQUITES SINGULARES* AT ROME.

marble. The god stands to the front, but with head turned in three-quarter profile to his right. The right leg supports the weight of the body, while

⁷⁹ First published by C. L. Visconti, *Bull. Comm.* 1886, pp. 163 sqq. Tav. 6 (from which the illustration in the text is borrowed): see

also R. Lanciani, *New Tales of Old Rome*, p. 177.

the left is slightly bent. The left elbow rests upon a tree-trunk over which falls part of a *quartus* which is also twisted round a short branch-stump and then round the elbow of the god. The forearm, which projected straight to the front, is lost. From the stump of the branch the upper part of the drapery, which forms a close thick roll, passes in a diagonal line very slightly below the top of the left thigh, and crosses the right thigh midway between its junction with the body and the knee. Below this roll the drapery falls in a variety of exquisite folds to the feet, covering either instep, and dropping between them in a shallow curve upon the ground. Thus the whole of the body is nude while the legs are covered.

The right arm is missing from a short distance below the shoulder, but its position can be no matter of doubt. The stump indicates that the upper arm, turned slightly from the front to the right projected downwards in such a way that the elbow was at no great distance from the body. As to the forearm, one direction alone seems possible: it projected 'three-quarters' to the right in the direction in which the head is turned. The head, set, as has been noticed, almost in profile, is surrounded by a rich crown of ivy-berries and leaves, and is bent downwards; the eyes are fixed, beyond all doubt, upon some object in or near the right hand.

Such is the statue discovered in the barracks of the Equites Singulares and since removed to the Villa Maraini at Lugano. There can be no doubt that the figure is Praxitelean and that its conception is the work of a master and not of a 'school' or of a mere imitator. If this figure is set side by side with the Satyr, a perfect group is at once formed (Fig. 2). In the first place, the correspondence in scale between the copies of the two figures is most striking.²⁹ Secondly, we must notice an aspect of Praxiteles' work which I do not remember to have seen noticed hitherto. This is the close relation between the head and one or other of the arms. Thus in our Satyr, the Eros of Centocelle and the Venus of Arles the head is inclined, the eyes fixed on some object held in the hand. A transition from this motive can be discerned in the Sauroktonos; in the Resting Satyr, the Venus of Cnidus, and the Hermes, it has altogether disappeared because the artist's powers had outgrown the need for the more obvious pose. The motive of the right arm of our Dionysus is therefore clear enough: he is holding out his hand for the cup offered him; probably he has already grasped it, and watches the filling. It is no small point that we have sound analogies for this attitude; an attitude common to both figures, in that period of the artist's work to which we seek to ascribe it.

We can now look upon the group as a whole. The Satyr has just come up, and in the attitude of 'arrested motion' pours wine into a cup

²⁹ The Dionysus is 1.53 metres in height: of the replicas of the Satyr I can quote only the Dresden examples and that in the British Museum. They are as follows:—

Dresden 201 — 1.46 m.
 „ 202 — 1.463 m. (head modern).

Dresden 203 — 1.47 m.

British Museum — 1.46 m.

I have yet to learn whether the height stated above for the Dionysus is, like the B.M. and Dresden measurements, exclusive of the plinth.

which he offers to his boyish lord, his gaze bent upon it the while. The young god leaning upon a tree watches gravely, his right arm half-extended to receive the gift. The group possesses at once unity of interest and of action. And what infinity of charm is there in this pair of graceful boys absorbed in their task!

From consideration of the attitude we must turn to more technical details. On this side there are many links which bind the figures together. No mere coincidence, I believe, can account for the complete correspondence



FIG. 2.—SUGGESTED RESTORATION OF PRAXITELEAN DIONYSUS AND SATYR.

between the two figures, for the perfect unity they form. The centre of interest is obviously the cup, and Pausanias' description shows that he realised this. On this the gaze of either figure is fixed; to this point the left and right arms of Satyr and god respectively lead. In general posture, too, and not only in that part of it noted just above, the figures agree, the function of the legs, the arched hip, the sloping trunk.

But balance does not mean mechanical uniformity, and the most exquisite art is shown in the introduction of variation which does not destroy balance. In the present group there is first of all a slight variation

in posture: Dionysus leans upon a tree, for he is a god and the master; the Satyr, as his attendant, has but just ceased to move towards him. More subtle, but not less effective, is the difference caused by the greater angle of backward inclination in the upper part of the body of Dionysus. This device has obviated the mechanical monotony of a geometrically exact *x*-shaped group.²¹ Yet again, the drapery of our Dionysus marks a distinction. It is reason enough that he is a god, that his dignity requires it, but it is also artistically desirable, because two nude figures in almost complementary attitudes would look dry and formal. What might be termed the 'monotony of the nude' is exemplified in the Praxitelean group of Orestes and Pylades in the Louvre. Yet the general correspondence of light and shade remains unaltered, for the drapery follows the outline and disposition of the limbs, falling back into shadow between the legs.

A yet bolder instance of the principle of 'unity in difference' is afforded by the position of the right arm of the Satyr as compared with the left arm of Dionysus. The one is raised: the other is lowered: but it will be noticed that the two are at complementary angles. Did the left arm of Dionysus hang straight down, some of the harmony of the composition would be lost: were it on any pretext raised, the group would tend to mechanical stiffness.

In minor details also we see the same correspondence without mechanical identity. Both alike are crowned, but the garland of the god, as by right, is the richer. He has, too, the long fine hair which suits his sensuous, perhaps almost effeminate nature, while the Satyr, uncivilised child of nature, wears his hair in short crisp tufts.

We may now turn to considerations of style. The Satyr is too well known to need such detailed examination. It is, as Furtwängler has shown, an early work, showing distinct signs of Peloponnesian influence. The companion figure, however, as being now for the first time brought into this context, demands this treatment. Unfortunately, I have been unable to examine this figure, and an analysis of the statue is therefore out of the question. It is only possible to notice such features as the photographic reproduction clearly brings out.

The head is thoroughly Praxitelean, and we have already some reason to class it as regards pose with the artist's earlier works: in detail also, the curve of the jaw, the hair, the setting of the neck, it corresponds very closely with the Centocelle Eros in the Vatican.

The drapery, too, deserves high praise: I have already suggested that it plays something of a general part in the group as a whole, but in itself it is a study. That part which hangs over the tree-trunk recalls, with its long vertical folds and carefully designed lines of edges and folds, the corresponding work in the Hermes of Olympia. The hanging drapery of the Olympian figure is indeed more convincing, shows more experience; but that of the Lugano Dionysus gives something more than distinct promise of the

²¹ The same principle has been observed in the Olympian Metope of Hercules and the Cretan bull.

later study. The remainder of the drapery shows a wonderful variety of treatment: the slight folds dying away in front of the left thigh, the unbroken surface of the stuff where it clings closely to the flesh, the almost vertical folds which drop from the left knee to the foot, the heavier and deeper folds which sweep from the left across the right leg—all these contrast with the drapery which lies 'dead' between the feet, the graceful hanging folds, the diagonal roll of drapery, beautifully relieved by the almost spiral lines of its folds. The statue presents, indeed, an almost complete study of drapery in all its aspects: yet wonderful as is this study it seems once more to point to an early period, a period in which the artist laid himself out to produce every effect within reach of his craft. Indeed it may not be altogether fanciful to see in the folded yet clinging drapery which covers the legs some traces of the influence of fifth-century models, such as the *Nike binding her sandal* from the balustrade of Nike Apteros.

The general scheme of this drapery is that of the *Venus of Arles*, and this fact is an addition to our list of indications of an early date. However, it must be noticed that the drapery-folds of the female figure have very slight salience, a feature which may perhaps be ascribed to the timidity of some copyist.

As to the treatment of bodily forms we dare say little. But our photograph distinctly indicates that flatness of chest and abdomen which Furtwängler² remarked as indicating Peloponnesian influences in the Satyr of our group.

Considering the figure as a copy, we cannot go beyond *a priori* considerations. Visconti, however, who, as having no theory, cannot be accused of prejudice, notes the fineness of the execution and believes the figure to be 'a good Greek copy,' a conjecture which is strengthened by the fact that the marble is Pentelic. Certainly we can trace no glaring copyist's additions and perhaps need allow only for the loss of those touches which none but a master could bestow. It is to the maker of the replica, however, that we would ascribe the rather hard and mechanical pubic line which ill suits the evident youthfulness of our figure. And there may have been some strengthening and rounding of the boyish forms.

One point more must be noted before we review what of corroborative evidence there is for exalting the Lugano figure. If the restoration suggested is correct, our Dionysus must have been of bronze. The Satyr was certainly in this material and its companion figure cannot have differed. Of course the stability of the figure does not demand this, but it is easy to see how effective the metal technique would be in such a case, more especially as regards the drapery and the head.

Some external evidence there is, but not much, which strengthens the theory of this paper. As already noticed, replicas of the Satyr abound while, so far as I can learn, there is but a single example of the Dionysus. The fact is not really curious: Roman taste, which is responsible for the selection

of ancient sculpture which survives to us in copies, strongly favoured Praxitelean Satyrs or figures like the Sauroktonos which had some unusual feature, just as modern taste favours Botticelli's female figures. Under such condi-



FIG. 3.—APOLLO CITHAROEDUS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

tions the Dionysus might well escape the attentions of the copyist working for the Roman market (our copy is apparently Greek), even as the Hermes seems to have escaped. If called upon to account for the appearance of the

single replica at Rome, I should be inclined to ascribe it to the later popularity of Dionysus as connected with the cults of the waning empire.

But though we have no exact parallel there are many figures which in pose, disposition of drapery, etc., generally resemble our Dionysus. Such is the figure of Abundance reproduced by M. S. Reinach²² which, with the exception of the head, which is turned sharply to the *left*, offers a very close parallel. The Apollo Citharoedus²³ in the British Museum (Fig. 3), again, offers many parallels (though this figure is derived from a distinct original). Perhaps the nearest approach to the Lagano statue is the Torlonia Dionysus.²⁴ The god there holds a cup in his right hand and leans his weight upon an inadequate thyrsus held in his left. The tree-trunk, however, has disappeared and the loose drapery is thrown over the god's left shoulder. The head, too, is turned nearly to the front: the roll of drapery passes from the top of the right thigh instead of the left. It is clear that this figure was meant to stand independently and the cup is a mere attribute, but it seems by no means improbable that this figure is an adaptation from the original of the Lagano figure, made subsequently to the group being broken up, and with the indications of grouping eliminated. This Torlonia figure is showy indeed and motiveless, but it may possibly furnish some corroborative evidence.

The general type under discussion seems to have remained popular from the time of Praxiteles. We find it adapted, *e.g.*, in such figures as the Hermaphrodite of Pergamum.²⁵ Other figures and fragments²⁶ swell the list.

With the possible exception of the Torlonia figure, none of the works noticed has any *individual* value, but collectively they postulate a Praxitelean original of this type, and our Dionysus is the purest representative of this type, and, as I hope I have shown, has some claim to represent as closely as may be the master's work.

There still remains the evidence of gems. A gem found in Cyprus²⁷ represents Dionysus leaning on a *cippus* exactly in the attitude of the Lagano figure: his head is turned to the right in profile: the projecting left arm holds a thyrsus; the right arm, which is in the position I have indicated above (p. 256) for the restoration of the sculptured figure, holds a kantharos almost inverted, below which is a miniature panther.²⁸ The treatment of the hair, the substitution of *cippus* for tree-trunk constitute differences, but the essential type remains the same; and the variations may be accounted for by the probability that the lapidary worked freely and from memory. Two other

²² *Rep. de la Stat.* t. 2, v. 1, p. 45, 6.

²³ Smith and Porscher, *Cyrene*, Pl. 62 (reproduced on a gem: *Furtw. and Geunten*, xiii, 34).

²⁴ *Il.*, p. 122, 4. I am not aware whether and to what extent this figure has been restored.

²⁵ Collignon and Pontremoli, *Pergame*, p. 205.

²⁶ Reinach, *op. cit.* II, 1, p. 122, 7; III, p. 20, 1 and 2; p. 237, 7.

²⁷ Cesnola, *Cyprus*, Pl. XLII, 2 (= p. 390, 2) appendix by C. W. King.

²⁸ Is it possible that a panther should be added to our restoration, placed midway between the figures and below the kantharos?

gems²⁶ reproduce the same type with slight variations: both figures are Praxitelean and Furtwängler sees possible reproduction from a sculptured type. We can therefore claim the evidence of gems also as postulating a type of Dionysus of which the Lugano figure is a worthy embodiment.

Lastly, it is satisfactory to be able to quote some parallel for the motive of the whole group. No doubt Praxiteles derived the conception from scenes



FIG. 4.—RELIEF FROM HERCULANEUM.

(By permission of Messrs. Mammillo and Prof. C. Waldstein.)

such as Ganymede pouring out wine for Zeus, which occurs on vases. But a relief from Herculaneum (Fig. 4)²⁷ seems to be a free adaptation of our group.

²⁶ Furtwängler, *Die antiken Gemmen*, Pl. XXXIV. 31; XLIII. 36.

²⁷ Schreiber, *Hellen. Reliefbild.* xiv.; Waldstein, *Herculaneum*, Pl. XXXI. 2.

On the right is Dionysus seated, a thyrsos in his right, a kantharos in his left hand. Here the relief is broken off; but on its edge are remains of the greatest significance. These are (1) an oenochoe tilted to pour its contents into the cup; and (2) a diminutive left hand holding a staff. Clearly, some one is pouring out wine for Dionysus. The subject is essentially the same as that of the group: the slight variations can fairly be explained on the ground of difference of technique. Thus the necessary reduction of the Satyr (for such doubtless the smaller figure was) made it impossible for him to offer the cup. We cannot indeed press this relief as giving evidence as to details, but it seems to strengthen the evidence brought forward earlier to show that such a group existed.

An interesting parallel to the schemes of grouping adopted above (Fig. 2) is furnished by a cista handle from Praeneste representing Eros and Psyche.²² On the left Eros holds his right arm aloft as though pouring; his left extends a *balsamarium* (?) to Psyche, who takes it with her right hand. Both figures are nude and winged; but the spacing, the attitudes, and the general lines of the group are such that conscious imitation seems probable.

In conclusion, I venture to ask careful consideration for the reconstruction here put forward. If justified, it not only enables us to add another figure to the list of earlier Praxitelean works, but gives us some idea of his 'group-work'—a side on which all too little is known.

My sincere acknowledgments are due to Professors Percy Gardner and Bosanquet and to Mr. H. Richards for advice and criticism on various points. Professor Tren has with the greatest courtesy supplied me with information as to the Dresden replicas of the Satyr, and I am indebted to Dr. Paul Herrmann for measurements of these examples. The sketch of the restored group is by Mr. F. Anderson of the British Museum.

HUGH G. EVELYN WHITE.

²² *Ternique, Étude sur Praeneste*, PL. II.

THE BATTLES OF ANDROS AND COS.

No apology should be needed for treating afresh these much-discussed battles, if only because the last two years have produced new and important evidence from Delos; though in fact the literary allusions, scanty as they are, have hardly even yet been sufficiently elucidated. I hope in this paper to fix the dates of Andros and Cos by the Delian archon-list, and to consider what that means in terms of *B.C.* In a subsequent paper, to be published in the next number of this Journal, I hope, by working out the history of the ship which Antigonus Gonatas dedicated to Apollo, to confirm the date assigned to Cos in this paper. If these two dates could really be fixed, they would be invaluable for our understanding of Aegean history in the middle of the third century.

The problem of the two battles is not identical; for while of the three current theories of Andros one *must* be right, both the current theories about the date of Cos may conceivably be wrong. The existing opinions are as follows:—*Andros*. (i) A victory won by Antigonus Doson (who reigned 229–221/0 *B.C.*) about 228 *B.C.*; Beloch¹ and the majority of scholars since.² (ii) A victory won by Antigonus Gonatas (who was king of Macedonia from 276 to 239 *B.C.*) in the Third Syrian war, 247–243 *B.C.*; C. Müller, in *F. H. G. ad loc.*, followed by Kaerst,³ Niese,⁴ Bouché-Leclercq.⁵ (iii) A defeat sustained by Gonatas in the Third Syrian war, Droysen,⁶ followed by several Italian writers, G. A. Levi,⁷ G. Corradi,⁸ Gaetano de Sanctis.¹⁰ *Cos*. No question arising as to who fought and won this battle, the only matter is the date. Beloch (*loc.*), followed by the majority, puts it *circa* 258–6;

¹ See A. Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. des Lagides*, vol. iv. p. 316.

² *Griech. Gesch.* iii. 2, § 174.

³ J. Delamarre, *Rev. Philol.* xxvi. (1902), p. 321; F. P. Garofalo, *Rendic. dell' Acad. dei Lincei (cl. di sc. morali)* ser. 5, vol. xi. (1903), p. 147; F. Dürnbach, *B.C.H.* xxviii. (1904), p. 108, n. 3; G. Cardinali, *Riv. di Storia Antica* N. S. ix. (1904–5), p. 93; Costanzi, *Bollettino di Filol. class.* xi. (1904–5), p. 156; T. Kausel, *B.C.H.* xxxi. (1907), p. 380; M. Holleaux, *B.C.H.* xxx. (1906), pp. 60, 61;

xxxii. (1907), pp. 94, 104 (very emphatic).

⁴ *Antigonos* (4) in Pauly-Wissowa.

⁵ *Gesch. d. Gr. u. Mak. Staaten*, ii. 150.

⁶ *Histoire des Lagides* i. 256; iv. 316. It will be seen that Prof. Bouché-Leclercq is the only writer who, writing since Dr. Beloch, supports this theory.

⁷ *Hellenismus*,² iii. 405.

⁸ *Atti della R. Accad. delle Scienze di Torino*, vol. 39 (1904), pp. 629 *seq.*

⁹ *Ibid.* vol. 40 (1905), pp. 805 *seq.*, 814, n. 2.

¹⁰ Most recently in *Ellie* ix. (1909), pp. 129.

C. F. Lehmann-Haupt,¹¹ following Droysen, puts it earlier, in the Chremonidean war.

I will take the evidence for Andros in the following order:—Trogus, Plutarch, M. Holleaux's inscription from the North portico at Delos, and the Delian inventory of Stesileos published by M. E. Schulhof; this last raises the chronological question proper for both battles. As my views about both battles will differ from those of Dr. Beloch, I should like to express here once for all my great obligations to the essay on the subject, in vol. iii. 2, of his *Griechische Geschichte*, an essay without which this paper could not have been written.

A.—Trogus Pompeius.

Trogus, *Prol.* 27. Ut Ptolomaeus Adaotum demum captum interfecerit et Antigonus (C. Müller: Antigonus) Andro proelio navali prona (C. Müller: Sophrona) vicerit. It was because this notice comes in the text between the deaths of Ziaelas and of Antiochus Hierax that Beloch, who dates these deaths in 229 and 227 respectively, assigned the battle to Doson's Carian expedition. But the utmost that could be allowed to this argument is a kind of probability: for Trogus, as has often been pointed out (and by no one more forcibly than by Beloch himself), does not necessarily give events in chronological order.¹² And this lack of chronological order leaves the question, so far as Trogus is concerned, and in spite of all attempts to treat it as *res judicata*, absolutely open.

It occurred to me to analyse Trogus' use of ambiguous proper names, Ptolemy, Antiochus, etc., and see if anything came of it. For whether he be entirely Timagenes or Timagenes and others, or even partly himself, he at any rate put his history together for readers who were probably sufficiently unfamiliar with the Hellenistic dynasties to be puzzled by their habit of all using the same name. I will first give the result of my analysis, and then the analysis itself.

Trogus acts on three fixed rules. (a) Generally, a king on the first mention of him is introduced, either by his surname, or by some unmistakable relationship or office, or both. (b) If in any case both surname and relationship are omitted in the introduction of any king, it is where the death of the predecessor has just been recorded, so that no ambiguity can arise. (c) Once a king is 'on the boards,' he is thereafter referred to merely as Ptolemy, Antiochus, etc., unless (i) there are two of the name at once, when surnames are given, or (ii) there is a digression, or a very long reign, when the surname is sometimes repeated as a refresher.

These rules apply in every case except that of Alexander's own generals,

¹¹ *Klio* v. (1905), p. 391.

¹² The latest list of instances is that of de Sanctis in *Klio* ix. 1, who remarks that to collect them is to carry vases to Samos. Beloch's words are in *Gr. Gesch.* 3, I, 828 n. 5: 'wenn im Inhaltsverzeichnis zu Trogus' 28 Buch erst

der Krieg zwischen Antigonus und Alexander, dann die Befreiung von Sikyon erwähnt wird, so bemerkt das bei der Art, wie dieses Werk disponiert war, chronologisch nicht das geringste.' (italics mine.)

the first Ptolemy, Antigonus, etc., where no mistake is possible. Their object can be summed up in a line: economy of statement with avoidance of ambiguity. It looks as if the prologues had been written consecutively, as a sort of synopsis of contents.

To prove the foregoing:

Ptolemaei.

16, 6. Introduction of Ptolemy II. as Ptolomaeus (*i.e.* Soter) nuncupato successore filio Philadelpho decessit (*a*).

17, 6. Introduction of Ptolemy Ceraunus as Ptolomaeo fratre Arsinoes uxoris Lysimachi (*a*).

17, 7 and 24, 4. Ptolomaeus Ceraunus (*c* (i) two Ptolemies at once).

26, 10. Ptolomaeus alone = Philadelphus (*c*), Ceraunus being dead, 24, 7.

27, 2. Introduction of Ptolemy III. as Ptolomaeum Tryphonem (*a*).

27, 6. Ptolomaeus alone = Ptol. III. (*c*).

30, 2. Mortuo Ptolomaeo Tryphone. A refresher (*c* (ii), 4 books having elapsed).

" Introduction of Ptolemy IV. as filius ejus Philopator (*a*).

34, 6. Introduction of Ptolemy V. as Ptolomaeus Epiphanes (*a*).

" Ptolomaeus alone = Epiphanes (*c*).

After this every 'Ptolomaeus' has his surname given, so no question of ambiguity arises.

Seleucida.

17, 9. Introduction of Antiochus I. as Antiocho alone, following upon Seleucus interfectus (*b*).

24, 2. Antiochum Seleuci filium (*c* (ii), a refresher, 6 books having elapsed).

25, 4. Antiocho alone = Soter (*a*).

26, 8. Antiochus cognomine Soter . . . decesserit. Surname given as being recently acquired.

26, 8. Introduction of Antiochus II. as altero filio occiso altero rege nuncupato Antiocho decesserit (Antiochus I.) (*a*).

26, 12. Antiochus alone = Theos (*c*).

26, 13. Introduction of Seleucus II. as Seleucus Callinicus (*a*).

27, 1. Seleucus alone = Callinicus (*c*).

27, 3. Introduction of Antiochus Hierax by both names (*a*).

27, 8. Antiochus alone = Hierax (*c*), Theos having died 26, 13.

27, 10. Seleucus alone = Callinicus (*c*).

30, 2. Introduction of Antiochus III. as Antiochum regem simply (*b*), the deaths of his father Callinicus, of Hierax, and of Seleucus III. having all been given 27, 10 and 11.

30 and 31. Antiochus alone 4 times = Antiochus III. (*c*).

32, 15. Introduction of Seleucus IV. and Antiochus IV. as mortuo Seleuco filio regni Antiochi successit regno frater Antiochus (*a* in both cases).

34. Antiochus alone thrice = Epiphanes (*c*).

35, 5. Antiocho Epiphane, because he had died 34, 11.

Antigonida.

15, 2. Introduction of Demetrius I. as Demetrius Antigoni filius (*a*).

15, 5 and 7, and 16, 3. Demetrius alone thrice (*c*), and his death.

24, 2. Introduction of Antigonus II. as Antigonom Gonatam (*a*).

25. Antigonus alone twice = Gonatas.

26, 2. Antigonus Gonatas (*c* (ii), a refresher).

26, 11. Antigonus alone = Gonatas (*c*).

" Introduction of Demetrius the Fair as frater Antigoni Demetrius (*a*), and his death.

27, 7. Antigonus alone = Gonatas (c), the passage in question.

28, 4. Introduction of Demetrius II. as rex Macedoniae Demetrius (a), and his death.

28, 5. Introduction of Antigonus Doson as tutelum filii ejus Philippi suscepit. Antigonus (a and b).

32, 6. Introduction of Demetrius, eldest son of Philip 5, as alter filiorum (Philippi) Demetrius (a).

It appears from the above that a new king, on his first mention, has in every case an introduction, after which his name simply runs on; and that the king's reigns, unlike the contents of those reigns, are kept in chronological order. The introduction of Doson occurs in 28, 5, after the death of Demetrius II; and the Antigonus of 27, 7, prior to the introduction of Demetrius II in 28, 4, is simply Gonatas' name running on, as it has run on five times previously with one refresher. It is quite impossible that it can refer to Doson; no king is referred to *before* his introduction.

Trogus then shows that the battle of Andros was fought by Antigonus Gonatas against the generals of Ptolemy III. Whether it was a victory or a defeat, Trogus does not and can not show; for the sentence as it stands contains two accusatives and no nominative; emending it may make grammar, but cannot make history. De Sanctis' ingenious conjecture '*per Sophrona*,'¹³ and Levi's ingenious argument from Trogus' use of *et* and *ut*,¹⁴ end as they began: they are conjectures. And the view that Andros was a Macedonian *defeat* rests solely on such conjectures.

B.—Plutarch.

Plutarch, *Pelop.* 2: 'Αντίγονος ὁ γέρον, ὅτε ναυμαχεῖν περὶ Ἀνδρου ἐμελλεν, εἰπόντος τινὸς ὡς πολὺ πλείους αἱ τῶν πολεμίων νῆες εἶεν ἐμὲ δὲ αὐτὸν, ἔφη, πρὸς πόσας ἀντιστήσεις;

Plutarch then attributes the battle of Andros to Antigonus ὁ γέρον, and tells a story about it which he also tells about the victory of Antigonus ὁ δευτερος at Cos.¹⁵ The story in itself imports a victory, and though it is clear that a confusion has been made between Andros and Cos, and that the story can belong originally to one of the two battles only, it is equally clear that, as Cos was a Macedonian victory,¹⁶ Andros was a victory also, or no confusion could have arisen. Those who treat Andros as a Macedonian *defeat* simply dismiss Plutarch from consideration. I grant this much, that the confusion requires explanation; I hope to explain it in my second paper.

Who now was Antigonus ὁ γέρον? Beloch suggested a corrupt reading for Δώρων;¹⁷ others have suggested a confusion with Monophthalmos.¹⁸ But

¹³ *Atti d. R. Acad. d. Scienze di Torino*, xxix, p. 635; *Ellis ix* (1909), p. 1.

¹⁴ *I.e.*

¹⁵ *Plut. De rege. Isulando*, p. 545 n; *Apophthegm. regum*, p. 183, c.

¹⁶ *Ath.* v. 209 n.

¹⁷ *Gr. Gesch.* iii. 2, p. 431.

¹⁸ I need hardly say that the reference to Monophthalmos as 'old'—*Ἀρσάκης ὁ γέρον*—in *Plut. An. an. resp. per.* iii, 791 n, has nothing to do with the phrase ὁ γέρον.

the obvious way to find out is to look at the other passages—there are, I think, only two—where Plutarch uses the phrase.

The first one,¹⁹ though an excellent story, merely shows that the Antigonos in question had some interest in philosophy; this no doubt best suits Gonatas, but is indeterminate.

The second²⁰ is fortunately quite clear. A certain Hermodotus, a poet, called the Antigonos in question 'son of the Sun and god;' to which Antigonos made the perhaps then original reply that he was no such hero to his valet. The allusion in 'son of the Sun' is to the famous Ithyphallus once made in honour of Demetrius I, and sung all over Athens (and small wonder, if the tune were as catching as the words), in which Demetrius among his friends is called the Sun among the stars.²¹ The Antigonos then who was the 'son of the Sun' was Gonatas.

What now does the phrase *ὁ γέρον* mean? It is literally, Antigonos the old man; and if I write it, Antigonos 'The Old Man'—or better (if I may be pardoned the slang of it) 'Old Man Antigonos'—we see at once. It was a nickname. Gonatas at the end of his life had outlived every one of his contemporaries. All the great figures of his generation, who had played their parts on the political stage—the two Antiochi of Syria, Pyrrhus of Epirus and Areus of Sparta, Magas of Cyrene and Demetrius the Fair, Philetairos of Pergamum and Alexander of Corinth, chiefest of all Ptolemy Philadelphus of Egypt—all were dead; Antigonos alone remained, the 'old man' of the political world. We have seen a somewhat similar nickname given to a statesman in our own time.²²

Plutarch then confirms the fact that Andros was fought by Gonatas, and implies that it was a victory for him.

C.—The North Portico at Delos

In the portico on the north side of the temenos of Apollo at Delos, formerly known as the 'portique des Cornes,' M. Holleaux has recently discovered²³ part of a dedication engraved upon the architrave, which runs as follows:—*ἡτοίου Μάκε - - - νι*, i.e. [*Βασιλεὺς - - - Βασιλέως Δημητρίου Μάκεδονος Ἀπόλλωνι*].

M. Holleaux points out that the king in question is not likely to be Philip V., as he built the South portico; and as between Dison and Gonatas

¹⁹ *Plut. de Alex. M. fortuna et virtute*, Or. I. p. 250 B.

²⁰ *Plut. de Is. et Osir.* p. 369 C, D: 'ἡλιος παῖς καὶ θεός.' I have never seen this quoted.

²¹ *Ap. Ath.* vi. 252A.

[1. 2. *σεμνὸν τι φαίνεται, οἱ φίλοι πάντες ἐκείνῳ ἐν μέσσοις δ' ἀνέει, ἡμεῖς δ' ἄντες οἱ φίλοι μὲν ἄσπερες, ἡλικὸς δ' ἐκείνῳ.*

One recalls the mantle made for Demetrius

which was left unfinished and which no future king dared wear (*Plut. Dem.* 41); it was *ἔργον ὑπερήφανον, εἰσαγαγὸς τοῦ ἡλίου καὶ τῶν ἀστέρων ἀέρα δὲ φασαγέμενος*, doubtless the sun among the stars; was the Sun a portrait of Demetrius? We do not of course know if the song referred to the mantle or vice versa.

²² Gladstone.

²³ *C.R. Acad. Inscr.* 1907, pp. 332 seq.

he assigns the work to Gonatas, reserving for the present his reasons. A consideration of the inscription shows, I venture to think, that this attribution is quite certain.

Pausanias, when speaking of Ptolemy I. being proclaimed victor at the Pythia by the title *Μακεδών*, says that the Ptolemies liked to use this style²⁴; and this is borne out by the evidence. *Μακεδών* was used as part of his style by Ptolemy I., both before he took the title of king,²⁵ and after;²⁶ by Ptolemy II.,²⁷ and by Ptolemy III. and all his family.²⁸ It was also used by Antiochus III. of Syria.²⁹ On the contrary, we find that Cassander, who was in fact king of Macedonia, does not use it; his style, as shown by a decree of his,³⁰ is *Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Κασσάνδρος*. It would appear then as if the title *Μακεδών* were adopted as a mark of distinction by those kings who reigned over Orientals; and the desire to distinguish himself from the Asiatic must be the reason of its so frequent use by the private Macedonian.

Coming to the Antigonids, we find that Antigonus I. already used the style *Μακεδών* before Alexander's death,³¹ and there is no reason to suppose that he would cease to do so when king of a large part of Asia. For Demetrius I. I know of no evidence either way. For Gonatas, however, we fortunately have express evidence in the unpublished Delian inventory of Sosistratos, where he is mentioned as calling himself *Μακεδών* in a dedication.³² Gonatas never ruled any part of Asia, so far as we know, and the style is probably a survival of that of his father and grandfather, indicating dormant pretensions that it might be useful to revive should the Seleucids ever revive their claim to the crown of Macedonia.

If now we turn to the other end of the dynasty, we find that Philip V. and Perseus no longer call themselves *Μακεδών*; their formal style is *Βασιλεὺς Φ. (or Π.) καὶ Μακεδόνες*.³³ For Philip, see his treaty with Hannibal³⁴ and the proclamation of freedom to the Greeks made by T. Quinctius Flamininus at the Isthmus³⁵; for Perseus, the inscription found

²⁴ Paus. x. 7. 8.

²⁵ The Delian inventory of Demares, *B.C.H.* vi. p. 1 = Dittenb. *Syll.*² 588, l. 161, *Προεμαίον Λόγιον Μακεδῶν Ἀρροδίου*. The same phrase again in l. 112 of a new fragmentary inventory published by E. Dürbach, *B.C.H.* xxxix. (1905), p. 309, No. 167.

²⁶ Paus. vi. 3. 1.

²⁷ Implied in l. 167 of Callimachus' *Hymn to Delos*, *ὅν λέγουσιν Μακεδῶν ἐκπαίδευστα*.

²⁸ *Σφ. Ἀρχ.* 1905. 91 = *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1907, p. 47; a marble exedra from Tharmon in Attolia, supporting the bases of eight bronze statues of Ptolemy III., Berenice, their five children, and an unknown, perhaps a sixth child; the inscriptions remain, and give all eight the title *Μακεδόνα* or *Μακεδών*; erected by the Attolian lexou.

²⁹ Dittenb. *O.G.I.* 238 (from Delos).

³⁰ Dittenb. *Syll.*² 178.

³¹ *Ἀρτίγονος Φιλίππου Μακεδῶν*, from a decree of Priene dated shortly before the end of 234 B.C.; Hüller von Gastingeren, *Inschriften von Priene* (1906), No. 2. I regret that I have been unable to see this book, and take the title from *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1907, p. 78.

³² B. l. 21 of this inventory (No. 12xvii. in the list in Homolle, *Les Archives de l'Asie-Mineure avant le II^e siècle*) gives *φιλέω ἐπὶ Καλλία Βασιλεὺς Ἀρτίγονος Βασιλείου Δημητρίου Μακεδῶν Πασί*. (See E. Schindler in *B.C.H.* xxiii. (1908), p. 490, n. 2.) It is a vase of Gonatas' foundation Panais, of which more presently.

³³ Instances collected by Holleaux, *B.C.H.* xxii. (1907), p. 97.

³⁴ Polyb. vii. 9. 1 §. 4 *Βασιλεὺς Δημητρίου ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ Μακεδόνων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων*. Cf. vii. 9. 5 and 9. 7.

³⁵ Polyb. xviii. 46. 8 *καταπολεμήσαντες Βασιλεὺς Φιλίππου καὶ Μακεδόναι*.

at Delphi, which must belong to the trophy of Aemilius Paulus.³⁶ I know of no case of Philip's using the style *Μακεδών*, though curiously enough, in the dedication of his portico at Delos, he returns to Cassander's style and calls himself *Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων*.³⁷

Doson's style is the same as Philip's. We possess one very important inscription of his, that set up at Delos after the battle of Sellasia,³⁸ which would be bound to show his regular official formula; and, apart from the certain restoration *Μακεδόνες*, the letters *κα* on the stone show clearly that Doson's style was not *Μακεδών*. Of the style of Demetrius II. nothing, I think, is known.

Consequently, beside the main fact that the styles of Gonatas and Doson are different, we see that each of their styles has its regular place in a series which confirms the fact of the difference. Though we do not know the reason for the change from the formula *Μακεδών* to the formula *καὶ Μακεδόνες*, the fact seems so certain that it will probably furnish a useful aid in the notoriously difficult business of distinguishing the inscriptions relating to Gonatas and Doson respectively.³⁹

The portico builder, then, who calls himself *Μακεδών*, was Gonatas. He not only built the portico, but dedicated there to Apollo fifteen statues of his ancestors;⁴⁰ this proves that he was at some time of his life lord of Delos in the fullest sense. We might indeed have inferred as much long ago from an inscription found in the Propylaea at Delos, which shows that at some time during Gonatas' life-time some one dedicated at Delos a statue of his wife Phila,⁴¹ a dedication which certainly could not have been made so long as Delos and the League of the Islanders were under the suzerainty of Egypt, Gonatas' perpetual enemy; no *νόμος* could in such circumstances have been voted for a statue of the Macedonian queen.⁴² Now we know that during all

³⁶ *B.C.H.* 1897, p. 621. L. Aemilius L. F. Imperator De Rege Perse | Macedonibusque cepit.

³⁷ *B.C.H.* II. (1878), p. 75, No. 21, and *B.C.H.* IV. 1880, p. 215, No. 8: *Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλωνος Βασιλέως Δημοτρίου Ἀπόλλωνος*. I have not seen the paper by H. Gaebler in *Nam. Zeit.* XX. in which I am told that he proves conclusively that the smaller silver and bronze coins of Macedonia with *Μακεδόνες* belong to the reign of Philip V.

³⁸ Published by M. Holleaux, *B.C.H.* XXI. pp. 94 seq. As completed by Holleaux, it runs as follows:—

*Βασιλεὺς Ἀντίγονος Βασιλέως
Δημοτρίου καὶ Μακεδόνες
καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι [ἀπὸ τῆς περὶ]
Σελλασίας καὶ χερσὶ Ἀνδάλων.]*

³⁹ For instance, the two inscriptions from Creta which record treaties of Eleutherus and Hieraportus with King Antigonus καὶ Μακεδόνες (*B.C.H.* XIII. 47; J. Delamarre in *Rev. Philol.*

XVI. (1902), pp. 301 seq. Nos. 7 and 8) certainly refer to Doson (so Delamarre, against G. Doublet in *B.C.H.* I.c.); while the inscription from the Asclepieion at Epidaurus, *I.G.* IV. No. 1419, *Ἀντίγονος [Δημοτρίου Μακεδόνος]*, should refer to Gonatas, and not to Doson, to whom Fraenkel assigns it.

⁴⁰ M. Holleaux in *C.R. Acad. Inscr.* 1908, pp. 168 seq.

⁴¹ Dittenb. *O.G.I.* 216: [*Βασίλισσα*] Φίλαν | [*Βασιλέως*] Σελλασίας | [*Θεογυμνάσιον*] Βασιλείου | [*ἔτι*] Ἀντιγόνου | [*ἐν*] Σελλασίας . . .

⁴² The conclusive arguments of Holleaux in this connection in *B.C.H.* 1907, pp. 94 seq., referring to the Sellasia inscription, are equally applicable to Phila's statue: I need not repeat them. A good instance of the formalities connected with the grant of a *νόμος* is supplied by the decree of Histiaeus, Dittenb. *Syll.* No. 245, to which is appended the Delian decree granting the *νόμος*.

the early and middle part, at least, of Philadelphus' reign the Aegean was an Egyptian lake and the League little better than an Egyptian province; and we do not know that any change took place during Philadelphus' lifetime. When the change which made Gonatas lord of Delos did take place, it can only have been the result of a naval victory or victories gained by that king. We have therefore now got as far as this: that either Cos or Andros, or the combined effect of both, transferred the mastery of Delos from Egypt to Macedonia in such complete fashion that Gonatas saw fit to build a large addition to the temenos and there set up numerous statues of his ancestors, i.e. he considered the transfer permanent. This cannot, as we have seen, have happened *earlier* than towards the end of the reign of Philadelphus.

D.—*The Soteria and Pancia.*

M. E. Schulhof has recently published a new Delian inventory,⁴⁸ belonging to the end of the third century and the archonship of Stesileos. By combining the information it gives with that which he derives from the published inventory of Sosisthenes and the unpublished mutilated inventories of Acridion (240 B.C.), Boulon (234), Menethales (229), and No. LIX. of the list in Homolle's *Archives* (224), he has produced a list of fêtes in Delos which marks a great advance on our previous knowledge. Year by year, at each of these fêtes, a vase (*φιάλη*) was provided from the interest of a sum of money given for that purpose by the founder of the fête, and dedicated. If we know the year in which a given series of vases commences, and know, or can deduce, who the founder was, his act may throw light on the historical circumstances which led him to make his foundation. It goes without saying that, as M. Schulhof's results largely depend on unpublished documents, I can only accept those results as he gives them. The dates in this section of this paper are those of M. Homolle's list of Delian archons.

The foundations to which I shall have to refer are three series of vases offered by a Ptolemy, three series by an Antigonus, one by a Demetrius, and one by a Stratonicee; and five fêtes known as the Theuergeria, Soteria, Pancia, Philaetairia and Philadelphica.

Of the Ptolemaic foundations, one dates from seven years before the archonship of Sosimachos in 276, =283, one from the archonship of Badros, 248, and one from the archonship of Mantitheos, 245. The Theuergeria also dates from Mantitheos, but I do not gather that Schulhof identifies it with the Ptolemaieia of the same year.

Of the Antigonus foundations, one dates from the archonship of Phanos, 252, and the other two from that of Xenocrates, 244. All three therefore belong to Gonatas; and, incidentally, a number of vases that used to be attributed to Dason are shown to be merely vases of these foundations. Schulhof further identifies the Soteria and Pancia with the two latter foundations of Gonatas in 244.

⁴⁸ *B.C.H.* xxxii. (1908), pp. 97 seq. (part 2 of No. 21).

Stratonice's foundation dates from Phanos, 252. That of Demetrius dates from the archonship of Timagenes, 237: he is therefore Demetrius II.

So far M. Schulhof. It remains to consider what it all means.

First, the *Theuergeresia*.⁴⁴ It seems impossible that this word can be derived from anything but the words *θεοῦ εὐεργέτου* or *θεῶν εὐεργετῶν*, whether the festival was founded by Ptolemy III or by another in his honour. This is of the first importance. Probably it will ultimately be identified with the *Ptolemaieia* of the same year, but this is not material here. Whether one festival or two, the point is that in Mantitheos' year Ptolemy III signalises his recent accession by a perpetual foundation at Delos. The statement therefore of the *Adulis* inscription, that he inherited the overlordship of the Cyclades,⁴⁵ is absolutely correct: and in Mantitheos' year Gonatas is not lord of Delos.

The first *Ptolemaieia*, of 283, is unmistakable: it celebrates the transference of the league of the Islanders to Ptolemy on the fall of Demetrius I. The remaining *Ptolemaieia* of 248, which must have some relation to the *Antigoneia* of 252, will be more conveniently considered with the latter festival.

I come now to the *Antigonus* foundations of 244, and first the *Soteria*.

Such a word ought to refer to a victory or some historic event. In considering it, two inscriptions are material: the famous decree from Nicourgia of the syndroi of the league of the Islanders,⁴⁶ and the decree of the *Βουλή* and *ἄσμος* of Delos in honour of Philoeles.⁴⁷ The first decree shows, among other things, that Ptolemy I had freed the island states;⁴⁸ that the Islanders, first of all men, had honoured Ptolemy 'the saviour' with honours equal to those paid to the gods;⁴⁹ and that there was at Delos an altar of Ptolemy 'the saviour'.⁵⁰ The phrase *τοῖς σωτήρα Πτολεμαίου* thus twice repeated in connection with the honours paid to Ptolemy I by the League is remarkable; for when it refers to Ptolemy I in connection with Alexandria the decree uses the common phrase *Πτολεμαῖος Σωτήρ*.⁵¹ I think, with Dittenberger, that the language of the decree will not support Delamarre's conjecture, that it was the Islanders, and not the Rhodians, who first gave Ptolemy I the name *Σωτήρ*,⁵² but I also think that the decree plainly shows that the 'godlike honours' rendered to Ptolemy I were rendered to him specifically by the name of, and as, *ὁ σωτήρ*,

⁴⁴ We need to know it as *Εὐεργεσία*; but the new reading is said to be absolutely certain; Schulhof, *loc. cit.* p. 116, n. 2. Schulhof remarks that it is certainly formed from the singular, *θεοῦ εὐεργέτου*.

⁴⁵ Dittenb. *O.G.I.* 54.

⁴⁶ Dittenb. *Syll.* 2 202; J. Delamarre, *Rev. Philol.* xx, 194; *I.G.* xii, 7, 506. It belongs to the early years of Philadelphus.

⁴⁷ Dittenb. *Syll.* 2 209. Near in time to the Nicourgia decree, and therefore after the fall of Demetrius.

⁴⁸ I. 14. *ἐπεὶ τε πόλεις ἐλευθερώσας*.

⁴⁹ I. 27. *προ[](ε)σι τοῖς τοῖς ἐνομένοις, κατὰ νόμιμα πρὸς [] οὐ πρὸς σωτήρα Πτολεμαῖου λαμβάνει τιμὰς*.

⁵⁰ I. 17. *ὁ[] δόξ[] κατὰ τοῖς βουλομένοις σωτήρα [] Πτολεμαίου*.

⁵¹ I. 57. For the usual form, see e.g. the dedication by the Islanders, Dittenb. *O.G.I.* 25, and a decree of the League (Dittenb. *O.G.I.* 67) as completed by P. Roussel in *R.C.H.* xxxi (1907), p. 340, No. 3, l. 25.

⁵² In *Rev. Philol.* xi, 194. Followed by Hiller von Gaertringen, *Thes.* i, 163.

the saviour (*ie.* of the Islanders), and were connected with his 'freeing' the Islanders from the rule of Demetrius I.³³ The festival then in honour of Ptolemy I., at which he received godlike honours, was *probably* a 'soteria' festival; and this is rendered all but certain by the second decree, in which the people of Delos vote to sacrifice *soteria* for Philocles in Delos, and also to Zeus Soter in Athens.³⁴ For Philocles king of the Sidonians exercised, during the early part of the reign of Philadelphus, almost vice-regal authority in the Aegean, authority superior to that of the nesarch and not again (so far as we know) conceded to any Ptolemaic officer; and, judging by his peculiar position, the *σωτήρια* sacrificed for him can only have one meaning: he had been Ptolemy's instrument to 'deliver' the Islanders from Demetrius. The *Soteria* festival of Antigonus was then a proclamation to the world that the tables were now turned, and that the 'deliverance' of the Islanders by Ptolemy I. and Philocles from Demetrius I. had been repaid by a 'deliverance' from Ptolemaic rule wrought by Demetrius' son; and it is therefore most probable that the festival would actually celebrate the 'crowning mercy' that transferred the Cyclades from Egypt to Gonatas. It therefore probably commemorates one, or both, of the naval battles, Cos and Andros.

Now we have three festivals founded at Delos by Gonatas, and three important events, connected with his navy, in the latter part of his reign: Cos, Andros, and the recovery of Corinth. Do the three festivals belong to the three events? Beloch has assigned the foundation of 252 to Cos; and as every one places Andros after Cos, it looks very simple to assign the *Soteria* to Andros and the *Paneia* to the recovery of Corinth. I am afraid, however, it is not really as simple as this. There is no reason for putting Andros later than Cos; it has been done merely because Droysen did so. And Dr. Beloch's date for Cos depends on the fact that he found one Antigonus foundation at Delos, dating from 252, which seemed to import a naval battle: had the *Paneia* and *Soteria* been known when he wrote, I venture to think that he might have come to a different conclusion.

I turn then to the *Paneia* with the premise that the whole question is *res integra*.

There are two coins of Gonatas with Pan as a type: one shows Pan's head on a Macedonian shield, the other, Pan before a trophy, with a much discussed symbol in the field. Usener, in an important article,³⁵ after shewing that these pieces should refer to a 'panic' victory, assigned them to Gonatas' victory over the Gauls at Lysimachea; with the same event he connected Aratus' 'Hyman to Pan,' and concluded that Pan became, so to speak, Gonatas' patron deity. One need have no doubt of the correctness of this as regards the common (and therefore early) pieces with Pan's head on a shield, which shield seems to import a land battle; but the case of the coins with Pan before a trophy is different. These coins have been discussed by

³³ On this last point, F. Durrbach in *B.C.H.* xxxi, pp. 208 seq.

³⁴ I. 23. *καὶ [Πισα] σωτήρια θεῶν Φιλοκλέους*

ἐν Δέλῳ: Ἀνδῶν καὶ Ἀργεῶν καὶ Δελ. Σωτήρι [ἐν Ἀθήναις].

³⁵ *RB. Mus.* 29 (1874), p. 36.

Dr. Inghoof-Blumer,⁵⁶ and as the symbol on them, which is found widely spread on a large number of other coins, replaces, on Syrian and Phoenician coins, in the hands of Astarte and Tyche, a helm, aphlaston, or trident, all marine objects, he draws what seems to be the very just conclusion that the symbol itself must be a marine object. As then the trophy shows that the coin celebrates a battle, and the marine symbol imports a naval battle, these coins ought to refer to Cos or Andros.⁵⁷ But we already know of a coin which celebrates the battle of Cos, Gonatas' tetradrachm with Apollo seated on the prow of a ship,⁵⁸ and the attribution seems quite certain, owing to the story of the ship dedicated to Apollo, which belongs to Cos. The coins, then, with Pan and the trophy more probably belong to Andros; and the Paneia must follow the coins. If so, the Soteria will belong to Cos; and we get the following result: both battles belong apparently to the same year, and Cos was the later and decisive one.⁵⁹ It is obvious from geographical considerations that if both battles belong to one and the same victorious Macedonian campaign Cos must be the later one; and in my second paper I shall hope to give a quite independent reason for believing that Cos was the later and the decisive battle.

It seems then that both battles fall in the archon year of Xenocrates at Delos, *i.e.* in the Delian year next after the Delian year (Mantitheos) which, as we see from the *Theuergeria*, witnessed the accession of Ptolemy III. Can we translate this year into terms of *n.c.*? It will be well, before returning to the Antigoneia of 252, to consider this question.

E.—*The Chronology proper.*

The point, put briefly, is that the dates of the Delian archons as given by M. Homolle⁶⁰ will probably have to be altered, because M. Schulhof⁶¹ has discovered more new archons than there are gaps in Homolle's list; consequently we cannot merely now say that a battle fought in Xenocrates' year was fought in 244. Now Homolle's list depends largely on documents still unpublished, and naturally in these circumstances I cannot presume to do more than argue from the material he gives. There are, however, certain

⁵⁶ *Münchener Gephyra*, pp. 128-130.

⁵⁷ Apart from the marine symbol, the trophy would seem to preclude a reference to the recovery of Corinth; for as far as we know there was no fighting. Antigonus merely rapped on the gate of his daughter-in-law's castle.

⁵⁸ *Figured Head H.N.* p. 203. It will be considered in the second paper.

⁵⁹ So far as the coins and fates alone go, it is conceivable that both coins and both fates (Soteria and Paneia) refer to Cos. But even were this so, we know that Andros was fought against the generals of Ptolemy III., and on this ground alone there is no other possible

place for it, if Cos falls in Xenocrates' year, than just before Cos; for I hope my second paper will show clearly that it cannot fall after Cos. The reference in *Diog. Laertius* 4, 39 to 'Antigonus' sea-fight' cannot of course be pressed, as against all the other evidence, to show that he fought but one at this time; but two falling in one campaign might well become one in the perspective of a late writer on quite another subject.

⁶⁰ *Archives*. In this section I distinguish Homolle's dates by the letter H.

⁶¹ *Id.*

things in the position which are clear, and may be pointed out; and there are others which, though not clear, may be worth a mention, if only as a means of stating the problems to be faced by whoever shall deal afresh with the chronology of this list.

Homolle's list falls into three sections. The first, running from Lysixenos (301 H.) to Anectos (225 H.), seems to be quite settled as regards the relative order of the archons, so that if we alter one date we must alter all. The same applies to the third section, from Cosmiades (198 H.) to Alkimachos (169 H.). The second section, however, from 224 to 199 (H.), is much more tentative: it contains various queries and two blank years, while the actual succession, which only the greatest skill has pieced together at all, is not necessarily free from doubt.

Schulhof has found 4 new archons (Stesileos, Epikydes, Philon, Timoxenos), who seem to me to be certain, and a fifth, Mantitheos II, who is very probable:⁵² they fall somewhere between 226 and 208 (H.). He also thinks that ultimately he may have a sixth archon, Lysimachides, to come a little before 240.⁵³ Considering then that he has either five or six new archons, and only two vacant places, he proposes to put back the whole of the first section of Homolle's list, from and including Anectos, either three or four years; this would bring Mantitheos and the Theuergeriesia to either 248 or 249, i.e. prior to the accession of Ptolemy III. as generally received. He reserves detailed reasons for future treatment.

Now it seems obvious that the list cannot be dealt with off-hand in this fashion, and I do not suppose that Schulhof intends to do so when he comes to details. For if Ptolemy III. came to the throne in 247/6, the date accepted on the authority of the Ptolemaic 'Canon of Reigns'⁵⁴ (of which more presently), we cannot possibly put the Theuergeriesia and Mantitheos earlier than 247 (i.e. two years back), without first showing either that the Theuergeriesia have nothing to do with Ptolemy III. or that the 'Canon of Reigns' is wrong. And if Demetrius II. ascended the throne in 230, a date fixed by the joint operation of Polybius and the Roman consul-list,⁵⁵ then we cannot put the Demetriaia and Timagenes earlier than 230 (i.e. two years back), without first showing that Polybius is wrong.

Polybius *may* be wrong: he is not speaking of a contemporary event. But remembering who Polybius was, and the relations in which the Achaean League stood to the Macedonian kings, it is not likely that he would be mistaken about the length of the reign or the date of the death of Demetrius II. Anyhow it will take a lot of proving.

Equally, the 'Canon of Reigns' *may* be wrong.⁵⁶ But the Ptolemaic chronology built up on it has so far stood well, and I fancy that the

⁵² But not certain. The same name in the inventory of Stesileos, most of which is in no kind of order, chronologically; consequently he *might* be identical with the Mantitheos of 215 (H.).

⁵³ *l.c.* p. 472, n. 1.

⁵⁴ *καὶ τὸν βασιλεῖαν*, commonly called the

'Canon of the Kings'. On the translation, see Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. des Lagides*, II, Appendix.

⁵⁵ See Baloch, *Gr. Gesch.* III, 2, p. 72.

⁵⁶ I mean wrong by a year or more. It is well known that it takes no count of fractions of a year: e.g. where two reigns divide a year, the whole year is reckoned to the later reign.

'Canon' will take a good deal of demolishing. Certainly it cannot be done without full consideration.

Lastly, one does not see how it is to be contended that the word *Theuergeresia* is not formed from, and does not represent, *θεὸς εὐεργέτου*; and Ptolemy III. cannot well have been *θεός* before his accession.⁶⁷ The earliest mention known at present of the gods *εὐεργέται* is in a contract of his fifth year;⁶⁸ while it appears from a contract dated in his third year that the gods *Euergetas* had not at that time been associated in the cult of Alexander.⁶⁹ This, however, does not prove that the divine pair may not have already been canonised in another connection; and indeed it is likely enough that the title *Euergetes* was bestowed on the king directly after his accession.⁷⁰

How then are we to deal with the new Delian archons, assuming that we have five at any rate, and may perhaps have a sixth, with only two gaps in Homolle's list? We shall find that the five can, with the gaps probably be accommodated by moving the first section of the list two places back and the third section one place forward. It will probably be sufficient to consider the sixth archon if and when he 'materialises' and meanwhile merely to suggest certain lines of less resistance than the running of a tilt against the 'Canon of Reigns.'

I will take the third section first. The archon-list proper ends with Alkimaehos (169 H.); but for the three years 168-166 (H.), though we have no archon-names, we have three colleges of hieropes, two hieropes for each year; then comes the Athenian archon Poseidonios. Here, on the face of it, there appears to be a further gap. For the Athenian year began with the first of Hekatombaion, corresponding to some point in July-August; and Poseidonios' year of office is the Attic year 165/164.⁷¹ But Athens is supposed to have recovered Delos some time in the year 166/5;⁷² and as the Athenian archons prior to Poseidonios are said not to appear,⁷³ the last Delian executive ought to fall, not in 166, but in 165. For the Delian year began on the first of the Delian month Lenseion, which was pretty nearly our January, so that the Delian year corresponded more or less to our own⁷⁴; consequently the period January to July 165⁷⁵ would be left without an executive, unless the last Delian executive occupied that period. The result is that, if permissible on other grounds, Homolle's list of archons for 198-166 both inclusive could be made the list for 197-165 both inclusive.

⁶⁷ Even if the *Theuergeresia* were founded in the king's honour by some one else, and *Theuergeresia* were not the original name (just as *Hermia's* foundation was called *Philadelphnia*), the Ptolemies of the same year show that it must have been the year of the accession.

⁶⁸ *Hilak Papyri* i. p. 331, No. 171, see p. 309.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* p. 328, No. 143.

⁷⁰ Supposing that Bouché-Leclercq (*l.c.* iii. 77) be right in connecting the origin of the

title with the bringing back of Cyrene under the crown of Egypt: the best suggestion yet made.

⁷¹ Homolle, *B.C.H.* x. (1886), p. 2; *B.C.H.* xvii. (1923), p. 164.

⁷² Homolle, *Archéon.* pp. 26, 27.

⁷³ Homolle, *B.C.H.* v. (1881), p. 25.

⁷⁴ That is, the period between the laying down of office by the Delian archon of 169 and the assumption of office by Poseidonios, one Hekatombaion 165.

This, I think, is not only permitted but demanded by the other existing indications of date. The principal one is part of the inventory of Demares which Homolle transcribes on p. 74 of *Les Archives*, part of which transcription I repeat in a note⁷⁵ for the sake of clearness. It seems probable that the archonship of Xenon is meant to run on till a new archon is mentioned, and that the gift of C. Livius belongs to Xenon (192 H.) and not to Menecrates (191 H.). Now C. Livius Salinator was the praetor in command of the Roman fleet in the Aegean in 191, and therefore his gift cannot be earlier than 191, though it might be later. Consequently, Xenon cannot well fall in 192 (Homolle), but should be 191, or even later, i.e. the whole of this section (the third) of the list must advance one year, at least, a contingency which Homolle in fact contemplated,⁷⁶ and the other Roman gifts in this inventory will fit in quite satisfactorily, because a commander's gift may well be sent a year or two later than his command, though it can hardly be sent earlier.

Another indication of date is the connection between Amphicles' year and the crown offered to the praetor L. Hortensius, who commanded the Roman fleet in the Aegean in 170. Hence Homolle put Amphicles in 170.⁷⁷ But what happened in Amphicles' year was that Delos repaid a loan, which she had borrowed in 170 in order to provide the crown for Hortensius; this repayment therefore, and consequently the archonship of Amphicles, is much more likely to fall in 169, or even later, than in 170. If Xenon falls in 191, Amphicles automatically falls in 169, which suits very well.

We thus get rid of another of the five new archons by shifting the third section of Homolle's list from 198-166 to 197-165, leaving three gaps instead of two in the period between Anectos and Cosmiades, section two of the list.

In view of the possibility of having to account for a sixth new archon, it may be noted that there is a possibility of shifting this third section of the list yet another year forward: for the three years 168-166 (H.) depend only on the names of the hieropes, two for each year. Now in the decade following and including the archonship of Demares (180 H.) we find four times that four hieropes are given for a single year: in all the rest of the list (so far as we have the names of the hieropes), we only once find four hieropes,

⁷⁵ 16 phiales, don des trésoriers Phérécleides et Polyxénos, (archonte) Xénon.

4 phiales, don des trésoriers Phérécleides et Polyxénos, (archonte) Xénon.

2 phiales, don des hieropes Phokaleus et Ményllos, (archonte) Xénon.

Agrafe d'or, don de Lucius, Romain.

Couronne d'or, don de Titus, Romain, poids: 110 dr.

Couronne d'or, don d'Asinius, Romain, poids: 100 dr.

Couronne d'or, don de C. Livius, Rom., poids: 100 dr.

16 phiales, don des trésoriers Démétratos

et Pachelès, (archonte) Ménécraates.

1 phiale, don des Thyestadaï, (archonte) Xénon.

20 phiales, don des trésoriers Philonicus et Himeridas, (archonte) Aristarchos.

1 phiale, don des Thyestadaï et des Olynthadaï, (archonte) Ménécraates.

Here follow other objects of Menecrates' year. Phokaleus and Ményllos are the hieropes of Xenon's year. I have filled in words where M. Homolle with his wide page gives ditto marks.

⁷⁶ *Archives*, p. 76.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* pp. 94, 95.

(Charmos, 280 H.). It is not known why four hieropes sometimes occur;⁷⁸ and it is possible that the three colleges of hieropes allotted to 168-166 (H.) do not in fact occupy three years.

Other possibilities are, that two archons might fall in one year, one dying during his year of office; and duplication of names. For instance, quite a fair case can be made for Apollodorus I. of 217 (H.) being the same as Apollodorus II. of 196 (H.), but the argument is a long one and need not, I think, be given here. The point is, that if a place should have to be found for Schulhof's sixth archon, there are probably easier ways to follow than that of attempting to overthrow the authority of Polybius and the 'Canon of Reigns.'

It remains to consider the question of finding room for the two remaining archons by taking back two years the first section of Homolle's list, up to Anectos (225 H.) inclusive; thus bringing Mantisheos and Xenocrates from 245 and 244 to 247 and 246 respectively. A perusal of Ch. III. § 3 of *Les Archéves* seems to show that M. Homolle himself evidently felt a good deal of doubt as to whether 227 was not a better date for Anectos than 225; but he seems to have decided for the later date on the ground of the Philadelphica, which he appears to identify with the first Ptolemaica, and to have felt bound in consequence to assign the beginning of this festival to 283, the beginning of the undivided reign of Philadelphus, rather than to 285. It has now, however, been shown, not only that the Philadelphica is identical with the foundation of Hermias and not with the first Ptolemaica,⁷⁹ but also that Philadelphus reckoned his reign from 285 and not from 283.⁸⁰ Homolle's objection, then, in this respect no longer holds good; while the possibilities of error in his calculation of the date of Anectos on independent grounds⁸¹ have also been demonstrated.⁸² Already, in fact, before Schulhof wrote, it had been stated, by one well qualified to speak, that Homolle's dates might require a revision of one or perhaps two years.⁸³

If then we move the whole section two years back, how does it stand with regard to our present historical knowledge? The foundation of the first Ptolemaica will fall in 285, the year from which Philadelphus reckoned his reign: showing, as was natural, that Egypt took over the Cyclades and the League at an earlier period than the death of Demetrius I. in 283, and that the junction of Philadelphus with his father as co-regent refers to this event. The foundation of the Philadelphica (Mellicides II., 267 H.), i.e. the fête of Hermias in honour of Arsinoë Philadelphus, will fall in 269, the year after Arsinoë's death, which is far preferable to three years after. The Philotaureia (Tynnades, 262 H.) will fall in 264, in Philotauros

⁷⁸ See Homolle in *B.C.H.* vi. p. 58, and *B.C.H.* xiv. p. 417; von Schoeffler, *Delos*, in Pauly-Wissowa, IV. ii. col. 2486.

⁷⁹ Schulhof, *l.c.* p. 114: a view already suggested by Homolle, *Archéves*, p. 60, n. 5.

⁸⁰ Bouché-Leclercq, *Rev. Philol.* xxxii. (1908), pp. 129 seq., on Rubensan's papyrus from

Elephantina.

⁸¹ *Archéves*, p. 77, from the number of years' interest owing on a loan.

⁸² Schulhof, *l.c.*; it does not follow that all the intermediate years are owing.

⁸³ F. Dürbach in *B.C.H.* xxix. (1905), p. 441, on the date of the archon Sostiathos.

lifetime, instead of (probably) after his death.⁸⁴ The foundation of the Demetria (Timagenes, 237 H.), obviously the accession festival of Demetrius II., will fall in the year of his accession, 239, instead of the meaningless year 237, when moreover he was fully occupied on land.

These reasons, and in particular the accession festivals of Philadelphus and Demetrius II., seem to render it not only desirable but necessary to carry all the dates back two years. There remains, however, one question of notorious difficulty to be considered. To carry the dates back two years pins us down to placing the accession⁸⁵ of Ptolemy III. (Theuergeria and third Ptolemaicia, Mantitheos 245 H.) in the Delian year that corresponds to 247 B.C. Is this correct?

The 'Canon of Reigns,' which employs the 'vague' year and dates each king's reign from the first day of Thoth preceding his accession, makes the accession of Ptolemy III. fall between 1 Thoth 247 and 1 Thoth 246. 1 Thoth was at this time October 24th.

The Canopus inscription says that Ptolemy III. *παρέλαθεν τὴν βασιλείαν ἀπο τοῦ πατρὸς* on 25 Dios.⁸⁶ This is generally taken to mean his accession; but Drs. Grenfell and Hunt, while saying that they are disinclined to depart from the ordinary interpretation of the passage, point out that this is not certain, and that it might mean his coronation.⁸⁷ There is no trace of an association of Euergetes I in the government with his father immediately before the death of the latter.

As to when 25 Dios fell at this time, experts are by no means agreed. Dr. Beloch⁸⁸ makes Dios fall at this time somewhere in the period Phaophi to Choiak inclusive, i.e. roughly December to February.⁸⁹ Drs. Grenfell and Hunt make 25 Dios fall in Athur, Choiak, or Tubi (January, February, March), or anyhow from Phaophi to Mecheir (April) inclusive.⁹⁰ J. Lesquier, very tentatively, places it between 18 Choiak and 25 Mecheir.⁹¹ Bouché-Leclercq says it is impossible to fix it at all.⁹²

But the question of the relation between the Egyptian vague year of 365 days and the Macedonian year with its intercalated month is only half of the problem. There are papyri of the reign of Euergetes I. bearing double dates and dated apparently on two other systems, one the date of the

⁸⁴ A difficulty met by Homolle, *Archives*, p. 61, by supposing that the foundation might have been made by Philotairos' nephew and successor Eumenes. But the phrase in the inventory of Sosithenus, quoted by Schulhof, i.e., *φιλοτάιρου καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν βασιλέα Εὐμένειον*, hardly seems consistent with a foundation *ἐπὶ* *Φιλοτάιρου*. For the date of Philotairos' death, Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.* iii. 2, p. 158; it is probable that Eumenes came to the throne in 263, as Homolle takes it (*Archives*, p. 58), but not certain; and it is possible that Philotairos was still alive in 262 and could have founded the Philotaira in that year.

⁸⁵ The questions involved are discussed by H.S.—VOL. XXIX.

Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.* iii. 2, § 48 and refs.; Grenfell and Hunt, *Biblic. Papyri*, i. (1900), App. II.; Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. des Lagides*, vol. ii. (1904), App., and vol. iv. (1907), App. I.

⁸⁶ Dittenb., *O. G. I.* 56, l. 7.

⁸⁷ *Hib. Paps.* i. App. II. p. 263.

⁸⁸ *Id.* § 49.

⁸⁹ From the table given by Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. d. Lagides* iv., App. I., it follows that at this time 1 Phaophi was 23 Nov.

⁹⁰ *Id.* p. 364.

⁹¹ *Archiv für Papyrologie* iv. (1908), 284, 295.

⁹² *Hist. des Lagides* iv. p. 295.

king's 'year,' the other the date of a fiscal or revenue year.³⁵ The revenue year is always one higher than the regnal year, i.e. a date in Euergetes I.'s second regnal year would be given as in his third revenue year. Even if the regnal year be identified with the Macedonian year, and the revenue year with the vague year,³⁶ these papyri only serve to make an already difficult question even more difficult.

For the present purpose, however, it appears that the experts are inclined to favour the placing of 25 Dins in the beginning of one of our years, without excluding the possibility of its falling at the end of one of our years; while doubts exist as to whether it can be placed at all, and whether, if placed, it does refer to Euergetes' actual accession. If the date falls in the early part of a year, it would, on the 'Canon,' fall in 246; if at the end of a year, in 247; and the difference between December and January is the difference between one archon-year at Delos and the next.

From this, one point, and one only, emerges clearly. The Egyptian evidence, when it comes down to questions of a month or two, is at present of too uncertain interpretation to control the interpretation of any other kind of evidence, i.e. the Delian, which seems fairly clear. We have seen that the Delian evidence, taken in relation to the accessions of Philadelphus and Demetrius II., is pretty clear on one point: it requires Euergetes' accession to fall in 247; and it seems to me that, in the present position of the question, and until the contrary appears, the fair view is that the Delian evidence must control the Egyptian, and Mantitheos and the Theuergeresia fall in 247. It will follow, either that 25 Dins was not the actual accession, or that it fell prior to the commencement of a new Delian year in January 246, say in December-Phaophi 247—both of which views are, as we have seen, possible; or else that the 'Canon of Reigns' is a whole year wrong and that Euergetes I. came to the throne in the early months of 247. The latter possibility, however, with its far-reaching chronological consequences is not one that I can here consider; and I take the view, as being the likeliest at present on the material we have, that the Delian evidence requires the Theuergeresia, and consequently Euergetes I.'s accession, to fall in the last days of our year 247, being the Delian year of Mantitheos.

If so, Xenocrates and the battles of Cos and Andros fall in 246.³⁶ This crowds 246 with great events: the taking of Antioch, two or perhaps three

³⁵ E.g. *ἔτος αὐτῶν τοῦ βασιλέως* (Years) at *Urb.* *Page* i. p. 338.

³⁶ See Grenfell and Hunt *loc. cit.* and rather more positively Bouché-Leclercq, *loc. cit.* p. 295. This would lead logically to Prof. Smyley's view (*Hermathena* x. p. 432) that from 1 Thoth next following a king's accession to the anniversary of the accession we get regnal year 1, fiscal year 2; only then we should have to show that all double-dated papyri in a given reign fall in that portion of the year, which it seems cannot be done.

³⁶ I desire, however, to note that, while this seems likeliest at present, the future may shift them a year either way; to 247, on the ground that the 'Canon' is a year wrong, or to 246 on the ground that other arrangements can be made for one of Schulze's archons and that the first section of Homolle's list need only go back one place, Euergetes consequently coming to the throne early in 246. But neither result could affect the conclusions of this paper more than to this extent, that two seasons might be allotted to the campaign to which I allot one.

naval battles,⁹⁶ Energetes' land campaign. However, this is no more than occurred in 480, a year which saw Xerxes' land march, the battles of Thermopylae, Artemisium, and Salamis, and the taking of Athens; and we feel no difficulty about 480.

F.—General Sketch.

It remains to explain the first Antigoneia and the Stratoniceia, connected by Beloch with the battle of Cos, and also the second Ptolemaicia. The most convenient way of doing this will now be to sketch briefly what I consider the course of events. In this section I use the dating arrived at in E. *loc. cit.* all dates prior to Anectos two years earlier than Homolle's.

The keynote of Gonatas' ideas and actions, from 276 onward, seems to have been an attempt, while abandoning the impossible parts of his father's policy, to restore his father's kingdom as it was when he was king of Macedonia. This included the restoration of his father's sea-power, at any rate in the Aegean, and above all the acquisition of Delos as the centre of the League of the Islanders and the sign and symbol of Aegean sea-power.⁹⁷ His grandfather had probably founded,⁹⁸ his father had certainly controlled,⁹⁹ the League; and on his father's fall Delos and the League and the command of the sea had passed without a struggle to Egypt. He must then have always understood clearly that his ultimate reckoning must be with Egypt. During the earlier part of his reign his hands were too full on land to think of anything else; Egypt found her profit in his enemies, and remained undisturbed. The Chremonidean war brought the two powers face to face; but Antigonus had no effective fleet,¹⁰⁰ and the Egyptian admiral seems to have confined his support of his allies to taunting Antigonus with his want of ships, a want easily supplied.¹⁰¹ After the war, Antigonus, free at last on land, was able to attend to Egypt. He built a new fleet. About 255 came the great victory of his son Demetrius over Alexander of Epirus, and about the same time

⁹⁶ If Agathostratos' victory (see *post*) falls at this time.

⁹⁷ I cannot attempt to summarise here the voluminous evidence for this latter statement about Delos. See in particular the review by Homolle, *B.C.H.* vi. pp. 152-162; and *B.C.H.* xv. 168.

⁹⁸ I have been convinced by Dürsch, *B.C.H.* xxxi. (1907), p. 203, that the League was founded between 315 and 308 either by, or under the auspices of, Antigonus I. In the face of his arguments I do not see how the view formerly accepted, that Ptolemy I. founded the League in 308, can possibly be maintained.

⁹⁹ This follows, not only from his general control of the sea, but from the specific fact that the use of his money in the Cyclades implies his political domination, on which see

J. Delamarre, *Rev. Philol.* xxviii. (1904), p. 81, No. 1. The Delian inventory of Lysikles refers to him simply as *ὁ βασιλεὺς*, Homolle, *Journ.* p. 67, n. 1.

¹⁰⁰ He had never recovered from his great defeat at sea, about 280, by Ptolemy Keraunos; Memnon in *F.H.G.* 3. 534, xiii. s. v. In 272 the Achaeans could even capture the ship that brought Nicias from Naupactus to Corinth, Liv. xxxv. 28. See *post* note.

¹⁰¹ Phylarchus *ap. Ath.* viii. 334a, Patroclus sends Antigonus fish and figs, which Antigonus interprets to mean 'No fish for dinner till we rule the sea.' It reminds one of the Carthaginian admiral declaring that without his leave no Roman should even wash his hands in the sea. The story implies that at the beginning of the war Antigonus' fleet was negligible.

some form of understanding with Antiochus II., then engaged in war with Egypt (the second Syrian war), which led to Demetrius' marriage with Antiochus' sister, the younger Stratonice. In 254 (Phanos' year), Antigonus felt strong enough to sail to Delos with his new fleet; there he founded the first Antigoneia.

The case is peculiar. For at the same time his sister, the elder Stratonice (or more probably Antigone on her behalf), founded at Delos the Stratoniceia.¹⁰² It is true that Antigonus had an understanding with Syria; but the elder Stratonice was at this time merely queen-mother, and cannot have officially represented Antiochus or Syrian policy; her foundation must have been made for some reason personal to herself. Stratonice had in her time made many offerings at Delos, distinguished by the fact that, when she mentions relationships, she invariably calls herself, not wife of Seleucus or Antiochus, but daughter of Demetrius,¹⁰³ and this I think gives the clue. The reason personal to herself for the foundation of the Stratoniceia was just this that she *was* the daughter of Demetrius; and as the actual foundation seems to have been made by Antigonus on her behalf,¹⁰⁴ the same considerations should apply to the Antigoneia. We know that a distinguishing characteristic of the earlier Antigonids was pietas, affection for their fathers, as appears in many well-known stories: Plutarch shows that Gonatas had this quality in full measure,¹⁰⁵ while for Stratonice her offerings at Delos speak.

The foundations of 254 then were *pious* foundations; they were not the result of victories or alliances, but were founded by the brother and sister in the character of children of Demetrius, sometime lord of the Aegean. Such pious foundations could hardly have been refused by the priests during the religious truce, the *ἐκχειρία*; though we may suppose that, with Egypt at the time occupied elsewhere, Antigonus had force enough on the spot to overcome any scruples.

¹⁰² This site cannot have been founded by, or for, the younger Stratonice, on her marriage, as there must then have been a Demetria also; besides, the proceeding would have been pointless.

¹⁰³ A comparison of Stratonice's offerings in the inventory of Hypsochus (279 H. = 281, *B.C.H.* xix, pp. 389 seq.) with those in the inventories of Sosithenes (250 H. = 252, *B.C.H.* xxvii, pp. 62 seq.) and Demetrius (180, *B.C.H.* vi, p. 1 = Dittenb. *Syll.* 2585), shows that many of her offerings are later than 281, i.e. long after her marriage. The description *Βασίλειον Στρατονίκης Βασιλίδος Δημετρίου* is not found in the earlier inventory but only in the two later ones. In connection with offerings not found in the earlier inventory. She uses the same description in the inscription of unknown provenance in honour of Aristeus, Dittenb. *O.G.I.* 14, which, judging by the Italian inventories,

can hardly be as early as Dittenberger puts it. The connection between Demetrius and Delos is further illustrated by the silver models of a trireme and quadrireme dedicated by Seleucus at Delos, doubtless in celebration of his marriage with the sea-king's daughter. (The *τρίρης* first in Hypsochus l. 409; the *τετράρης* in a fragment of an inventory published by Durrbach, *B.C.H.* xxix, p. 545, No. 182, and p. 565. Homolle called the *τρίρης* a vase; but though Durrbach also calls the *τετράρης* a vase, no vase of that name is known, and I cannot agree with him that there is no doubt that a *τετράρης* of 1700 drachm. is the same as a *τετράριον* of 1544 drachm. To call them 'vases' misses the whole point of these offerings.)

¹⁰⁴ Schulhof, *l.c.*; in the inventories of Sosithenes and Acridion the formula is *ἱερὰ τῆς Βασίλειον Στρατονίκης*.

¹⁰⁵ *Plut. Dem.* 51.

For of course his pious foundation had a second meaning. It was a direct and deliberate challenge to Ptolemy, a plain statement that the son of Demetrius was now ready to fight for his father's inheritance. Antigonus may have even lorded it over Delos a little while *de facto*; but I do not see how his portico can belong to this epoch;¹⁰⁶ he must have known that he could never hold Delos till he had reckoned with the great sea-power to whom he had thrown down the gauntlet.

The old voluptuary of Alexandria raised the gauntlet after his own fashion. He did not man his fleet and sail for Corinth; but it happened that Antiochus II. repudiated his wife Laodice and married Ptolemy's daughter, swinging Syria over from Macedonia to Egypt, and it happened that Antigonus' governor Alexander revolted¹⁰⁷ and carried with him Corinth and Chalcis, immobilising, even if not actually possessing himself of, the new fleet, and giving Antigonus another dreary war. All that remained for Ptolemy to do was to emphasise his bloodless victory by a fresh foundation at Delos; the second Ptolemaieia in 250 (Badros' year): it was a proclamation to the world that he was still lord of the Aegean.¹⁰⁸

But political combinations provide no permanent substitute for effective force; neither could they postpone for ever the only material question, whether the Egyptian marines could face Antigonus' Macedonians. In 247 the whole diplomatic erection fell like a house of cards. Alexander died,¹⁰⁹ and Antigonus, by a mixture of diplomacy and sheer audacity, regained Corinth, his indispensable base. Antiochus died, and the repudiated wife sought instant vengeance on her Egyptian rival. Philadelphus died, perhaps amid warlike preparations, leaving his son to extricate his sister from Antioch, if he could, and to face the persevering old Macedonian, to whom Laodice's party were bound to turn for help, and who must have known that it was now or never. Euergetes, we may suppose, started as early in the spring of 246 as possible; with that part of his fleet which was at Cyprus he made his dash for Antioch, and entered the city, though too late to save his sister; Seleucus was driven over the Taurus; Sophron, who had handed over Ephesus to Ptolemy, received the command of the Egyptian squadron at Samos; with orders to watch Antigonus. Antigonus sailed; Sophron was

¹⁰⁶ Where Hollaux places it, *C.R. Acad. Insc.* 1907, p. 338. M. Hollaux is a strong follower of Beloch for this period.

¹⁰⁷ I follow Beloch here, as against de Sanctis in *KLio* ix. I.

¹⁰⁸ There is no evidence whatever that Antigonus at this time conquered some Cyclades, which Philadelphus afterwards reconquered. The supposed Macedonian possession of Andros about 250 (Homolle, *Arch.* 65; Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.* iii. 2, 433) is based on nothing but the arbitrary alteration of a *propos* name in Plut. *Arat.* xii., a chapter whose problems still await solution. But of course

Antigonus may have fought a sea-fight of some kind in 254. Many such must have dropped out of our mutilated tradition: e.g. Lameze, *B.C.H.* xxviii. 164, No. 56, l. 22, which cannot be placed.

¹⁰⁹ *Sekulov's* date, *KLio* iii. 119. Quite apart from the fact that Antigonus must have regained Corinth before he could undertake the naval campaign of 246, I agree with de Sanctis, *KLio* ix. p. 7, that the words attributed to Antigonus in Plut. *Arat.* 15 must have been spoken, or supposed to have been spoken, before Euergetes' successful land campaign; and Antigonus in *Arat.* 15 already has Corinth.

defeated at Andros, perhaps without great loss,¹¹⁰ and fell back on his base at Samos. It is probable too that at the same time another Egyptian squadron under Chremonides was defeated by the Rhodians under Agathostratus;¹¹¹ for the policy of Rhodes was always to intervene against the aggressor so as to preserve, if possible, the balance of power,¹¹² and she could not afford to see Seleucus crushed. The season must have closed with Antigonus' voyage across the Aegean in search of his beaten enemy, and the decisive defeat of the combined and in all probability numerically¹¹³ superior forces of Egypt at Cos.

We can gather from subsequent events that the war, so far as concerns Antigonus, must have closed with a definite peace with Egypt; and from the shape that the terms of peace appear to have taken, it looks as if Euergetes agreed with his Macedonian adversary quickly, while still facing Seleucus. Antigonus was old, and knew what was possible; Egypt was still powerful; it was no part of his policy to try to crush her merely for Seleucus' benefit. We should expect a peace which, while securing to him the indispensable fruit of his victories, did something to save Ptolemy's face. Ptolemy meanwhile, after his first successes on land, was suffering both from Seleucus' triumphant return over the Taurus and from sedition at home: he had to buy off one of his opponents, at a price. What we can deduce about the peace follows these lines. Antigonus got Delos and the Cyclades, and no more. Egypt continued to hold the southern limit of the Aegean, following the volcanic deep-water line, with a ring of posts at Methana,¹¹⁴ Thera,¹¹⁵ Astypalaea,¹¹⁶ Samos¹¹⁷ and she remained free to expand northward at pleasure along the coasts of Asia Minor and Thrace,¹¹⁸ i.e. in the Seleucid sphere. But the Cyclades were, and remained, lost to Egypt.¹¹⁹ Gonatas had

¹¹⁰ The *Pausanias* would suppose a 'panic' victory.

¹¹¹ Dittenb. *Syll.* 224; Polyæn. 5, 18.

¹¹² She fought in turn against Demetrius I., Antiochus III., Philip V., always with the same object.

¹¹³ The stories in Plutarch (see § B) show that Egypt was numerically superior in at least one of the battles; and the course of events naturally suggests Cos rather than Andros.

¹¹⁴ Arsinoë in the Peloponnese, *J.G.* xii. 3, 166, if the identification with Methana in the Argolid be correct; the name points to Philadelphus' time. Methana was still Egyptian under Philometor, Dittenb. *O.G.I.* 115. See Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.* iii. 2, p. 283; Dittenb. *Syll.* 251, n. 11. It may of course have been lost to Egypt, and recovered again later.

¹¹⁵ Egyptian from Philadelphus onwards. Hiller von Gærtringen, *Thera*, passim, and esp. vol. I. pp. 162-185. It is more than doubtful if it ever belonged to the Lacones.

¹¹⁶ *C.I.G.* ii. 2492; the Euergetes is doubtful, Ptolemy III.

¹¹⁷ Headquarters of the Egyptian Aegean fleet under Philadelphus, Dittenb. *Syll.* 202 (the *Nicourgia* decree), and under Philopator, Polyb. v. 35; doubtless also under Euergetes. If lost in the revolt of the youngest Ptolemy, it must have been recovered on his death.

¹¹⁸ The *Adulis* Inscription shows that the conquests in the Hellespont and Thrace were made by Euergetes, but at what period of his reign is uncertain. Polyb. v. 34. 7-8, though put generally, refers merely to the reign before Philopator; it has no bearing on the history of the Cyclades, to which it does not allude.

¹¹⁹ There is no further trace of Egyptian Cyclades. The two cases quoted by Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.* iii. 2, p. 282, Siphnos and 'perhaps' Kos, are now placed earlier. The Siphnos decree is honour of Perigeus, *J.G.* xii. 5, 181, *Arch. für Pap.* ii. 545, n. 23, Dittenb. *O.G.I.* 730, has been shown by Holleaux, *B.C.H.* xxix. (1905) p. 319, not to refer to Philopator's admiral, but to belong to the reign of Philadelphus; and a further part of the decree of Carthago in Kos is honour of Philotheros,

Delos,¹²⁰ and the prestige which only Delos could confer; there he could build his portico to Apollo in peace, and set up the statues of his ancestors. Demetrius II inherits peacefully; he founds the Demetria at Delos in 239 to celebrate his accession; he acts as referee, just as Philadelphus had done in his time, to one of the island cities of the League;¹²¹ and though the events of his reign on land must have excluded the possibility of much naval activity, he goes further afield than his father and obtains a footing in Crete, the halfway house between the archipelago and Egypt.¹²² Lastly, Doson, though he makes no accession foundation at Delos, acts as lord of the island and marks its importance by there setting up the record of his great victory over Cleomenes; he continues the Cretan policy of Demetrius,¹²³ and strikes at Egypt, as Gonatas had done, at the S.W. corner of Asia Minor, the knot of her naval communications. Whether the inscriptions which show us an Antigonus exercising authority in Syros, Amorgos, and even in Cos,¹²⁴ refer to Gonatas or Doson cannot at present be decided.

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I.G., xii. 5, 1, 533 (*C.I.G.* II. 2356), has been discovered by M. Paul Grainger (*Musee Belge* xi. 1907, p. 28), who shows from the lettering of the new fragment that the decree goes back at least to the period of Philoctes. I may note that I am entirely omitting here the interesting question, whether, and if so, how far and in what shape the League still existed after the Macedonian conquest.

¹²⁰ Further as to this in my subsequent paper.

¹²¹ Pocriss in Keos. See Grainger in *Musee Belge* xi. p. 104, no. 5 on *I.G.* xii. 5, 576. So also as to Demetrius II's position at Delos the decree of Delos in honour of Hierocles (or Autocles), *B.C.H.* xiii. (1889), p. 222, n. 2; Hallesaux in

Revue des Etudes Anc. v. (1903), p. 269, no. 2; P. Roussel in *B.C.H.* xxxi. (1907), pp. 362-3. The non-recognition of the position of Demetrius II. in the Aegean is to some extent responsible for the Doson heresy.

¹²² Inscr. of Gortyna; F. Halbherr in *Anc. Journ. Arch.* 1897, p. 188, no. 17.

¹²³ Treaties with Eleutherus and Hierapytna, *B.C.H.* xiii. p. 47, nos. 1, 2; *Rev. Philol.* xxvi. (1902), p. 391, nos. 7, 8. See n. 29.

¹²⁴ J. Delamarre, *Rev. Philol.* xxvi. 301, nos. 1-6 inclusive. The decree of Cos, no. 6 (= Newton, *Gr. Inscr. B.M.* 247 = *Orelli-Beckel*, 3611), seems almost certainly Doson. Good discussion of Doson's position by Hallesaux, *B.C.H.* xxxi. pp. 94 sq.

THE ASIATIC OR WINGED ARTEMIS¹

THE identification and origin of this early type of Artemis, in which the goddess is represented standing erect and with wings on her shoulders, while in either hand she grasps an animal or bird, has long been the subject of much discussion, chiefly due to the fact that the archaeological evidence hitherto available, although consisting of some fifty representations, has come from various localities. The literary evidence likewise gives no sure clue, for the



FIG. 1.—IVORY PLAQUE FROM SPARTA (*J.H.S.* xiii. p. 78).

only certain mention of this type occurs in the description of the Chest of Cypselus, where Pausanias² admits that he knows no reason why Artemis should be winged. Recently, however, at the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia

¹ For permission to utilize the Spartan evidence I am much indebted to the Committee of

the British School at Athens.

² *Paus.* i. 19. 5.

at Sparta numerous examples of this type have been found, which, besides including several new and interesting variants both winged and unwinged, also extend the chronological range beyond the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. Moreover, the numerical superiority of this series over the total number of examples previously known, together with the fact that the earliest representation was found with geometric pottery, seems to show conclusively that Sparta is a prominent early centre of this most interesting type. Consequently in the present paper the question of the identification and origin of the 'Winged Artemis' will be considered in the light of the recent evidence from Sparta.

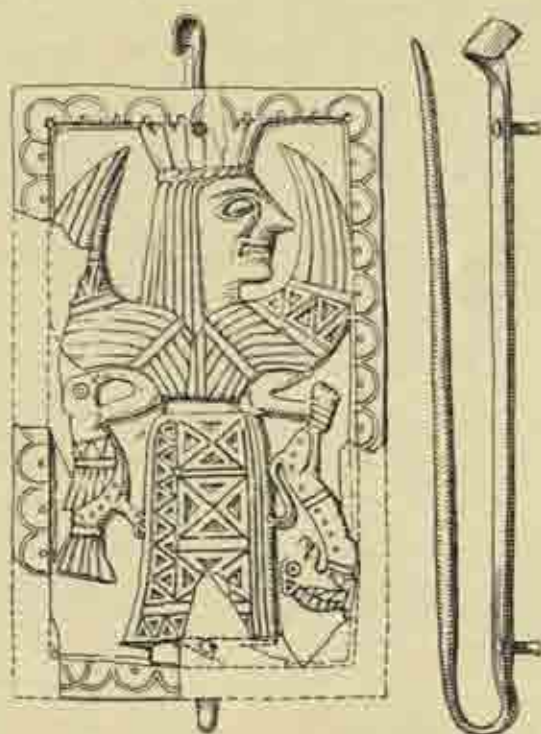


FIG. 2.—IVORY PLAQUE FROM SPARTA.

It is convenient to arrange the Spartan examples as far as possible in groups according to their material, as this system makes it clear that many of the variants are due to technical difficulties of workmanship and at the same time does not unduly violate their chronological sequence.²

A list follows:

Fig. 1.—One of the earliest examples from Sparta. It is carved in low

² Several of the goddess types have previously been published in *D.S.A.* xiii pp. 78 ff. (R. M. Dawkins, 'The Carved Ivories'); for the cult

objects generally, see R. C. Bosanquet, *B.S.A.* xii pp. 331 ff.

relief on an ivory plaque for use on a fibula. The pottery with which it was found shows it is prior to the middle of the eighth century B.C.² The goddess



FIG. 2.—IVORY PLAQUE FROM SPARTA.

is in profile and in either hand holds a bird by the neck. The workmanship and spacing of the whole design are in harmony with the early date. The inward curve of the wings is not so much marked as in the later examples, and the birds also are not quite of the usual later type. On stylistic grounds I suggest 800 B.C. as an approximate date.

Fig. 2.—An ivory plaque similar in date and workmanship to the above. The goddess is winged and holds a lion and bird, a combination which is, I think, unique. This is also the earliest example of her holding a lion.

Fig. 3.—An ivory plaque in slightly deeper relief and of somewhat later date. The goddess is winged and holds a bird, while below her wrist is a snake. The right-hand portion of the plaque is missing. The snake is extremely rare in connexion with the goddess and no other example is known from Sparta; outside Sparta, however, we find it on the Graechwyl bronze handle and on an early Boeotian coffer, but in neither of these latter examples is the connexion with the goddess so clear.

Fig. 4.—An ivory plaque in deeper relief and of later date belonging to the seventh century B.C. The goddess is shown full face and without wings. On either side on a level with her shoulders are birds, and she also holds a bird in either hand. Excepting one other example from Sparta this variant is unique.

In addition to the above plaques certain others exist which show variants in the decoration of the robe but are of no value in the history of the type, excepting one of early date which shows two plumes rising from the head and recalls the late Mycenaean ivory plaques in which sphinxes are shown with a similar head-dress. A number of fragments both of plaques and seals show that the winged goddess was a favourite subject in ivory carving at Sparta, but are too fragmentary to be of any further value with the exception of one plaque, much damaged, that shows the winged goddess with a horse. Several terracotta figurines³ of female figures on horseback from Sparta probably connect in idea with this plaque. For although they are unwinged, it is probable that they should be taken as

² For the chronology of Laconian pottery cf. J. P. Droop, *B.S.A.* xiii. pp. 118 ff., xiv. p. 16.

³ Cf. similar examples from Lunel (*Jahrb.* iv.); and for Sparta, see W. J. Farrel in *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 53, fig. 2c.

representing the same goddess, as the omission of wings where there is any technical difficulty is normal; and as we have already seen from the ivory plaques the wings themselves are not an absolute essential of this type. The definite connexion of the goddess with a horse is particularly interesting as it adds further point to certain non-Spartan vases. On a vase in 'Bucchero nero'⁶ now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, we find the



FIG. 4.—IVORY PLAQUE FROM SPARTA (*B.S.A.* xiii. p. 30).

winged goddess represented, while the other decoration consists of a zone of alternate panthers and horses' heads. On an early Boeotian⁷ coffer a similar feature may be observed; on one side the winged goddess appears with a bird in either hand, while near her is a horse; on one of the other

⁶ *Ash. Mus. Cat.* No. 194.

⁷ Cf. *Jahrb.* 1888, p. 357, also Walters, *History of Pottery*, vol. i. Fig. 38.

sides, moreover, is a woman leading a horse, presumably a votary, on the analogy of a group from Sparta which shows the winged goddess in the middle, with a woman carrying a wreath on either side, while a snake also is shown upon the lid. The unity of the design in both these cases is made clearer by the Spartan plaque. A series of ornaments from Sparta apparently



FIG. 5.—IVORY FROM SPARTA.

contain the same idea. These are found in ivory,⁸ terracotta,⁹ and lead,¹⁰ and of these the terracotta and lead examples are almost certainly imitations of pendants in precious metals for votive offerings and not for real use. The types found in terracotta and ivory only show a human head between two horses; a leaden example, however, gives the whole figure standing erect and holding the horses by either hand.

The lower part of the lead types ends in a fringe or other ornamentation which clearly shows that we have not got a conventional representation of a chariot and horses, and the terracotta example is pierced with three holes showing that it was once also completed in a similar manner. It therefore seems probable, considering their provenance, that they represent the goddess with her animals, but it must be admitted that it is difficult to see, in the leaden examples in particular, whether a female figure is always intended or not. If it is a male figure, however, it would connect with the male winged figures¹¹ that have the same attributes as the winged goddess and fall within the same chronological limits. The meaning and origin of these male figures, however, is a question to which we shall have to return. Another type of lead pendant¹² in which only horses' heads are shown falls into the same class as originating from the same idea, although it bears no actual representation of the goddess. All these examples belong to the latter half of the seventh century and the beginning of the sixth century. Outside Sparta a possible parallel to the type in which the head of the deity is seen between two horses' heads is to be found on a gold ring from Cyprus¹³ of early sixth-century



FIG. 6.—TERRACOTTA PENDANT FROM SPARTA.

⁸ Fig. 5. ⁹ Fig. 6. ¹⁰ Fig. 7.

¹¹ Cf. Fig. 8, ivory plaque from Sparta where it is shown in connexion with the larger series.

¹² Fig. 7.

¹³ *Brit. Mus. Cat. 'Rings and Gems'*, No. 31, where it is described as chariot and horses.

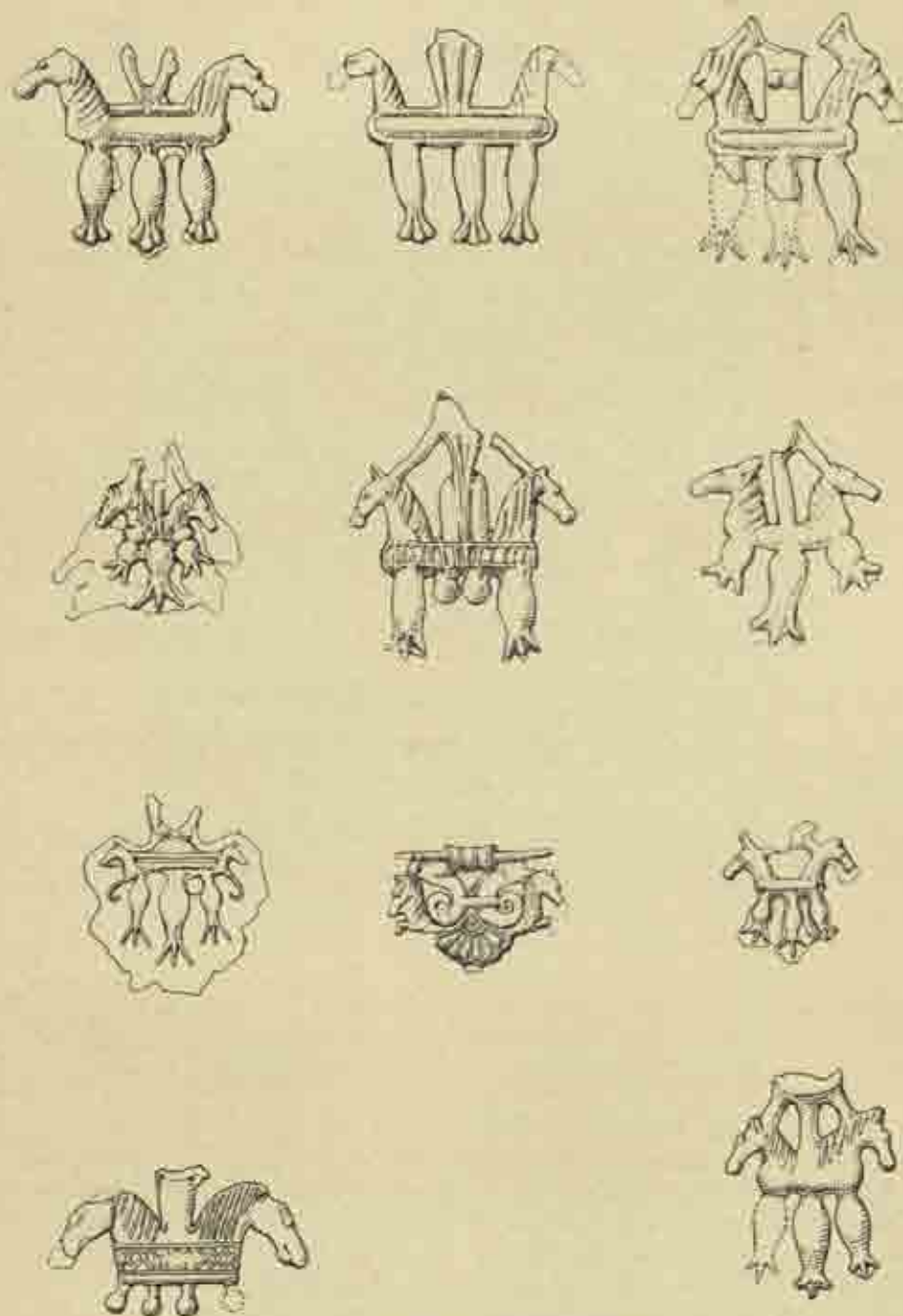


FIG. 7.—LEAD PENDANTS FROM SPARTA.

date. Unfortunately the ring in question is somewhat rubbed and it is not quite impossible that a chariot and horses are really meant. An early terracotta figurine from Eleusis,¹¹ however, gives an example of the goddess with horses which recalls the Spartan type.

The vast majority of the representations of the goddess type occur



FIG. 8.—IVORY PLAQUE FROM SPARTA (*J.H.S.A.* xiii, p. 80).

among a series of small lead figurines, cast in moulds and modelled on one side only. This form of votive object is extremely common at Sparta and the total number including all types already amounts to 100,000, of which over half are in the form of lead wreaths. The winged goddess type is found at the beginning of this series, that is to say about 700 B.C., and continues to be

¹¹ Winter, *Antik. Terracott.*, vol. i, Pl. III, No. 7.

prominent until the later part of the sixth century B.C. In nearly every case the goddess is shown with wings but without either animals or birds. Many smaller varieties¹⁵ can be noticed, the main points of difference being in the shape of the wings and the 'polos,' but these seem to be of no particular significance. On the whole a degeneration can be seen towards the end of this series, especially in the wings, but the most conventional representation is a type,¹⁶ in which the head entirely disappears, the feet become a part of the decoration of the robe, and the whole resembles a



FIG. 9.—LEAD FIGURINES FROM SPARTA.

triangle with two feeble wings at its apex. The position of the arms, stretched out on either side, often suggests the more complete type in which the goddess is shown holding animals. The animals moreover are found, likewise in lead, but as separate votives and on a larger scale than they would be made on if actually joined to the goddess.¹⁷ That this method was employed for technical reasons is made clear by the few exceptional

¹⁵ Fig. 9.

¹⁶ Fig. 9. This type begins early and continues for a long period.

¹⁷ Fig. 9. It is possible that these were offered in groups, but there is no evidence to support such a view.

representations of the complete type. These are illustrated in Figs 10 and 11

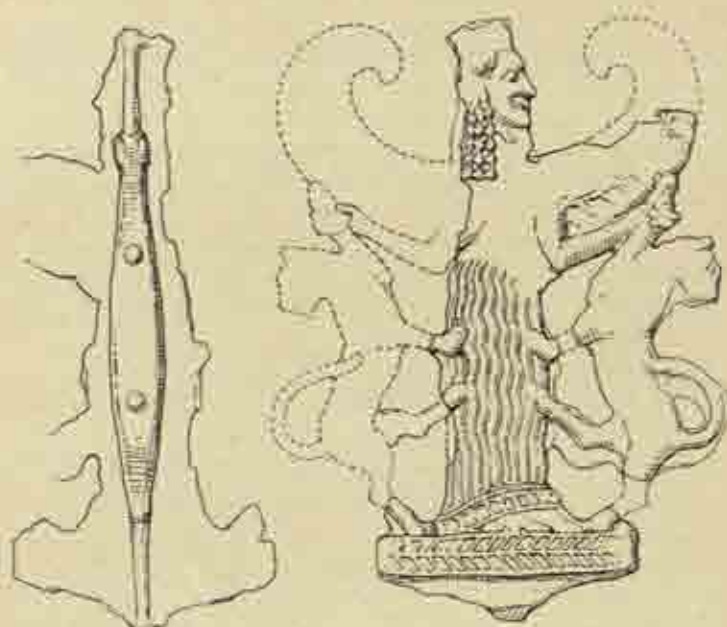


FIG. 10.—LEAD FIGURINES FROM SPARTA.

where Fig. 10 shows the superiority of the total effect when the whole design was cast in a larger and deeper mould, and Fig. 11, when two votaries



FIG. 11.—LEAD FIGURINES FROM SPARTA.

were introduced one on either side to keep the whole representation together. This latter device is rare and is confined to a short period at the

and of the seventh century. Perhaps it was both too complicated and costly ever to have attained popularity. It is necessary to point out that these lead figurines seem to be the very cheapest possible form of votive offering, and this in itself may account for the way in which the slightest technical difficulty introduces a simplification of the complete type. In addition to the winged goddess, several other figures are represented in lead, of which some may be identified with Poseidon and Athena, while others are warriors and women, in certain cases carrying wreaths and other objects.¹⁸ The Poseidon and Athena types are, however, confined to a late period and may possibly be 'the other gods within the sanctuary',¹⁹ but the women occur throughout the whole deposit and may therefore represent votaries. The animals found as separate votives include lions, goats, horses, bulls, and deer, as well as fish and birds, all of which are found either at Sparta or elsewhere directly connected with the winged goddess. Of these, deer may be said not to occur at all at Sparta before the sixth century. The archaeological evidence already adduced indicates that at Sparta at least the winged type represented Artemis Orthia, the goddess at whose shrine it occurs in such abundance, and this is supported by a series of reliefs, clearly of local workmanship, on which a horse is the most frequent subject. These reliefs²⁰ moreover, which belong to a short period centring round the year 600 B.C., have in some cases dedicatory inscriptions to Orthia or Artemis Orthia but never to Artemis alone. And just as the winged type with animals disappears, so too in the cult of Artemis Orthia we seem to have a primitive goddess Orthia gradually disappearing and becoming merged into the later Hellenic Artemis.

One other type of terracotta in addition to the goddess on horseback seems to represent the goddess, in this case she stands erect and holds a lion by the paw.²¹ It is possible to regard this example in two ways, either as an ordinary early Artemis type, in which case it must be compared with the series from the Artemision at Corcyra, which are now mostly in the Campanos collection at Athens,²² or as a degenerate example of the winged type robbed of its attributes for technical reasons, in which case it is a parallel to certain Boeotian terracotta figurines where paint has most ingeniously been employed to overcome the difficulties of modelling.²³ About the year 600 B.C. a sudden change



FIG. 12.—BOEOTIAN TERRACOTTA FIGURINE (after Hoernes).

¹⁸ Apparently without any special significance, cf. *B.S.A.* xiv, p. 24, Fig. 9.

¹⁹ *C.I.G.* 1444.

²⁰ *B.S.A.* xii, p. 334, Fig. 1.

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²¹ Cf. *B.S.A.* xii, p. 107, Fig. 33.

²² Cf. *B.C.H.* 1891, pl. II.

²³ Fig. 12; cf. also Hoernes, *Urschichte*, pp. 396, 397.

comes over Spartan art, which helps towards the disappearance of the winged type. Ivory ceases and efforts are made to make bone take its place, but the scope of the artist is necessarily diminished. At this time



FIG. 12.—BONE CARVING
FROM SPARTA.

a series of long-necked water-birds²⁴ are found carved in bone, as well as a series of female figures²⁵ carved on split bones. It is somewhat tempting to connect these and see in them a last attempt at rendering the goddess type with birds in bone. At Olympia there is a representation of the goddess²⁶ standing erect and holding lions by the tail with either hand; it is carved out of blue Lacomian marble and corresponds in style with the bone goddesses at Sparta as far as the difference of material allows. The existence of a treasury of the Cyrenaeana at Olympia seems no valid reason for identifying this goddess definitely with the Nymph Cyrene; for it is at least appropriate that a Spartan goddess should find a place in the treasury of Sparta's most famous colony.

Only one other object from Sparta requires notice, a plaque made out of two pieces of bone on which are two horses standing on their hind legs and facing each other; while beneath them is the usual type of water-bird. The whole design, both in its 'heraldic' treatment and in the animals and kind of bird portrayed, suggests that it has been inspired by the *πόρεια θηρῶν* type.

It is impossible to leave these remarkable votive offerings from Sparta without a digression on the vexed question of 'symbolism' in votive offerings generally. Dr. Rouse²⁷ has put forward the theory that no 'symbolism' occurs in Greek votive offerings until a late date. The strength of this theory seems to lie not so much in itself as in the great difficulty there is in proving the opposite. The Spartan votives, however, do seem to give a definite answer in favour of modified symbolism. It is perhaps worth noticing that Dr. Rouse found some difficulty in explaining votive wreaths, a few of which were known from Sparta some years ago, and he suggested that they were not really wreaths but jagged hoops with handles. His 'handles,' however, are really the channels by which the lead was poured into the mould and the objects are certainly wreaths and now, instead of a few, some tens of thousands have to be explained. It seems probable therefore that, while votive-offerings are primarily gifts from the votary to the deity, the forms that these gifts take are often, as at Sparta, inspired by the attributes of the god or goddess to whom they are given.

²⁴ Fig. 12.

²⁵ *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 23.

²⁶ *Olympia*, iii. pp. 24 ff.

²⁷ Cf. *Greek Votive Offerings*, *passim*.

A consideration of the Spartan series as a whole leads to the following conclusions which point towards an identification of this type. In the first place, as the type appears in its developed form by about 800 B.C. and thereafter continues in great quantities for several centuries, it is clear that Sparta may be its Hellenic home and also that the type was not brought into Greece from the Greek cities of Ionia, a theory which might be plausible if it were not for the early date of the Spartan examples, and the lack so early of all other traces of Ionian influence. Secondly its cessation in the course of the sixth century shows that it is to be identified with a cult or type of cults that either died out or else underwent a great change. We have already suggested in anticipation its identification with Orthia, but this must remain *sub judice* until all the further evidence has been examined. Thirdly the representations themselves indicate the character of the goddess portrayed. The great variety of animals both wild and tame, the birds and fish indicate that the goddess is connected with the whole animal world, and again the wreaths and branches which occur among the lead votives suggest also a connexion with vegetation. The attitude of the goddess towards her animals is on the whole peaceful, although examples occur in which she appears rather as a conqueror than as a protectress. We must therefore employ some colourless phrase implying her relationship towards animals without defining what that relationship is: in other words, the evidence as yet does not allow us to go beyond the general term 'πόρεια θηρῶν.' Finally the occurrence of a winged male with the same attributes gives a faint hint—but one which can be substantiated by further evidence—that we may be concerned not merely with a single goddess but with one of a divine pair.

The examples that have been found outside Sparta have nearly all been fully published and discussed previously, so that it is sufficient to give here a list arranged according to the localities in which they were found, and noticing only those points which are particularly significant in the light of the Spartan evidence. For the following list I am largely indebted to M. Radet's recent paper in the *Revue des Études Anciennes* x. No. 2, although I find myself obliged to differ from his conclusions in several important respects.^{27a}

ITALY.

- 1.—Antefix from Capua. Brit. Mus. B 588. Radet, *op. cit.* Winged goddess holding two lions, which are in front of her and not on either side. This is usual in the terracotta examples for technical reasons; cf. the unwinged figurines from Sparta, pp. 288, 289 above.
Date, sixth century B.C.
- 2.—Alabastron from Nola. Black with decoration in relief; cf. *Arch. Zeit.* 1854, now in Naples Mus. The goddess is winged and holds two swans.
Date, seventh—sixth century B.C.

^{27a} A few references have been inserted to his hands in time to be made use of for this paper, *Cybele*, although it did not reach the writer's

- 3.—Corinthian alabastron from Caere; cf. Pottier, *Vases Antiques du Louvre*, p. 51.
The goddess is winged and holds two swans.
Date, seventh—sixth century B.C.
- 4.—Corinthian aryballos found in Italy, now in the Louvre; cf. Pottier, *Cat. des Vases Antiques*, Part II, p. 470. The goddess is winged and holds two swans.
Date, seventh—sixth century B.C.
- 5.—Corinthian oenochoe from Vulci; cf. Micali, *Monumenti Inediti*, p. 44. The goddess is winged and holds two swans.
Date, seventh—sixth century B.C.
- 6.—Corinthian alabastron from Italy; cf. Furtwängler, *Berl. Fax.*, p. 113. The goddess is winged and holds two swans.
Date, seventh—sixth century B.C.
- 7.—Pendant from Vetulonia; cf. G. Karo apud Milani, *Studi e Materiali*, ii, 1902, p. 127; now in Florence Museum. The goddess is winged and holds two lions, while on the front of her robe is a branch; cf. the votive branches in lead from Sparta.
Date, seventh century B.C.
- 8.—On handle of a skyphos from neighbourhood of Clusium in 'Bucchero nero'; cf. Micali, *Stor. antich. pop. Italiani* iii, p. 12. The goddess is winged and holds two swans. The wings, however, are of a very degraded type, as is common in this class of vase.
Date, sixth century B.C.
- 9.—Vase of 'Bucchero nero' with relief ornamentation; cf. Furtwängler, *op. cit.*, p. 178, No. 1550. In a zone of figures a winged goddess appears holding one swan. The wings are of the same degraded type as above. Both this and the preceding example are apparently derivatives from the true type and are used merely for decoration without any further significance.
Date, sixth century B.C.
- 10.—Bowl in 'Bucchero nero' from Clusium. On the base in relief is a winged goddess holding two lions. The wings are small and the pose recalls the antefix from Capua; cf. Radet, *Cybelé*, p. 26, No. 39.
Date, sixth century B.C.
- 11.—Bowl in 'Bucchero nero' from Clusium; cf. *Arch. Zeit.*, 1854, p. 187. In relief is a winged goddess holding two long-necked birds. The wings are of an usual type and do not curl inwards.
Date, sixth century B.C.
- 12.—The 'François' vase. On either handle is a winged goddess, in one case holding two lions and in the other a lion and a stag.
Date, sixth century B.C.
- 13.—Attic lekythos from Erruria; cf. Pottier, *Vases Antiques du Louvre*, p. 98. The goddess is winged and holds two lions.
Date, late sixth or early fifth century B.C.

To these we may add the following as typical of the late derivatives from the main type:—

- 14.—Kantharos from Vulci in 'Bucchero nero'; cf. Furtwängler, *op. cit.* No. 1595. The goddess is shown not winged but holding two panthers.
- 15.—Hydria from Caere; cf. Furtwängler, *op. cit.* No. 1601. The goddess is not winged but holds two lions.
- 16.—A group of terracotta figurines from Capua; cf. *Arch. Zeit.* 1854, Pl. LXII., where we have two types: an unwinged type holding two lions close to the side; and a type in which the wings turn down and so form a background and enable the animals to be represented in the proper position.

SARDINIA.

- 17.—Porcelain scarab from Tharros; cf. Furtwängler, *Ant. Gemmen*, Pl. IV. 37. Winged goddess with two lions.

Date, sixth century B.C.

In origin this may be either Phoenician or Naukratite, probably the former; cf. *B.S.A.* v. p. 48.

SWITZERLAND.

- 18.—Bronze bowl from Grasshlyl; cf. A. Bertrand, *Archéologie celtique et gauloise*, 2nd ed. 1889, pp. 333 ff. On the handle is the winged goddess, on each side is a lion and here, above is a snake, on top of which are two lions, while the poles of the goddess is surmounted by a bird.

Date, sixth century B.C.

For the number of attributes displayed this specimen is unexampled except for the Boeotian coffers and amphora; cf. below, Nos. 31, 42. The snake is rare; cf. the Spartan ivory, p. 288, and Boeotian coffer pp. 288 f. and 300, No. 31. The bird perched on the poles is unique.

ASIA MINOR.

- 19.—Ephesus—ivory plaque—the goddess is winged and holds two lions; cf. B.M. *Eph. Excav.* Pl. XXVI. 6.

Date, late eighth century B.C.

- 20.—Ephesus—small ivory button. The goddess is winged and holds two birds that with wings outstretched are struggling to fly away; cf. *op. cit.* Pl. XXVII. 6. For a similar type, excepting the wings, cf. a Mincian seal from Vaphio; Furtwängler, *Ant. Gemmen*, Pl. II. 29.

Date, late eighth century B.C.

- 21.—Marble stele from Dorylaeum; cf. *B.O.H.* xviii. 1894, pp. 129-136. (Badet et Ouvre.) Winged goddess in profile and holding one lion. The poles is lofty and of an unusual type.

Date, early sixth century B.C.

- 22.—Corinthian aryballos from Smyrna; cf. *Becl. Vas.* 1010. Winged goddess holding a swan and cock.

Date, seventh—sixth century B.C.

- 23.—Sardin stamped brick, now in Louvre; cf. Badet, *Cybelé*, Pl. I. who makes this example the basis of his identification. The goddess is winged and holds a lioness in either hand.

Date, seventh or early sixth century B.C.

AEGEAN ISLANDS.

- 24.—Thera. Amphora; cf. *Arch. Zeit.*, 1854, Pl. LXL. Winged goddess in profile holding a lion.

Date, seventh century B.C.

- 25.—Rhodes. Alabastron from Camirus; cf. Pettier, *Vases Antiques du Louvre*, A. 468. The goddess is winged and holds two swans.

Date, seventh—sixth century B.C.

- 26.—Camirus gold and electrum plaques. These show great variety in workmanship and may cover a considerable period. The strong Mycenaean tradition in Rhodes, however, makes it difficult to argue that superior workmanship cannot be of early date and an advance in technique may have been very rapid. None, however, seem earlier than the early part of the seventh century B.C. The goddess is shown winged and holding lions, and also winged but without animals; cf. Salimanni, *Camirus*, Pl. I.; *Arch. Anz.* 1904, pp. 40 ff.; *Jahrb.* 1900, pp. 114, 221.

RUSSIA.

- 27.—Gold Mirror from Kälernes near Kouhan; cf. Radet, *op. cit.* The goddess is winged and with two lions.
Date, sixth century B.C. or perhaps fifth.
- 28.—Iron plaque from Longovaya-Marpila; cf. Radet, *op. cit.* A winged goddess seated on two stags. It is perhaps a derivative from the true type or perhaps an imitation of earlier work; but more probably has no connexion with the type at all.
Date, third century B.C. (?)

MAINLAND OF GREECE.

- 29.—Neck of early Boeotian amphora from Eleusis—in Eleusis Museum, as yet unpublished. The goddess is winged and holds two swans.
Date, seventh century B.C.
- 30.—Terracotta plaque from Mycenae; cf. Lenormant, *Arch. Zeit.* 1866. The goddess is shown without wings holding two birds; cf. Spartan ivory plaque, p. 289.
Date, seventh century B.C. (?)
- 31.—Boeotian Coffer from Thebes, at Berlin; cf. Furtwängler, *op. cit.* pp. 39-40, and p. 289 *supra*. On one side is a winged goddess holding two birds, near by is a horse. On the end is depicted a woman, perhaps a votary, leading a horse, while the design on the cover consists of two snakes. For the snakes cf. p. 288 *supra*, and for the horses, p. 290.
Date, seventh century B.C.
- 32.—Corinthian aryballos from Thebes; cf. *J.H.S.* xxiv, p. 297. In Ashmolean Mus., Oxford. A winged goddess is shown in profile holding two swans or perhaps a swan and a goose.
Date, seventh—sixth century B.C.
- 33.—Alabastron from Corinth; cf. Radet, *op. cit.* In Brit. Mus. A 1351. A winged goddess holding two swans.
Date, seventh—sixth century B.C.
- 34.—Fragment of a votive tablet, at Berlin. Corinthian fabric; cf. Furtwängler, *op. cit.* p. 102, No. 907. A winged goddess in profile holding a bird. The left-hand portion is missing.
Date, seventh—sixth century B.C.
- 35.—Corinthian aryballos; cf. Radet, *op. cit.* Berlin Mus. No. 3983. A winged goddess holding by the hind legs two goats that are endeavouring to escape.
Date, seventh—sixth century B.C.
- 36.—Amphora from the Marathon tomb; cf. Conze-Collignon, *Cat. Vas. in Nat. Mus. Athens*, p. 157, No. 592. A winged goddess holding lions.
Date, sixth century B.C.
- 37.—Bronze relief from Delphi; cf. P. Perdrizet, *Fouilles de Delphes*, v. p. 59, No. 191, Fig. 183. A fragment showing head of winged goddess. This bronze belongs to the Peloponnesian school.
Date, seventh century B.C., or perhaps early sixth century.
- 38.—Bronze plaque from Olymnia; cf. E. Curtius, *Abhandl. Akad. Wissensch. zu Berlin, Phil.-histor. Kl.* 1879, iii, pp. 1-31; Pl. I-II., in *Nat. Mus., Athens*. In the lowest of the three zones is a winged goddess holding lions. This famous example has been frequently used to reconstruct and illustrate the chest of Cypselus, in describing which Pausanias definitely refers to the winged type.

- 39.—Haemattite scarab from Argos; cf. Furtwängler, *Ant. Gemmen*, i. Pl. VII. 51. In Berlin Mus. A winged goddess holding lion and goat.
Date, sixth century B.C.
- 40.—Scarab in Nat. Mus., Athens; cf. Furtwängler, *Ant. Gemmen*, iii. p. 97. Similar, except that there are two goats instead of one lion and one goat to the previous example, No. 39.
Date, sixth century, B.C.
- 41.—Olympia. In blue Laconian marble. A group of three female figures holding lions by the tail (reconstructed); cf. *Olympia*, iii. pp. 26 ff. and p. 299 *supra*. The attitude shows complete power of the goddess over the animals, there is no sign of a struggle as in the pediment group from the Cyrenaean treasury, where we have a different motive; cf. *Olympia* iii. p. 26. This latter example may well be the nymph Cyrene as opposed to the more usual type of goddess with lions which centres round the cult of Orthia.
Date, sixth century B.C.
- 42.—Early Boeotian amphora; cf. 'Eφ. 'Apx. 1892, Pl. 10; in Nat. Mus. Athens. On a panel the goddess is shown with arms outstretched. To right and left are two lions (7), and on a level with each shoulder are birds. On the robe of the goddess is a fish, and above the left hand lion is a bull's head. The drawing is crude and the arms suggest wings. On another panel are birds and a hare.
Date, seventh century B.C.
This vase in idea falls into the class of winged goddesses with animals but it is greatly divergent from the true type. For the fish, which is rare, compare the leaden fish from Sparta.

THE GODDESS ON HORSEBACK.

Terracottas from the Artemision at Lucor, cf. *Jahresh.* iv, Lucor. A female unwinged figure seated sideways on horseback. Similar examples come from Sparta in particular and elsewhere. The occurrence of this type especially at shrines of Artemis tends to show the connexion of the goddess with a horse, although by itself there is no evidence for identifying it with the goddess. Several late unwinged types of the goddess with stags and hares also come from Lucor; cf. *Notizie degli Scavi* 1900, pp. 370 f. for similar examples from Artemision at Syracuse.

WINGED MALE DEITIES.

- Winged men similar in type to the winged goddess. For typical examples cf. *Argive Her.* ii. Pl. XLIX. 1 a terracotta plaque and for a bronze plaque cf. A. G. Batten, *J.H.S.* xiii. p. 259. An example from Sparta on an early ivory plaque of eighth century date is shown on p. 292.
- 43.—Ivory plaque from Nimroud, cf. B.M. *Ep̄. Excav.* Pl. XIX. 6 and p. 183. An unwinged goddess holding lions. For date and discussion cf. p. 302. The provenance of this example separates it from the other Asian examples. Very possibly it is nearer to the Pre-hellenic than to the Hellenic examples which alone are included in this list. Mr. Hogarth's suggestion that this is an example of West Asian art is most fascinating but still awaits confirmation.

Putting aside for the moment the examples from Camirus, the only other place outside Sparta where a series occurs, and the ivory plaques from Ephesus and Nimroud, which fall into a class by themselves, we may consider all the other non-Spartan examples together. These being later than the earliest examples from Sparta can have no bearing on the origin of

the type in themselves; and can, as yet, only help to show its variants and geographical distribution. In the first place the comparatively late date and the absence of any great series of non-Spartan examples show that Sparta was especially connected with the type, while their wide distribution likewise proves that the type, and consequently the cult it depicts, was by no means confined to Sparta alone.²⁸ We may therefore retain the suggestion that this type represents Artemis Orthia, if we now add that it was also applicable to a series of cults of which presumably Artemis Orthia was the most prominent example. In the second place further details can now be added which concern the type itself. As nearly all the non-Spartan examples are on vases, the type consequently in most cases appears in its most complete form, and unwinged examples on vases are nearly always a sure sign of late date and show the approaching disappearance of the type. The wings are always curled inwards towards the head, except in the few early examples from Sparta where this feature is not strongly marked, and in the terracotta figurine from Capua which has been noticed above. The birds in many cases are definitely swans. There is no certain example of a swan from Sparta, but the birds are always water-birds, excepting again a few early examples.

The earliest examples of the developed type come from Sparta, Rhodes, Ephesus, and Nimroud, and the interrelation of these should help to explain the origin of the type. Certain of the Spartan examples must be as early as 800 B.C., and it is hard to see how the Ephesus examples can be otherwise than slightly prior to 700 B.C. at the earliest, the date suggested in the publication of the last Ephesus excavations. Ephesus then on the existing evidence cannot be shown to be the origin of the Spartan series. At Camirus we have a series in which considerable development can be observed. The earliest of these seem to belong to the early seventh century B.C.: it has, however, been suggested that these are later, largely on account of the excellence of their workmanship, but considering the strong Aegean tradition in Rhodes this view seems at least very doubtful. The existence of an early series at Rhodes may be explained by the early Dorian colonization of that island, and the line of intercourse in early times along the southern Aegean islands. From Thera, likewise an early Dorian colony and a home of Minoan Art, comes another early example of the winged type. Finally we come to the Nimroud ivory on which the goddess appears without wings. In date it may be attributed to the ninth or eighth century B.C. Lately it has been suggested that it is connected with the Ephesus ivory and is the work of an Ionian artist. On the other hand the Eukoni ivories seem in favour of keeping it in the ninth century and moreover there is really no definite reason why it should not be even earlier. The early ivory work at Sparta, Rhodes, Cyprus, and Nimroud suggests that we have an early trace of a route which in a later period accounts for the distribution of the 'Curium bowl'.

²⁸ Several examples of course may be meaningless importations. Thus the Tharros gem is no evidence for Sardinia.

and 'Idaeon shield' technique. In any case the Spartan examples cannot be Ionian, and Ionia cannot, unless further and earlier evidence be found, be shown to be the home of the winged goddess with animals. The Nimroud ivory on the other hand indicates a connexion between the first Hellenic examples and the winged deities of the East. But this connexion, even if the Nimroud example is really earlier than the first of the Spartan series, at most can be only due to a strong wave of oriental influence: it cannot possibly entirely account for the origin of the type, which, considering the absence of definite unmixed oriental motives at Sparta, must be sought for either on the mainland of Greece or on some adjacent island. As soon as we try to trace the history of the type in the period just before the earliest examples from Sparta we meet with an inevitable gap in the evidence.²⁹

The Spartan series shows the type fully developed in the early period of Hellenic art, and consequently we must now look for its origin in the preceding age. The 'heraldic' arrangement, the artistic scheme of an upright design, at times a human figure in the middle, balanced by an animal on either side, which is a constant feature of all the Hellenic examples, is likewise a typical motive in early Aegean art. There are moreover a considerable number of examples on Aegean seal-stones and rings which show a goddess holding animals and which cannot be separated from the later type. Thus from Vaphio there is a gem showing a goddess holding two birds,³⁰ from Elis³¹ one in which a deer and a goat appear in place of birds, and the series of examples of the goddess with lions are in themselves sufficient to show the origin of the later type.³²

In none of these examples, however, is the goddess winged. Contemporary with the goddess we find a male deity, also unwinged, in a similar posture, just as in later times we find a winged god contemporary with the winged goddess. In both ages moreover the goddess is more prominent than the god. To return, however, to the question of wings, which is the great difference between the Hellenic and Pre-hellenic examples. Winged monsters occur frequently in Aegean art and it is possible that the winged deity is only a natural development, but it is more probable that the origin of the addition of wings is suggested by the provenance of the Nimroud specimen, which though itself unwinged brings the type into the region of winged deities. The difference between the winged and unwinged variants is not so great as has usually been made out, for, as we have seen from the Spartan series, the wings in Hellenic times were often omitted. They were, however, first introduced and added to the type in the period of change and confusion between the end of Minoan art and the rise of the Hellenic age, a period when according to literary evidence³³ the Greeks knew only the

²⁹ This gap is not confined to the goddess type. All the Spartan finds clearly point to a break in Sparta between the earliest Hellenic and latest Pre-hellenic cultures.

³⁰ Cf. Furtwängler, *Ant. Gemmen*, Pl. II. 29.

³¹ Cf. Furtwängler, *op. cit.* Pl. II. 27.

³² Cf. A. J. Evans, *J.H.S.* xxi. p. 163.

³³ That is, assuming Homer writes of a sub-Mycenaean age and not of a Mycenaean age proper.

southern island route across the Aegean to the East, a route on which some of the earliest examples of the winged type have been found.

The occurrence of a winged male deity in Hellenic times is when considered by itself obscure, but if taken in connexion with the corresponding god that occurs on Minoan seal-stones can be easily explained. In origin both the Minoan god and goddess are aniconic; and numerous examples are known,²⁴ of which the Lion Gate at Mycenae is the most famous, where a sacred pillar takes the place of the human figure between animals. It is noticeable that in the case of the Lion Gate, as in many other examples, the lions are each resting their fore-paws on an altar. Thus each baetyl has two altars by it, signifying that it is consecrated not to a single divinity but to a divine pair. We have a classical example of this at Paphos in Cyprus, where the pillar is sacred in turn both to Aphrodite and Aphroditos. The female divinity in Minoan times invariably predominates and consequently in the Hellenic period also we find the winged goddess predominating over the winged god. Thus the direct origin of our type is to be found in the Minoan period, and the modification of the Minoan prototype, which occurs at the very beginning of the Hellenic age, is due to a wave of Eastern influence produced first by the spread of Minoan culture in its last phase, not to Ionia, which is probably barely touched, but rather to Rhodes and Cyprus, and secondly by the line of Achaean-Dorian colonies which spreading in the same direction supplanted the older culture and came into contact with the east themselves. The archaeological evidence for this period is necessarily slight. The Nimroud ivory may perhaps fill it chronologically but shows no traces of doing so in its treatment and design.²⁵ Among 'the Aigina treasure,'²⁶ however, is a gold pendant that belongs to our type although the central figure is neither female nor winged. Chronologically it may be contemporary with the earliest examples from Sparta but in style it belongs to the period of change, for while it is essentially Mycenaean, its nearest stylistic parallels are from Cyprus.²⁷

There are moreover several other indications which point to a special connexion between the Southern Peloponnese and Crete and signs also of an early Eastern influence that is not Ionian in origin. In many respects the contents of the Vaphio tombs and the recent discoveries at Kakōratos are Cretan as opposed to Mycenaean. At Sparta too Artemis Issoria²⁸ was known also as Linnaia; and moreover she was not really Artemis but Britomart, a goddess that is both identified with Artemis and is also in all probability a direct descendant of the early Cretan cults. The armed Aphrodite who was worshipped at Sparta and in Cythera was thought by the ancients to be in origin 'Phoenician' and the term 'Amyclaeon' which outside Lacedaemon is found in Crete and Cyprus may possibly

²⁴ Cf. A. J. Evans, *J.H.S.* xxi, 'Tree and Pillar Cult.'

²⁵ The absence of wings is significant, but not a definite proof.

²⁶ Cf. A. J. Evans, *J.H.S.* xiii, pp. 197 ff.

²⁷ Cf. Houton, *op. cit.* p. 415.

²⁸ Paus. iii. 14. 2.

come from the same source and connect with the 'Phoenician' Resef-Mikal.³⁹

Hitherto we have kept all literary references out of the question until the archaeological evidence was completed. It is therefore necessary now to enquire into what literary evidence there is, starting in the main with the cult of Orthia and seeing into what class it falls, how far it can be kept separate from all others, and to what extent it harmonizes with the conclusions already drawn.

In Pausanias' account of the chest of Cypselus⁴⁰ the following passage occurs:

'I do not know for what reason Artemis is represented with wings on her shoulders: in her right hand she grasps a leopard and in her other a lion.'

From this it is clear that the winged type had died out and been forgotten long before Pausanias' time; and this was apparently the case not only in Greece but also in Asia Minor, for elsewhere Pausanias shows intimate knowledge of, among other places, Hierocæsarea,⁴¹ a famous centre of the cult of the Persian Artemis,⁴² a goddess who many have supposed was represented by the winged type. According to Pausanias' account the winged Artemis on the chest of Cypselus is placed among those artistic motives which most authorities agree belong to the older Peloponnesian school as opposed to the later Ionic.⁴³ This point as well as the early disappearance of the type is in complete harmony with the archaeological evidence. One other passage in Pausanias has by some been thought to refer to the winged type of goddess. He tells us that the crown of the Rhamnian Nemesis⁴⁴ was adorned with deer and small figures of victory. The extant accounts of this statue, however, are insufficient to enable the true identification of these alleged 'figures of victory' ever to be settled and this suggestion must consequently be left unsupported by definite evidence. It seems, however, somewhat improbable, on chronological grounds for by that time the type was almost extinct. The best account of the cult of Artemis Orthia, which occurs in Pausanias, is as follows:⁴⁵

'The place called Limnæon is a sanctuary of Artemis Orthia. The wooden image is said to be the famous one which Orestes and Iphigenia once stole from the Tauric⁴⁶ land. The Lacedæmonians say it was brought to their country because Orestes was king of the land. This story seems to me more likely than the one which the Athenians tell. For what could have induced Iphigenia to leave the image at Brauron? or why, when the Athenians were preparing to evacuate the country, did they not take the image with them on board ship? To this day the name of the Tauric goddess stands so high that the Cappadocians on the Euxine claim to possess the image, and a like claim is set up by the Lydians who own the sanctuary of Artemia Anactis. And yet we are asked to believe

³⁹ The origin of both these cults, which may be Aegæan rather than Phoenician, for our present purpose does not matter. Their provenance along the island route to the East is the point we wish to emphasize.

⁴⁰ Paus. v. 19, 5.

⁴¹ Paus. v. 27, 5.

⁴² Tacitus *Annals*, iii. 62.

⁴³ Cf. Stuart Jones, *J.H.S.* xiv. pp. 16 ff.

⁴⁴ Paus. i. 33, 3.

⁴⁵ Paus. iii. 16, 7; cf. Frazer, *ad loc.*

⁴⁶ Cf. Tacit. *Geogr.* 1374; Apollodorus, *Mythologia*, 6, 26.

that the Athenians calmly allowed the image to fall into the hands of the Mede! For the image at Brauron was carried to Susa and was afterwards presented by Seleucus to the Syrians of Laodicea, who possess it to this day. There are besides the following proofs that the Orthia at Laodæamon is the very wooden image that was brought from the land of the barbarians. In the first place Astrabacus and Alopecus the sons of Irbus who was the son of Amphisthenes, son of Amphicles son of Agis went mad as soon as they found the image. In the second place when the Spartan Limnæians, the Cynosurians, and the people of Messia and Pitane were sacrificing to Artemis they fell out and from words came to bloodshed, and a plague worsted the rest. Thereupon they were bidden by an oracle to wet the altar with human blood. A man on whom the lot fell was sacrificed; but Lycourges changed the custom into that of scourging lads, and so the altar reeks with human blood.⁷

From the above it is at once clear that we are concerned with a very primitive cult. The stories referring to the origin of rites and the travels of the image, though certainly later attempts to explain the existence of ceremonies that were so much at variance with the usual Hellenic ritual, are nevertheless of the utmost value in showing the class of cult to which the Spartan goddess was most closely allied. The image that was carried off to Susa and afterwards presented to the Syrians of Laodicea is supposed to be shown on the coins of that city,⁸ in which case it in no way resembled any type as yet discovered at Sparta. The connexion, however, between Artemis Orthia and the other goddesses with which Pausanias classes her is probably in all cases a connexion based on similarity of cult rather than of cult object or type under which the deity in question was at times represented. To discuss the vexed question of the origin and significance of the Brauronian ritual is beyond the scope of this paper, it is sufficient to notice that it was very probably an initiation ceremony. The scourging at the altar of Artemis Orthia is not unlike the initiatory rites practised by certain savages, but the explanation given by the ancients is that it was a later substitution for human sacrifice. The Tauric and Laodicean goddesses are likewise connected with human sacrifice. The evidence for Laodicea it is true is only to be found in Porphyry, who calls the goddess not Artemis but Athena, but most authorities agree that an Artemis is really intended.⁹ What rite was substituted at Laodicea for human sacrifice is unknown. Thus in three cases out of four, in the cults of Artemis Taurike, Orthia, and of the Laodicean Artemis we have definite legends of human sacrifice, and in the case of Artemis Orthia and Brauronia, a rite which is probably an initiation ceremony. It therefore seems probable that the connexion between Artemis Brauronia and Artemis Orthia is fundamental and based on the survival of initiation ceremonies, while the connexion of Artemis Orthia with the Tauric and Laodicean Artemis is less fundamental being based on the theory of original human sacrifice which was put forward in order to explain the barbarous rites at the altar of Orthia. On the other hand it is quite possible that human sacrifice may be the true explanation. In any case all

⁷ Imhoof-Blinner and Gardner, *Num. Comm. sa. Pont.*, Pl. N. XI, XII.

⁸ Porphyry de *Abstin.*, ii. 54.

the above mentioned cults belong to an extremely primitive type and contain a far earlier stratum than is found in the usual Hellenic ritual. Of all the Hellenic deities Artemis* in many respects contains the most primitive features: her statues are often ruder and more aniconic than those of any other divinity and her various cults may be divided into two main classes, the one containing those cults in which the goddess shows her later and more truly Hellenic aspects and is the chaste huntress, the sister and female counterpart of Apollo, and the other including endless minor cults in which she has the more primitive character of a goddess of nature without any apparent relationship to Apollo in any way whatsoever. In fact these two classes of Artemis cults have little in common except the mere name. Of the more primitive cults, which alone concern us here, Orthia is apparently one of the most striking examples. Many of these cults show the connexion of the goddess with vegetation as well as with the animal world. Orthia moreover was also known as Lagodesma. Consequently considering the primitive nature of these cults as well as the aniconic origin of the winged type, it seems possible that the title Orthia should be interpreted as meaning originally upright in its literal sense without any further ethical meaning. The inclusion of these primitive cults in the worship of Artemis cannot have failed to have caused difficulties as soon as Greek religion became rationalized, and perhaps this is the reason why in Aeschylus for the first time we find Artemis represented as daughter of Demeter. At about this period or somewhat earlier the winged type of goddess with animals finally disappears and Orthia becomes in future an Artemis cult in its truest sense.

M. S. THOMPSON.

* Cf. Farnell, *Cults of Greek States*, Artemis throughout.

EXCAVATIONS AT RHITSÓNA IN BOEOTIA.

[PLATES XXIII-XXVI.]

§ 1.—*Introductory.*

THE following article is a direct continuation of that which has just appeared in the *Annual of the British School at Athens*, Vol. xiv, pp. 226 to 318, and must be read in the light of the general introduction to the whole excavations there given.¹ It is enough to say here that part of the Necropolis of Rhitsóna, five miles on the Boeotian side of Chalcis, the conjectured site of the ancient Mycalessos, was excavated by the writers in the autumn of 1907 and the spring of 1908; and that the vase finds were so considerable that they have had to be divided up between several articles. In the *B.S.A.* referred to there were published general sections on Topography, History, and Method of Burial, the Catalogue of eight Graves, and a discussion of their Dating and of what we have decided to call the Boeotian Kylix Style.² The present article will contain the Catalogue of four more graves, a description of two individual vases from the *B.S.A.* graves now reproduced in colours, and general sections on the meaning of our incised Inscriptions, and the provenance of some of our vase types.³

Of the graves here catalogued, Grave 40 shows from the character of its contents that it belongs to the same group as graves 49, 50, and 51 (Group A of *B.S.A.* xiv, pp. 305 foll.), and should probably be dated a little after *n.c.* 550; Graves 12 and 46 both belong to a later group, along with Graves 31, 26, and 18 (Group B of *B.S.A.* xiv, pp. 305 foll.).

Of the two graves, Grave 46 seems to be the later. The fact that it contains no *παράδες* or horsemen in the Boeotian Kylix style, and only two aryballoi, favours a late date: so also do the positive features that it has in common with Grave 18, *e.g.* the style of the Boeotian kylikes, and the occurrence of Black Figure ware with a yellow ground. It should thus be probably dated about 500 *n.c.* This is indeed a somewhat earlier date than

¹ All acknowledgments there made on p. 226, n. 1 hold also for the present article. The photographs were here also taken either by Miss G. E. Holding or by the writers, and the coloured illustrations reproduced from water-colours by M. Gillieron.

² See *op. cit.* p. 227, n. 1, and pp. 305-318.

³ For further projected articles see *B.S.A.* xiv, p. 228. Since that was written, Professor Burrows has excavated twenty more graves in the spring of 1909.

has hitherto been assigned to white lekythoi with outline drawing like No. 84 from this grave.¹ The inference from our finds is that the white lekythoi should be dated earlier rather than that the grave should be dated later.

Grave 36, as will be seen from the catalogue, is a disturbed grave, which must not be dated as a whole.

The two vases from *B.S.A.* graves now fully described and reproduced in colours are the Nankratis vase, Grave 50, No. 276 (= Plate XXV.) and the Polychrome kantharos, Grave 18, No. 248 (= Plate XXVI.).

Since the publication of *B.S.A.* xiv. one fresh differentia has been established between our Grave-Groups A and B, confirming from another side our classification.² Further cleaning and mending have shown that there are three main variants of the common round-bodied aryballoi. All of them have four leaves running diagonally from the middle of the front side. In what we may call the Group B cinquefoil type there is a fifth leaf running towards the bottom of the vase. In what we may call the Group A quatrefoil type, instead of this fifth leaf, there is a pattern of semi-oval outline, sometimes drawn once in large, sometimes three times side by side on a smaller scale. These semi-ovals enclose sometimes several smaller semi-ovals, one inside the other, sometimes a single semi-oval filled in with colour. There are several varieties of this semi-oval ornament, for which so far we have found no chronological significance. This Group A quatrefoil ornament has between the two leaves of each side pair a little hatching, which is wanting in the Group B cinquefoil. A third type, which is much less numerous, may be called the Group A cinquefoil. It has a fifth leaf running to the bottom, like the Group B cinquefoil type, but can be distinguished at a glance. The five leaves are much more regular in design; all touch a small central circle, and each leaf touches the nearest side of the leaf next it on either side, whereas there is a gap between the two top leaves of the Group B cinquefoil, filled in, as on the Group A quatrefoil, by a band of connecting ornament. The lines and colouring of the Group A cinquefoil are thick and heavy; those of the Group B cinquefoil are comparatively light. The typical Group B vase is considerably smaller, and flatter in the shoulder.

The following table will show how well the differentia holds.

¹ *E.g.* Fairbanks, *White Athenian Lekythoi*, p. 4, 'hardly older than the beginning of the 5th century'; McMahon, *A.J.A.* 1907, pp. 16-17, n.o. 480-490. Fairbanks has perhaps overestimated the influence of *c.-l.* on early outline lekythoi. The date of our vase points rather to a case of parallel development.

² We have also to correct the amount there given of the inscriptions: see below, p. 338, n. 27.

Further corrections may have to be made.

(1) Mr. C. H. Hawes wishes us to state that further examination of the skull from Grave 28 (see *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 287) has led him to alter

his opinion that it probably belonged to a male.

(2) On p. 292 n. 1, after 'Boston Museum Report' insert 1903.

(3) On Plate VIII. the words 'scale 5 : 4' do not refer to the vase at all. They are apparently a printer's direction which has been inserted into the description of the Plate. The true scale would be 3 : 7.

(4) On p. 238, l. 9, for '480' read '490.'

(5) On p. 245, n. 3, l. 3, for '60' read '50.'

(6) On p. 247, l. 18, for 'three' read 'two.'

(7) On p. 273, Nos. 40-43 are skyphoi.

(8) On p. 312, n. 1, for 'b' read 'L'

Group A Graves.

Grave 40: all the (80) floral round-bodied aryballoi are Group A quatrefoil.

Grave 49: three Group A cinquefoil; rest (212) Group A quatrefoil.

Grave 50: two Group A cinquefoil; rest (213) Group A quatrefoil.

Grave 51: seven Group B cinquefoil, but with shoulder not quite so flat and lines not quite so thin as usual; rest (160) Group A quatrefoil.

Group B Graves.

Grave 31: two ordinary Group A quatrefoil; 14 Group A quatrefoil, but without hatching between side pairs of leaves; 15 Group A quatrefoil, but without hatching, and of Group B size; rest (56) Group B cinquefoil.

Grave 26: one Group A quatrefoil; rest (26) Group B cinquefoil.

Grave 18: one Group A quatrefoil without hatching between side pairs of leaves; rest (16) Group B cinquefoil.

Grave 12: one Group A quatrefoil; rest (7) Group B cinquefoil.

Grave 46: the only two aryballoi from this grave are Group B cinquefoil.

These statistics, which deal with over 800 vases, go to confirm the dating of all our graves, and are a further indication that each grave contained a single interment.

A feature of Group B graves not noticed in *B.S.A.* xiv. is the occurrence of large numbers of squat Black Figure and Black Glaze skyphoi. See Graves 12, 18, 26, 46.

§ 2.—*Catalogue of Graves.*

GRAVE 40.

Length, 2.05 m.; breadth, 1.20 m.; depth to where vase mass began, 1.47 m.; to bottom, 2.10 m. Vase No. 196 was found at a depth of 1.95 m.; a few of the aryballoi were at a little less depth than the main mass of vases. Some fragments that must have belonged to a large geometric vase were found on the way down to this grave. Head at E.N.E. end.*

BOEOTIAN KYLIX STYLE.

Five four-handled kylikes with stems (Nos. 1-5); the stems are all decorated with straight horizontal bands; one stemless kylix (No. 6) with single handle and bird-tail opposite (cp. *B.S.A.* xiv. Pl. XV.1¹); on a level with handles all six have a band of short vertical lines as on Fig. 1; one kantharos: inside, all have broad red bands—No. 4, 2; Nos. 1, 2 and 3, 3; Nos. 5, 6 and 7, 4; top band of No. 4 and all of No. 5 are rather black than red. All belong to

* As in all our graves where bones were sufficiently preserved to judge. To *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 295, should be added that fragments of skull in Grave 51 were 91 m. from E.N.E. end.

¹ A closer parallel is Grave 51, No. 27 (*B.S.A.* xiv. p. 268); the central part of the 'tail' is squarer and more pronounced than in 1952 Pl. XV. 1.

class I of *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 308, representing the earlier phase of the style as found at Rhitsóna.

No. 1, hgt. .15 m.; main zone panels, each with a ten-petalled palmette pointing downwards and resting on a double spiral; cp. Graves 51, Nos. 3 and 26, No. 5 (= *B.S.A.* xiv. Pl. XV. m⁸); palmettes panelled off by narrow vertical bands of check⁹ or hatching with a vertical arrangement of zigzags on either side; above and below main zone a line running in a zigzag instead of in the more usual wave.

No. 2, hgt. .12 m.; band of hatched triangles; between each adjacent two are parts of three other triangles, forming three lozenges with the sides of the triangles they touch; cp. Grave 51, Nos. 29 and 23 (*B.S.A.* xiv. p. 266).

No. 3, same size and arrangement of decoration as last, but each of the complete triangles, instead of being hatched, contains two smaller triangles, all three having their bases on the bottom line of the zone; cp. Grave 51, No. 19 (*B.S.A.* xiv. p. 266).

For general effect of Nos. 2 and 3 see *B.S.A.* xiv. Pl. XV. b.

No. 4 (Fig. 1), hgt. .10 m.; low down on body a single small band of



FIG. 1.—GRAVE 40. No. 4. (1-2)

triangles, each with two or three inner lines parallel to right side; above and below, straight horizontal bands.

No. 5, hgt. .07 m.; decoration consists entirely of straight horizontal bands except for one wavy band a little way down, and a band of short vertical lines, very close together, on a level with the handles; cp. Grave 31, Nos. 8 and 9 (= *B.S.A.* xiv. Pl. XV. f and o).

No. 6, for shape see *supra*; hgt. .05 m.; decoration just like last, except that the colour of some of the narrower bands has been thinned out to a sort of yellow. Handle round in section.¹⁰

⁸ Cp. also Boston Museum Report, 1899, p. 53, No. 4.

⁹ Cp. below, p. 245.

¹⁰ The only other B.K. vases from Rhitsóna with round-sectioned handles are Graves 50, No. 1; 51, Nos. 2, 18, 27; 49, No. 7; 31, Nos. 19, 20, and (less pronounced) 17, 18. The rest have handles of a deeper and flatter section. This

difference in the shape of the handles seems to correspond in almost every case to the difference between Rhitsóna and Thebes-Tanagra ware drawn in *B.S.A.* xiv. pp. 311-316. Cp. e.g. handles of Brussels, Mus. du Cinquantième Nos. A86, A40, A1169, A1170, Thebes-Tanagra style, with 3. No. A37, Rhitsóna style; Bonn, Nos. 13, 1007, 1010, Thebes-Tanagra style,

No. 7, stemless kantharos (cp. *B.S.A.* xiv. Pl. X. 6 (= Grave 50, No. 4), and *ibid.* Grave 50, Nos. 5 and 6; also Böhlman, *Jahrb.* 1888, Figs. 15 and 16, p. 339), hgt. .07 m.; band of vertical lines on upper part, horizontal bands on lower.

SKYPHOI AND PYXIDES OF SO-CALLED 'PROTO-CORINTHIAN' TYPE.

No. 8,¹¹ pyxis (Fig. 2), hgt. .05 m., with lid .07 m.; decoration in purple on cream ground; note lid has form of an inverted cup.



FIG. 2.—GRAVE 40. No. 8, 105, 9. (2:5.)

Nos. 9-12, skyphoi (No. 9 = Fig. 2), hgt. .04 m.; usual bands of black and purple on pale ground colour.

No. 13-14, like last, but smaller and squatter; cp. Grave 42, No. 9.¹²

SKYPHOI CONTINUING 'PROTO-CORINTHIAN' TRADITIONS, BUT SHOWING THE INFLUENCE OR APPROACH OF THE BLACK-FIGURE STYLE.

Nos. 15-17, same size and shape as 9-12, but decoration in brick-red on pink, probably bad firing for black on ferruginous¹³; handles of 16 and 17 start a little below rim and slant somewhat upwards.

with *ib.* No. 126 (from Tanagra), Rhitsóna style: Würzburg, 5 vases, all Thebes-Tanagra style: Munich, No. 418, Thebes-Tanagra style: Schimatari (=Tanagra), one Thebes-Tanagra style Kylix (with flying birds) with 16 four others Rhitsóna style (Class II). The names Thebes-Tanagra and Rhitsóna in this note refer to the predominant style of the B.K. ware from Thebes and Tanagra on the one hand, and Rhitsóna on the other, and not necessarily to provenance. The Bonn vase No. 136 and the four Rhitsóna-style vases in Schimatari

Museum point to the difference between the two styles being to some extent one of time rather than locality. Cp. observations in *B.S.A.* xiv. pp. 312-314. The round-sectioned handle resembling that of the Corinthian skyphos would thus be the original shape, perhaps taken over, like much of the earliest B.K. ornament, from the Corinthian style.

¹¹ Cp. Nauplia Museum, No. 13.

¹² See *B.S.A.* xiv. Pl. IXc.

¹³ Cp. Deuzis, *J.H.S.* iv. p. 8.

No. 18 (Fig. 3), hgt. .10 m.; decoration in black on a dull brown. Cp. No. 106.



FIG. 3.—GRAVE 49. No. 18. (1/8.)

ARYBALLOI.

Nos. 19–24, hgt. .10 m.; round body with flat bottom; body divided vertically by incised lines into sort of orange quarterings (cp. *B.S.A.* xiv, p. 252, Grave 49, No. 231); on shoulders, daisy pattern (cp. *ib.* Nos. 232–9); on mouth Nos. 19–23 have concentric rings, No. 24 has daisy pattern (cp. *ib.* Nos. 16–230). Colouring meant to be black and purple, but much of it now a dark brown.

Nos. 25–104, round body ornamented with Group A quatrefoil: see p. 302; mostly .06 m. high, a few .08 m., one .04 m.; about a dozen show distinctly brown clay as contrasted with the customary greenish. No. 25 differs from rest in having band of oval dots running round shoulder (except where stopped by handle) and a six-rayed star below handle.

BLACK GLAZE WARE WITH LINEAR DECORATION.

(a) *Decoration in White and Purple.*

No. 105, kantharos (Fig. 2), hgt. .09 m.; vertical lines and pothooks on upper part of outside, white; inside and bottom part of outside, thin white and purple bands.

(b) *Decoration in Purple only.*

No. 106, skyphos, hgt. .08 m.; handles almost horizontal, and of flat section (like that of kothon handles); outside, upper part black with a purple band round middle and a second round bottom, lower ferruginous buff; inside black with two thick purple bands; thin purple band round lip inside and out.

No. 107, skyphos, hgt. .075 m.; inside black; outside, round bottom of body a broad band of purple below a narrow one of ground colour; near top, two thin purple lines.

No. 108, skyphos, hgt. .06 m.; b.t. shape; inside, and main part of outside, purple lines on black; lower part of body, buff; foot, pale purple.

No. 109, kylix, hgt. about '10 m.; diam. of mouth about '20 m.; one thin purple line a little above handles.

No. 110, round-bodied lekythos, about '17 m. high; colours faded; mouth missing.

PLAIN BLACK GLAZE WARE

No. 111, kylix; same shape and size as No. 109; centre of inside brown.

Nos. 112 and 113, flat stemless cups, about '16 m. diam. and '04 m. high; each with two handles of same shape and in same position as those of *B.S.A.* xiv. Pl. XI. g.

Nos. 114 and 115, small cups, each with a single vertical handle; hgt. between '03 and '04 m.

Nos. 116-127, kantharoi, about '10 m. to '12 m. high, all with spurred handles (e.g. Fig. 5 = No. 116).

COARSE BROWN WARE

No. 128, fragments of a vase, apparently a lekythos, in very coarse thick brown clay.

FIGURINES

(a) *Black on Brown*.¹⁴

No. 129, *παρὰς*, hgt. '13 m. (Fig. 4, extreme right).¹⁵



FIG. 4.—GRAVE 40. Nos. 130, 131, 137, 139, 129. (1:3.)

¹⁴ See *B.S.A.* xiv. pp. 313, n. 2, 317, n. 1. dress; see Jamet, *B.C.H.* 1890, p. 208, and *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 253.

¹⁵ Moulded volute is probably part of head.

(b) *Red and (sometimes) Black and Yellow on White.*¹⁶

Nos. 130-133, hghts. 14 m., 16 m., 29 m., 25 m. (Nos. 130 and 131, Fig. 4), faded and damaged; note head of 130, same type as 129¹⁷ but extraordinarily small and tapering upwards; Nos. 131, 132, and 133 have faces of long thin type. See *B.S.A.* xiv, p. 310.

No. 134, hgt. 16 m., No. 135, hgt. 17 m., horses; No. 134, bulging snout and very long legs.

No. 136 (Fig. 4), ox; traces of yellow on forehead; some dots and bands of deep black on head and shoulders.

No. 137 (Fig. 4), flying dove with a sort of vase stem in place of legs;¹⁸ from head to tail .09 m.; across wings .10 m. (illustration obscure, from a photograph before restoration, with stem still missing; tail touches central figurine).

INSCRIPTIONS.

Incised on vase No. 116 (see Figs. 5 and 8), *Ἀντίχαρος καλός*. Though the seventh letter could well be a koppa, the name would be impossible. We do not know of another example of *Ἀντίχαρος*, though we have *Ἀντιχάρης* (*Hdt.* v. 43 and *I.G.* vii. 2385, 2916, 3191), *Ἀντιχαρίδας* (*I.G.* vii. 3169, 3179), and *Ἀντιχάρης* (*I.G.A.* 192). We can, however, justify it by *Ἀγλαῶχαρος* from Amorgos, quoted by Fick (*Griech. Personennamen*², p. 42), which enables



FIG. 5.—GRAVE 40. No. 116. (2:3.)

him to say (*ib.* pp. 287-8) in two corresponding cases *Ἀστυχάρης* oder *Ἀστυχάρος* wegen *Ἀστυχαρίδης* (p. 127)¹⁹ and *Μενεχάρης* oder *Μενεχάρος* wegen *Μενεχαρίδας* (p. 202).²⁰

¹⁶ See *B.S.A.* xiv, pp. 309, 310.

¹⁷ At Brussels, Mus. du Cinq., there is a *corvus* shaped like No. 129, but seemingly with

traces of red on white colouring.

¹⁸ Cp. Grave 49, No. 445 (*B.S.A.* xiv, p. 256); Grave 51, No. 376 (*ib.* Pl. XII, d).

Klein (*Liebblingsinschriften*², p. 53) gives three 'Boeotian Vases' with *καλός* inscriptions. Of these, one in the Ionic Alphabet from Abus (*Ath. Mitt.* 1889, p. 151) is considerably later than ours. The second (Berlin 2116) which, like ours, is incised, may well not be a *καλός* Inscription at all. See the various readings in *I.G.A.* 206 a, Collitz and Bechtel, *D.I.* i. 793. The third, *Ἀσαιοδὸρος καλός*, from the Kabasion, is, if we may judge from the character of its writing as figured in *Ath. Mitt.* 1890, p. 410, early Boeotian and almost certainly incised. Klein's reproduction is inadequate, and he does not suggest that it is incised. Szanto had indeed made no statement on the point in *Ath. Mitt.* beyond the generalities of pp. 396, 413, nor even mentioned what kind of vase the inscription was on. Not having seen it we cannot tell whether it should be considered a qualification of the statement in Walters-Birch (ii. p. 266) that *καλός* inscriptions 'occur exclusively on Attic vases.' For the question as to whether the potter as well as the owner of our vase is likely to have been a Boeotian, see below, pp. 342, 345, 348.

BONES.

Three fragments of long bones (including one of femur shaft): look more like man than woman, but quite uncertain; six fragments of skull: the sagittal suture on one fragment is open outside, closed inside. Mr. C. H. Hawes, to whom we are indebted for our information about the bones from all our graves, infers from the skull fragment just mentioned that the person it belonged to died between 30 and 40 years old.

GRAVE 12.

Length, 2.28 m.; breadth, 1.95 m.; depth to where vase mounds began, 1.42 m.; total depth 2.00 m.; originally, perhaps, the two last measurements were greater, as the present ground level is lower than that of most of the grave area, and the grave (see *B.S.A.* p. 230, Fig. 1) is close to the road, rammed and banked in modern times.

BOEOTIAN KYLIX STYLE.

Eight four-handled kylikes, all belonging to class II. of *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 309, representing the latest phase of the style: on foot all have straight horizontal bands like *B.S.A.* xiv. Pl. VIII; inside, No. 1 has two broad red bands; No. 6 one broad red band and a red centre, as also apparently Nos. 2 and 3; No. 8, one broad red band; rest apparently none, but surface worn.

No. 1, hgt. 13 m.; black hatched triangles and yellow, red, and black palmettes, as on *B.S.A.* xiv. Pl. VIII. a; on a level with handles, band of short vertical lines as on *B.S.A.* xiv. Pl. XV. b and c. Fragments of a second similar vase.

No. 2, hgt. 12 m.; No. 3, hgt. 11 m.; on a level with handles vertical lines as on No. 1, below this nothing but horizontal bands, including two wavy ones on each vase, bright red on No. 2; colours very much injured on No. 3.

Nos. 4 and 5, hgt. 10.5 m.; nothing but horizontal bands; including two red wavy ones, one on a level with handles, other lower down.

No. 6, hgt. 10 m.; like last, but with three wavy lines, lowest one black; inside has a big red centre; foot conical.

No. 7 (Fig. 6), hgt. 9.5 m.; decoration as on Nos. 4 and 5, but top wavy line black; foot conical.

No. 8, hgt. 11 m.; decoration like Nos. 2-7, but very faded.

SMALL SKYPHOI OF SO-CALLED 'PROTO-CORINTHIAN' TYPE.

No. 9 (Fig. 7), hgt. '045 m.; No. 10, hgt. '035 m.; No. 11, squat (like *B.S.A.* xiv, Pl. IX. *), hgt. '02 m.; all three usual type, black and purple on pale ground.

SKYPHOI CONTINUING 'PROTO-CORINTHIAN' TRADITIONS, BUT SHOWING THE INFLUENCE OR APPROACH OF THE BLACK-FIGURE TECHNIQUE.

Nos. 12 and 13, hgt. '045 m.; like last, but ground colour light brown; decoration (oblong dots on level with handles, streaky lines on lower part) dark brown; handles incline slightly upwards.

No. 14, hgt. '095 m.; black all over but for band of dull buff round top part with thin lines bordering it above and below, and two groups of short heavy vertical lines in between on either side; badly fired; black streaky and shading off in part to brown.



FIG. 6.—GRAVE 12. NOS. 9 AND 7. (2:5.)

No. 15, hgt. '12 m.; shape and colours like last, though colours appear lighter owing to bad firing; decoration in bands: top band groups of straight and wavy lines; then two broad straight dark bands, each with thinner one above and below it; then deep band of groups of vertical lines rising from the foot; cp. Grave 40, No. 18, which is, however, much finer than this.

No. 16, hgt. '08 m.; diam. of mouth '13 m.; more advanced shape; something like Grave 31, No. 187 (*B.S.A.* xiv, p. 277). All covered with a colour which varies from brick-red to black, except for a careless band of buff ground colour round bottom of body, and another on a level with handles; latter with a line of red—bad firing for black—round middle.

No. 16 a, hgt. '115 m.; like No. 16, but taller and with lower part of body more tapering (cp. No. 17, Fig. 7); inside, a good black; outside, all a poor black except inside of handles and a zone '03 m. wide on a level with handles, which are dull dark buff; near top and bottom of buff zone a dull purple line; cp. Grave 46, No. 41.

No. 17¹⁹ (Fig. 7), hgt. '05 m.; brick-red on pinkish buff, probably bad firing

¹⁹ Cp. a similar vase but with vertical handles but black on ferruginous, may perhaps show at Nauplia. Munich, No. 1048, similar to ours how our vase was intended to look.

for black on ferruginous (cp. for colour question, Grave 49, Nos. 13 and 14, *B.S.A.* xiv, p. 251).

ARYRAILOI.

Nos. 18-24, hgt. '05 m.; round body with Group B cinquefoil ornament; see p. 309; concentric rings round mouth.

No. 25, hgt. about '09 m.; round body with Group A quatrefoil ornament; see p. 309; daisy pattern on mouth.

'KOTIONS.'²⁰

Nos. 26-34, usual size (diam. '14 m.); Nos. 26-29 decorated only with thin horizontal lines on ground now buff in Nos. 26 and 27, green in 28 and 29; Nos. 30-34 decorated on top with double row of stalkless ivy-leaves, pointing towards one another, but each leaf facing space between two nearest leaves on opposite side; ground colour of No. 30 buff, of 34 green, of other three intermediate; cp. Grave 46, Nos. 52-54.

BLACK-FIGURE.

Three *lekythoi* (Nos. 35-37), four *skyphoi* (Nos. 38-41), one *kylix* (No. 42).

Lekythoi:

No. 35, hgt. '17 m.; on shoulder, cock and two ivy-leaves; on body, Pegasus and two rhabdouchoi; purple and incisions; no white.

No. 36, hgt. '14 m.; on shoulder, outward pointing rays; on body, dancing woman and reclining Dionysiac male figure playing lyre; careless work; purple and incisions; no white.

No. 37,²¹ hgt. '15 m.; on shoulder, outward-pointing lotus buds; body, plain black with a few thin purple lines.

Skyphoi:

No. 38, hgt. '06 m.; squat shape; creeping satyr²² holding a rhyton (?); on either side of him an upright ivy-leaf; branches and white dots in field.

No. 39, hgt. '08 m.; shape still more squat, diam. of mouth '16 m.; two cocks, both facing to right; upright palmette on either side; branches in field; purple dots, incisions, no white.

No. 40, hgt. '10 m.; diam. of mouth '16 m.; two sphinxes facing one another; black dots between them; brown (originally purple ?) and white details; no incisions; very careless work.

No. 41, hgt. '10 m.; diam. of mouth '17 m.; two sphinxes facing one another; separated by black dots; sphinxes very thin and all in black silhouette, but for a few purple dots; possible traces of white and further purple.

Kylix:

No. 42, hgt. '045 m.; diam. of mouth '14 m.; inside completely filled by a chariot scene and palm tree: to be published subsequently in colours.

²⁰ For illustrations see *B.S.A.* xiv, Fig. 15, p. 278.

p. 274; Pernice, *Jahrb.* 1899, p. 60.

²¹ Cp. Grave 51, Nos. 209-215, *B.S.A.* xiv.

²² For posture cp. *B.S.A.* xiii, p. 97, Fig. 29 c, on a Spartan ivory.

BLACK GLAZE WARE WITH LINEAR DECORATION.²²

Decoration all in purple:

No. 43, skyphos, hgt. .075 m.; squat shape; single band inside and out.

No. 44, skyphos, hgt. .05 m.; more squat still; diam. of mouth .14 m.

No. 45, skyphos, hgt. .08 m.; diam. of mouth .10 m.; purple band round top of rim; rest all black, including bottom of foot.

No. 46, skyphos, hgt. .10 m.; diam. of mouth .13 m.; thin purple line below rim; another below handles; a thicker one where body joins foot; rest black like No. 45.

No. 47, kylix, hgt. .085 m.; diam. of mouth .17 m.; a big plain purple centre to inside.

PLAIN BLACK GLAZE WARE.

No. 48, skyphos, hgt. .11 m.; common b.f. shape tapering downwards.

No. 49 (= Fig. 7), hgt. .09 m.; for these tankards cp. Grave 49, No. 280²³ (*B.S.A.* xiv. p. 255).



FIG. 7.—GRAVE 12. Nos. 9, 49, 17. (2:7.)

Nos. 50, 51, 52, hgt. .10 m., .09 m., .09 m.; handles same shape and position as on No. 49; bodies shaped like common stemless kantharoi, e.g. Grave 40, No. 116 (Fig. 5); colour partly red, bad firing for black.

Nos. 53, 54, 55, skyphoi; hgt. .085 m., .07 m., .07 m.; squat and with broad bottom; Nos. 54 and 55 all black; No. 53 foot left in ground colour.

No. 56, squat skyphos; hgt. .06 m.; diam. of mouth .13 m.; no separate foot; inscribed on rim ET (?).

Nos. 57 and 58, hgt. .09 m., .08 m.; shape like No. 16 a, except that rim turns more outwards; No. 57 has upper part black, lower red, most of foot and a little of body just above foot dull ground colour; No. 58, upper part black, lower brown; both probably careless firing for complete black.

No. 59, kantharos, hgt. to rim .05 m.; stemless, but with lower part of body tapering; upper part purple, lower light brown, all seemingly bad firing for black.

²² Nos. 43, 47, 48, and perhaps 44, 53, 56 have inside of handles buff, and a buff rectangle

between the junctures of either handle.

²³ Cp. note *ad loc.* for Late Minoan analogies.

No. 60, kantharos, hgt. to rim .15 m.; almost stemless, with body tapering as in Fig. 5; handles connected halfway up by cross pieces with top of body.

Nos. 61-86, kantharoi; hgt. to rim .12 m. to .15 m.; all with short but distinct stems; No. 61 has cross pieces and spurs; Nos. 62 and 63 cross pieces but no spurs; rest have neither; several are now a chocolate brown colour; for inscriptions on Nos. 64, 65, 66, 67 see below.

Nos. 87, 88, 89, hgt. to rim .11 m., .10 m., .10 m.; kantharoi-like Grave 26. Nos. 184-194; body continued only about .02 m. below handles; no stem; broad foot.

FIGURINES

No. 90 (Fig. 6)²⁸ cavalier in red and white technique (see *B.S.A.* xiv. pp. 309 and 310); black used on horse's back and elsewhere; rider's jacket yellow; pointed peaked hat; hgt. to top of horse's head .10 m.; of rider's .11 m.

No. 91, fragments of a horse in red and white technique.

METAL OBJECTS

No. 92, iron fragments of two nails in a small iron plate²⁹

INSCRIPTIONS

See Fig. 8. All incised on black glaze vases.

On rim of No. 56 'E ϵ (or 'E γ or 'E ξ).

On body of No. 64 'A'; of No. 65 K; of No. 66 Φ o (or Φ a?).

On bottom of foot of No. 67 Xa (or A χ ?).

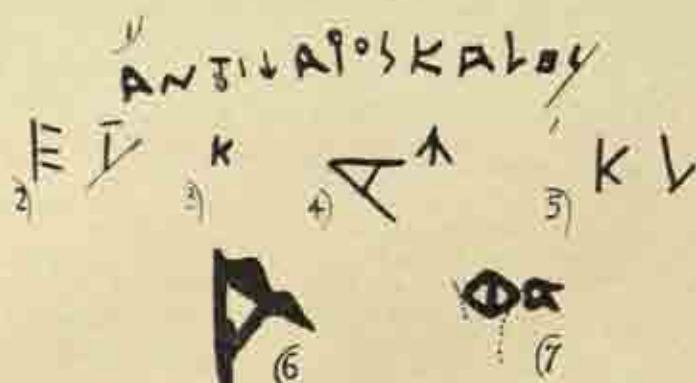


FIG. 8.—INSCRIPTIONS ON VASES FROM GRAVES 10 (1), 12 (2-4, 6-7), 46 (5). (1: L.)

BONES

Traces of bones too decayed for any inferences.

Also one of the 'Kothors' contained a fine dust, which had apparently remained dry owing to the mouth of the vase being jammed by one on the top of it. On

²⁸ Cp. Oxford. Ashmolean, 2. 29, middle shelf.

²⁹ Cp. *B.S.A.* xiv. Grave 49, No. 447.

submitting this for analysis to Professor H. B. Dixon, F.R.S., he reported that it contained among other things bone ash. Both he, however, and Professor J. Lorrain Smith, F.R.S., stated that it was impossible to determine whether it was human bone. Professor Dixon's analysis will be further discussed in our article on Kothons and allied types in *J.H.S.* xxx.

GRAVE 46.

Length, 2.93 m.; breadth above ledge, 1.32 m.; below, .99 m.; depth to ledge, 1.98 m.; to where vases began, 2.38 m.; total depth, 2.96 m. Teeth and skull fragments at E.N.E. end of grave.

BOEOTIAN KYLIX STYLE.

(a) Ordinary Technique.

Thirty-one kylikes all with stems and four handles: all belong to class II. of *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 309, representing the latest phase of the style. The powdery pure white ground is particularly distinct in the vases from this grave. In some (e.g. No. 1) it ends quite plainly round the top of the inside, in others the white is carried some way down the inside (e.g. about .02 m. in Nos. 4-8), but the line where it ends is equally plain: otherwise the inside shows nothing but the plain clay colour. No. 3 is the only exception. It has eleven thin red bands on white, no part of the inside being left in the natural clay colour. The thick red or black bands that decorate the insides of most of the vases published in the *B.S.A.* have no parallel in this grave. On a level with the handles all have a single wavy line (like *B.S.A.* xiv. Pl. VIII. A and XV. D), sometimes red, sometimes black, except No. 1, which has two thin wavy lines, top red, bottom black. On foot all have straight bands like *B.S.A.* xiv. Pl. XV.; usually red and black; any that are yellow are mentioned below.

No. 1, Fig. 9, hgt. 175 m.; below handles (*see supra*) four straight bands,



FIG. 9.—GRAVE 46. No. 1. (1:3.)

second from top brilliant scarlet, rest dark red; then hatched triangles and palmettes, as *B.S.A.* xiv. Pl. VIII. A; hatching very careful; palmettes seem to have only two petals, bright scarlet, in position of red petals of *B.S.A.* xiv. Pl. VIII. A. There is room for three others, which may either have disappeared or been accidentally omitted by the vase painter. The thinner of the bands on the foot are yellow. The red of this vase is brilliant.

The remaining thirty all belong to the type of *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 309, (*d*) (2), and Pl. XV. *f* and *g*, with decoration consisting almost entirely of straight and wavy horizontal bands, most red and black, occasionally yellow.

No. 2, hgt. 21 m.; interior depth 14 m.; diam. of mouth 31 m.; width of rim 02 m., largest Boeotian kylix from Rhitsóna: sides of vase go down with scarcely any curve. On level with handles, thick red wavy line; then a few thick straight red ones; then thick wavy yellow line; then more very thick straight red ones. Colours extremely powdery.



FIG. 10.—GRAVE 46. No. 32. (1:2.)

No. 3, hgt. 19 m., diam. of mouth 22 m.; bowl unusually flat and shallow (perhaps under the influence of contemporary b-f. and r-f. kylikes); outside, top three lines run in low waves; rest straight; top wavy line continues right over handles (cp. *B.S.A.* xiv. Pl. VIII. A); inside, see above.²⁷

Nos. 4-8,²⁸ hgt. 12-14 m.; black wavy band on level with handles; a red one lower down; rest all straight; red, yellow, and black.

Nos. 9-18, exactly like Nos. 4-8, but smaller (hgt. 08-09 m.).

Nos. 19-24, hgt. 09-10 m.; very thick wavy red band on level with handles; very thick straight red band halfway down body; lower still a band of big oval dots arranged vertically in Nos. 19-23, slantwise in No. 24 (perhaps

²⁷ Cp. Nauplia Museum, No. 63 (an earlier vase).

²⁸ Cp. an unnumbered example, hgt. 13 m., diam. 21 m., in Schinastari (Tanagra) Museum.

under influence of contemporary h. f. skyphoi, like *B.S.A.* xiv. Pl. XI. *d* and *j*, in corresponding position at bottom of body); bowl a little flatter than usual (see No. 3).

No. 25, hgt. .085 m.; like Nos. 19-24, but a second thick straight red band in place of the band of dots.

No. 26, hgt. .11 m.; like No. 25, but left white where No. 25 has lower thick band of red.

Nos. 27-31, very faded: probably like Nos. 9-18.

(b) *Black on brown technique*

No. 32,²⁵ oenochoe (Fig. 10), hgt. to top of handle .125 m.; mouth missing, probably like Böhlau's (*Jahrb.* 1888, p. 340, Fig. 21); black inclines to purple; ground colour brown to yellow.

SMALL SKYPHOI OF SO-CALLED 'PROTO-CORINTHIAN' TYPE

No. 33, hgt. .055 m.; No. 34, hgt. .04 m.; No. 35, hgt. .03 m.; usual decoration in bands of red and black on creamy yellow.

Nos. 36-38, hgt. .02 m.; same decoration, but squatter, cp. *B.S.A.* xiv. Pl. IX. *c* (= Grave 49, No. 9).

VASES CONTINUING 'PROTO-CORINTHIAN' TRADITIONS, BUT SHOWING THE INFLUENCE OF BLACK-FIGURE TECHNIQUE

No. 39, skyphos, hgt. about .10 m.; black on dirty buff; upper part missing; lower like Grave 31, No. 41, and Grave 51, No. 43 (derived from type of *B.S.A.* xiv. Pl. IX. *t* = Grave 51, No. 31).

No. 40, skyphos, hgt. about .13 m.; 'proto-Corinthian' handles; top part dark brown; middle lighter; bottom lighter still; all very streaky. For this being probably due to bad firing, cp. Grave 31, Nos. 356 and 357.

No. 41, skyphos, hgt. .10 m.; same shape, colours, and design as Grave 12, No. 16*a*, but squatter, and rim not so deep; on a level with handles a broad zone of dull buff with thin purple line at top and bottom; rest a poor black glaze.

No. 42, shallow bowl without handles, hgt. .05 m.; diam. of mouth .13 m.; inside black except for buff centre with two black concentric circles; outside buff with one thickish black band.

ARYBALLOI

Nos. 43 and 44; hgt. .05 m., .055 m.; round-bodied; usual cinquefoil ornament of Group B type; see above, p. 309; No. 43, ground colour slightly ferruginous.

'KOTHONS'

Nos. 45-51, usual size, diam. .14 m., .15 m.; tongue pattern round upper part.

²⁵ For Agurios in this technique cp. Grave 49, No. 129 (Fig. 4), and Grave 49, Nos. 421-430 (*B.S.A.* xiv. p. 255); for four-handled cylix in

this technique see *Ath. Nat. Mus.* No. 962; for history of type see below, p. 348, n. 175.

Nos. 52-54, same as last, but with rough ivy-leaf pattern in place of tongue pattern: like Grave 12, Nos. 30-34. The clay of some of these kothons is brown, of others green.

No. 55 (fragmentary) and 56, much smaller: 0.75 m. diam.; handle approximate to Boeotian kylix handle.

'KOTHON'-RIMMED BLACK GLAZE VASES WITH LID AND CENTRAL STEM.³⁰

No. 57, hgt. to top of body 125 m.; Nos. 58-61, hgt. about 15 m.; usual shape and decoration.

BLACK-FIGURE ON ORDINARY FERRUGINOUS GROUND.

Fourteen lekythoi (Nos. 62-75); seven skyphoi (Nos. 76-82); of these Nos. 70-74, 75 and 82 have only floral ornament.³¹

(i) Lekythoi: all have outward pointing rays on their shoulder, with a band of short vertical lines just above round bottom of neck (see Pl. XXIII. A), except Nos. 67, 69; q. v.

No. 62 (Pl. XXIII. A), hgt. 18 m.; four armed figures, two on horseback, apparently Amazons; central figure larger than rest, and fully draped; branches in field.

No. 63 (Pl. XXIII. A), hgt. 27 m.; man driving quadriga; Athene (?) armed beside it; fallen warrior underneath; warrior with shield and spear retreating before chariot; execution not very good.

No. 64, hgt. 17 m.; draped female figures with Phrygian caps; branches in field.

No. 65, hgt. 18 m.; much like 64; apparently naked male figure with two draped figures on either side.

No. 66 (Pl. XXIII. A), hgt. 17 m.; obscene figures; the female ones, being in white, have nearly completely disappeared; work very careless; branches in field.

No. 67 (Pl. XXIII. A), hgt. 22 m.; much damaged; seated woman playing lyre to standing garlanded Dionysiac figure; palmettes up and down alternately on shoulder; faded; which figure holds lyre not quite certain.

No. 68, hgt. 26 m.; Herakles (?) v. Cretan (?) bull; bow and quiver hung up above bull; club and clothes above Herakles; behind the bull stands Hermes; behind Herakles another male figure in chlamys; central figures much damaged; bull is down on his front knees and seems to have a rope round his front legs.³²

No. 69, hgt. 15 m.; body ground colour all round except lower part, but a panel is formed in front by bands of linear ornament: up centre of panel runs a line; on either side of line is a hare with very long ears nibbling apparently at the bottom part of it; above each hare a small flying bird.

With purely Floral Ornament.

Nos. 70-74³³ (Plate XXIII. A), hgt. 12 m. to 14 m.; on front of body three

³⁰ For illustration of these and kothons see *B.S.A.* xiv. Fig. 15, p. 274; Pernice, *Jahrb.* 1899, pp. 60, 65. A discussion of these vases will appear in the next volume of the *Journal*.

³¹ Cp. Grave 31, Nos. 189 to 215 (*B.S.A.* xiv. p. 277).

³² Cp. No. 80 and Grave 26, No. 86 (*B.S.A.*

xiv. p. 283).

³³ Cp. Grave 31, No. 201, and references *ad loc.*; also Louvre, F 531-537, *Ath. Nat. Mus. Ait. A*, Case 13 (Marathon tomb); *ibid.* Case 20, Nos. 1095 (Megara) and 2316; Olympia Museum, one example; Eleusis Museum, several examples; Corneto, Museo Municipale, Stanza

rough black palmettes, and two tall single leaves (perhaps = a degenerate lotus: op. Louvre, F 108 and 113) arranged alternately: palmettes each surrounded by a white line; the whole rests on a band of small black circles.

No. 75,²¹ hgt. 13 m.: much fatter than rest: same shape as Grave 50, No. 269 (*B.S.A.* xiv, p. 261 and Pl. X/4). On shoulder four fat down-pointing leaves like Grave 31, No. 163. On front of body lotuses and palmettes, pointing down, with interlaced stalks: very faded: cp. a similar vase, unnumbered, in Nauplia Museum.

(ii) *Skyphoi*: Decoration same both sides.

No. 76, hgt. 135 m.: a woman stepping into a quadriga: a man stands beside her: upright black palmettes: woman's flesh, one horse, and centre of palmettes white.

No. 77, hgt. 99 m.: winged figure with winged boots runs to right holding a plain round στέφανος;²² wings spread out horizontally, one before and one behind, each with upward curl at end; before and behind him a draped figure stands; a smaller draped figure under each handle: all in black silhouette.

No. 78, same shape, size and arrangement of decoration as No. 77: on either side three figures running to right, in black silhouette, with garlands that stand out entirely detached from their heads; under each handle a floral ornament.

No. 79, hgt. 125 m.: a winged figure moves to right: drawing very careless: she is either seized by or is carrying a naked male figure: on either side of this group a tree in ordinary branch style: beyond trees, upright palmettes; incisions but no subsidiary colours.

No. 80, very squat, like plain black skyphoi from Grave 26 (*B.S.A.* xiv, p. 285, Nos. 197-234): hgt. 96 m.: diam. of mouth 15 m.: between upright black palmettes Herakles or Theseus v. bull; above bull on one side, quiver with straps hanging down, on other only quiver straps, the quiver itself having disappeared;²³ behind and above hero his clothes hung up; branches in field; no white.

No. 81 (Pl. XXIII n), hgt. 13 m.: incisions but no subsidiary colours. Two vertical handles; head of charioteer (found since illustration was made) like that of lyre player; behind charioteer a draped figure in Corinthian helmet (just seen in illustration: corresponding figure on other side has no helmet) shakes hands with another standing figure, draped and garlanded: in front of Hermes, a draped figure sitting on ὀχλαδίαν.

With purely Floral Ornament:

No. 82, hgt. 97 m.: body tapers greatly towards foot; on a level with handles, palmettes, etc., as on lekythoi, Nos. 70-74. Cp. Grave 31, Nos. 192-200 (*B.S.A.* xiv, p. 277).²⁴

BLACK-FIGURE ON YELLOW GROUND

No. 83, Trefoil-mouthed oenochoe: hgt. to mouth 12 m.: ship scene with painted inscription. To be published subsequently in colours.

III.; Turin Museum, several examples; Bologna, Room 6, Case F; *Oss. Mon. Ant.* i. (Megara Hyblaea), p. 849, sep. cri; *ibid.* p. 892, sep. oexyl.; Würzburg, Nos. H.1., 26 and 67; Trieste, Nos. 453 and 454, latter from Ephesus.

²¹ The only example from this grave of a Group A Black-figure shape: see *B.S.A.* xiv, p. 306.

²² Cp. Eleusis Museum fragment with monad (?) crowning Dioryene (?).

²³ Cp. Grave 18, No. 50, note (*B.S.A.* xiv, p. 288).

²⁴ Also Würzburg, H. III. 284, which has purple moulding round short stem, and, inside, a R.-F. Gorgoneion.

LEKYTHOS ON WHITE GROUND WITH DESIGN IN OUTLINE.

No. 84³⁸ (Pl. XXIV. A and B), hgt. 21 m.; neck and shoulder pale ferruginous; main zone of body a very pale yellow; mouth, bottom part of body, and decoration black, varying spasmodically to dark brown; inner lines of upper garment seem deliberately rendered in a lighter brown; head-dress in purple; object in woman's right hand a mirror, in left perhaps a pomegranate; almond-shaped eye with pupil in centre; rather heavy chin may be compared with early fifth-century sculpture, e.g. the Delphic charioteer and the Harmodius head of Kritios and Nesiotes.

BLACK GLAZE WARE WITH FLORAL OR LINEAR DECORATION.

(a) *In purple and white.*

No. 85,³⁹ kantharos, hgt. 39 m.; lower part of body tapers downward; very little stem; on upper part, garland of white ivy-leaves with central wavy stem of purple; two thin bands of uncertain colour on lower part of outside, one on upper part of inside.

Nos. 86 and 87, fragments of similar kantharoi with white meander on upper part.

For style of Nos. 85-87 see Fig. 14 (= Grave 36, No. 11).

No. 88,⁴⁰ kantharos, tooth pattern in white as on Grave 18, No. 250 (*B.S.A.* xiv. p. 294).

(b) *In purple bands only.*

Nos. 89-91, kantharoi; Nos. 89 and 90, same shape and size as 85; No. 91 much larger, at least 15 m. high.

Nos. 92 and 93, skyphoi of black figure shape, like, e.g., *B.S.A.* xiv. Pl. XI, i; 12 m. high.

Nos. 94 and 95, squat skyphoi; hgt. of 94 is 38 m.; of 95, 37 m. No. 95 is inscribed K1.

No. 96, skyphos with perfectly horizontal ('proto-corinthian') handles, hgt. 10 m.

No. 97, cup with vertical handles like No. 81, but handles start a little below rim, and body is more cylindrical; hgt. 11 m.

PLAIN BLACK GLAZE WARE.

Nos. 98-150, kantharoi, mostly with a stem, and about 12 m.-15 m. high; several much larger; about eight have handles spurred (like handles of Grave 50, No. 282, *B.S.A.* xiv. Fig. 11, p. 262); about six have cross pieces joining handle to body halfway down (like those to handles of *B.S.A.* xiv. Pl. X. a); five, including

³⁸ See above, p. 300. For main figure see Bolegus Museum, Pellegrini, Cat. No. 257 (Fairbanks, *AB. L&C.* p. 86, Class III. a); for other close parallels, Fairbanks, *ib.* Class III. a, with which subdivision of Fairbanks' classification it corresponds most closely on the whole. Cf. also, not mentioned by Fairbanks, Nauplia, No. 41.

³⁹ For white ivy garland and thin red lines on

black on Luvra, A. M. 167, low three-handled pyxis from Rhodes; a degenerate variety of same ivy branch in black on handles of a Nikosthenes amphora, Vatican, room beyond crescent.

⁴⁰ Cf. perhaps *J.H.S.* xiv. Pl. Y. (the kantharos, black with white details, represented as carried by Dionysos on a B.F. amphora, now at Würzburg).

two very small ones '045 m. high, have no stem, but body tapering downwards and foot tapering upwards to meet it.

Nos. 151 and 152, squat skyphoi: 151, hgt. '10 m.; 152, hgt. '09 m.; No. 151 has inner side of handles and body between joints of either handle left in ground colour; No. 152 is badly fired, much of it being a red colour.

No. 153, kylix, hgt. '08 m.; fine material and good glaze.

Nos. 154-156, cups shaped like No. 81.

GLASS.

No. 157 (Fig. 11), amphoriskos, hgt. '07 m.; neck, straight; yellow bands on



FIG. 11.—GRAVE 18. No. 157. (3/5.)

dark blue; shoulder and handles plain dark blue; body, wavy lines of light blue and yellow on dark blue. Cp. Grave 26, No. 235 (*B.S.A.* xiv, p. 285, and Pl. XII 5).⁴¹

FIGURINES.

No. *πρωτότης*; no horses, either with or without riders.

No. 158, dove, hgt. '09 m.; diagonally from tail to beak '125 m.; white with three red bands across back; traces of yellow on breast; cp. Grave 18, Nos. 259 and 260.⁴² (*B.S.A.* xiv, p. 295).

No. 159, protome (Fig. 12);⁴³ hgt. '09 m.; ground colour light purple, meant perhaps for flesh colour;⁴⁴ where this purple has come off, clay a dark

⁴¹ For coloured illustration of vase like ours see Perrot and Chipiez, iii, Pl. VIII, 3 (provenance not stated). To references given in *B.S.A.* xiv, p. 285 add Furtwängler, *Aginet*, p. 428; *Faillies de Delphes*, tome v, fasc. 3, p. 216; Walldstein, *Herosen*, p. 332.

⁴² See references *ad loc.*; and further, Louvre, R., Central Cam. Nos. 352-357 (Myrina); Eskula, *Trois mus Tanagra*, Pl. XV.; *Gr. Terrac.* aus Tanagra u. Ephesus in Berl. Mus. Pl. V.; *Abb. Nat. Mus.* No. 1769 (white skyphos); a girl offering a caged bird at a (funeral) table.

⁴³ For hair and head-dress cp. *B.C.H.* 1897, Pl. VII, marble head from Sanctuary of Apollo Ptoos; also Louvre, R., Window Case nearest A, row nearest wall, second head from corner nearest door into A, larger than rest, with a label red written on, don de M. Haussonnier.

⁴⁴ See notes on Grave 18, Nos. 266 and 267 (*B.S.A.* xiv, pp. 286, 287).

dirty grey; eyes white with black pupils; scarlet for lips, hair band, and (as on faces of *paraides*, e.g. *B.S.A.* xiv. Pl. VII A) for blobs on cheeks; a hole to hang it up by.⁴⁵



FIG. 12.—GRAVE 46. No. 159. (2:1-1:1)

METAL OBJECTS.

No. 160 (Fig. 13), fragments probably of iron nails (see *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 242, and Figs. 6 and 7); one 10 m. long with big hemispherical head 0.3 m. diam.; probably nail, though it broadens out at other end; another head same size and shape; shaft, where it breaks off level with bottom of head, is about 0.07 m. diam.; one fragment seems to be an injured quadruple nail head of type found in Grave 49 (*B.S.A.* xiv. p. 256; No. 447). Two fragments 0.4 and 0.25 m. long show usual hollow core⁴⁶; another, perhaps a complete nail, 0.5 m. long, appears to go through a strip of iron 0.15 m. wide and at present 0.4 m. long but broken off at both ends; another 0.6 m. long broadens slightly at both ends (from accretion?).

No. 161, six small bronze nails, 0.5 m. long.

INSCRIPTIONS.

Incised on body of black glaze skyphos No. 95, KA. (Fig. 8).

The painted inscription on No. 83 is spread over the main design and will be published with the vase.

⁴⁵ Cf. Haussoullier, *Quomodo Tanagraei*, p. 89.

⁴⁶ Due to rust (!). 

BONES.

According to Mr. Hawes's report it was impossible to make any statement about the scanty and ill preserved fragments of skull, teeth, and bones from this grave.

GRAVE* 36.

The objects catalogued under this heading were found in a disturbed state. It is, therefore, impossible to be certain that any two of them came from the same grave. On the other hand, it does not seem possible to prove that they must have come from two or more graves. They have, therefore, been classed together under the single heading of Grave* 36, but inferences from the depth and disposition of the finds or from the fact of any two of the objects having been found together must necessarily be very dangerous. The spot where they were found is just North of our main line of graves,⁴² and borders on an area where there has been illicit digging. The disturbance may therefore be modern. There were no objects that would not, so far as our experience goes, have been left behind by a modern *τυμβολεύς* without regret.⁴³



FIG. 13.—GRAVE 46. Nos. 180. (2:5.)

Nos. 1-22 were found in a cluster that reached a depth of 1.75 m. No. 23 was found immediately above the cluster, but at a depth of only .80 m., considerably higher than the highest of the fragments of Nos. 1-22. Nos. 24-28 were found a little E.N.E. of Nos. 1-23; Nos. 24-26 at a depth of 1.42 m.; Nos. 27 and 28 a little lower.

BOEOTIAN KYLIX STYLE.

No. 1, kylix; hgt. .09 m.; like Grave 46, Nos. 9-18.

No. 2, skyphos (Fig. 14), hgt. .95 m.; decoration brick-red on a pale buff; flat-sectioned handles like those described, p. 311, n. 10; colours like those of kantharoi in Boeotian Kylix style, e.g. Grave 50, Nos. 4-6 (*R.S.A.* xiv, p. 257).

* See *R.S.A.* xiv, Fig. 1, p. 239.

* *Τυμβολεύς* naturally prefer to dig at a distance from the roadside. Hence the undisturbed condition of our main line of graves from

40-22.

‘KOTHON.’

No. 3, usual size; decorated like Grave 46, Nos. 45-51.

BLACK-FIGURE.

Three lekythoi, four skyphoi.

No. 4, lekythos, hgt. .15 m.; charioteer in white driving quadriga; behind the horses an upright object, probably a pillar or post.

No. 5, lekythos, hgt. .22 m.; body thin and almost cylindrical; three women seated on *ἐκλαδίαι*, middle one playing harp; branches in field; white, purple and incisions plentiful.

No. 6, lekythos, hgt. .12 m.; like Grave 46, Nos. 70-74.

Nos. 7, and 8, skyphoi, hgt. .095 m.; diam. of mouth .18 m.; broad black rim, tapering body; on either side of either vase three rough palmettes in black, central one upright, side ones horizontal, ground colour pale.

No. 9,³⁸ skyphos (Fig. 14), hgt. .05 m.; very thin nude dancing figure between upright palmettes; all in black silhouette.

No. 10, skyphos, hgt. .06 m.; like Grave 46, No. 82.



FIG. 14.—GRAVE 36. Nos. 9, 11, 2. (217.)

BLACK GLAZE VASES WITH LINEAR DECORATION.

(a) *In white.*

Nos. 11-14, kantharoi, hgt. .08 m.; No. 11 = Fig. 14; Nos. 12-14, same shape and scheme of decoration as No. 11, but instead of the herring-bone pattern they have a bold meander. Cp. Grave 46, Nos. 86, 87.

(b) *In purple.*

No. 15, skyphos, hgt. .065 m.; same shape as Grave 46, No. 96; two thin purple lines just below handles; a thicker band of purple just above foot; above latter two thin incised lines showing ground colour.

³⁸ Cp. Bonn, No. 359; Munich, No. 3051; influence; Louvre, F 482; also a similar skyphos in Ancona Museum.

PLAIN BLACK GLAZE WARE.

No. 16, kantharos, hgt. '055 m.; dark red colour due to bad firing.

No. 17, kantharos, hgt. '13 m.; short stem; handles with cross pieces; badly fired.

No. 18, kantharos, hgt. '11 m.; body tapers downwards; no stem; handles like those of Grave 46, No. 81, not rising above rim.

Nos. 19 and 20, skyphoi; horizontal Proto-Corinthian handles; tall shape; hgt. '115 m.; diam. of mouth '13 m.; of foot '085 m.

FIGURINES.

No. 21,⁴⁰ pig, hgt. '06 m.; length '10 m.

No. 22, similar pig, smaller.

No. 23,⁴¹ lower part of a large terracotta figurine of the same type as the Branchidae statues; drapery scarcely indicated; feet project slightly at the bottom; in present state, clay of figurine is partly coloured white; hgt. of fragment, which does not reach to top of legs, '17 m.

BONES.

No. 24, fragments of a few very small long bones, and a few teeth.

METAL.

No. 25, fragments of an iron pin or nail; '04 m. long; diam. about $\frac{1}{8}$ centimetre.

No. 26, fragments of a bronze fibula; pin about '07 m. long; thin semi-circular bow.

No. 27, fifteen bronze rings, diam. '02 m.; of thin plate, '005 to '01 m. wide, bent round to overlap slightly, but not riveted or soldered in any way, except one, different from rest, almost like wire, which is apparently soldered, ends overlapping as in other fourteen.

BEADS.

No. 28, two yellow beads.

⁴⁰ Cf. Athens, Nat. Museum, Alt. B *Figurines* case 108, bottom shelf; Louvre, H 83; Lausanne Museum, Nos. 505 and 504 (Cyrénéais), 503 (Nola), 502 (Eleusis), unnumbered (Athens). All Lausanne examples except 505 and 502 differ from ours in having a sort of stand, from which the legs do not detach themselves.

⁴¹ Cf. *Op. Ori. Mon. Ant.* xvii., Gela, p. 524, Fig. 462 (also only bottom part, but of stone); Winter, *Ant. Terrak.* III. 1, pp. 71-74 and 48-51 (none quite like ours); Louvre, Salle B, case L, bottom shelf; *Arch. Anz.* 1907, pp. 144-5, from Berezani near Othia ('terracottas like famous Milosian statues').

§ 3.

NAUKRATIS VASE (PLATE XXV. AND FIG. 15).

GRAVE 50, No. 276.²²

With height of .98 m., diameter of mouth .19 m., and very thin walls.

This vase is of the shape and style brought into prominence by the excavations at Naukratis.

In the larger examples, which are postulated by some of these Naukratis fragments, the body of the vase can be regarded as divided into two parts, a bowl reaching from the stem to the level of the horizontal handles and a high conical rim rising above them.²³ In the smaller and more perfectly preserved



FIG. 15.—GRAVE 50. No. 276. (215.)

examples, such as ours,²⁴ there is only a slight bulge below the handles, and the body seems to be in one piece from mouth to stem, and gives the impression of an inverted bell on a conical stem. This accounts for the fact that while both E. A. Gardner and H. Prinz class both large and small examples as the same shape, Gardner, with his mind on the former,²⁵ calls them all 'diminutive craters.'

²² See *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 261.

²³ See *Naukratis* i, Pl. X. 1 to 3. E. Gardner, *J.H.S.* viii. p. 120, thinks that his Pl. LXXIX. two bottom fragments would make a vase .265 m. in diam at the mouth.

²⁴ And also Louvre A 339 (1) (=Salzmann,

Pl. XXXVIII.), A 339 (2), and Brit. Mus. A 1000.

²⁵ *Nauk.* ii. p. 51. He quotes, however, the two Louvre vases referred to in the preceding note. So W. F. Petrie, *Nauk.* i. p. 19.

Prinz apparently gets his impression from the latter and calls them 'hochwandige Kylikes.'⁵⁰ It seems probable that the small examples, at any rate, were used as Cups.⁵¹

The style, whose chief characteristic is a combination of a light on dark inside with a dark on light outside, was taken by the first excavators as native to Naukratis, partly because of the quantity of it found there, partly because some of the examples showed dedications to Aphrodite painted on before firing.⁵² Böhlau, without meeting the latter point, discounted the former, and ignoring the criterion of the light on dark inside, divided the style on other considerations between Early and Late Milesian.⁵³ Prinz⁵⁴ marks a reaction from Böhlau, and reinforces Gardner's arguments with the suggestion that the style is a mixed style, combining the dark on light 'ibex type,' which he considers true Milesian,⁵⁵ with light on dark 'Aeolic'⁵⁶ ware; and that Naukratis is just the place for such a mixed style to arise. Among the four groups of vases which he would thus class as local Naukratis, he would place our vase in his Group B.⁵⁷ Without entering into the controversy of provenance, we may notice that Rhitsóna, with its close connexions with Eretria,⁵⁸ could get exports equally naturally from Miletus or its great colony. The connexion between the two suggests that in more than one respect the Sparta-Cyrene problem, raised by the excavations of the British School,⁵⁹ presents a striking analogy. Apart from this we need only remark that the excavations at Miletus have not so far strengthened its claim to be the home of the style. Dr. Wiegand writes to us⁶⁰ that in the whole

⁵⁰ *Klio*, *Funde aus Naukratis*, 1908, p. 89.

⁵¹ So Furtwängler calls a vase smaller than ours, and apparently of our style (*Berlin Cat. No. 1646*), a 'Becher,' though he refers to a vase-shape in his *Pl. V.* (No. 123) which is more similar to *Nauk. i.* Pl. X, 1 to 2 than to ours. The foot, however, of his vase is apparently lacking. The *Vourva* vase (*Ath. Nat. Mus. No. 995*), of Naukratis shape, but not, of course, of Naukratis style, though smaller than ours (13 m. hgt. 11 m. diam.), is more like the larger examples referred to above, and is called both by Collignon-Coare (*Cat.* p. 160) and by Stais (*St. Mus. Nat. XII. 1* and p. 327) a crater, though the latter says 'ἡ ἀρρακτὴν ποτὶ τοῖς βάσις ἐχούσιν τὸ σχῆμα κύλικος, ἀλλ' ἔτι ἐπιτεταμένη, αὐτοὺς ἀντίοι, τὸ δὲ αὐτὸν αἶμα τοῦ Ἀργείου.'

⁵² C. Smith in *Nauk. i.* p. 51; E. Gardner, *ib. ii.* pp. 39, 42, 44. C. Smith, *op. cit.*, also uses the portrayal of negroes as an argument; *op. cit.* the similar point in the Cyrene-Sparta controversy, see which see below. It would be tempting to find an argument for Naukratis local origin in the idea that the peculiar shape of our cups, scarcely paralleled except in the *Vourva* vase referred to in note 57, was borrowed from an Egyptian prototype. Falcon cups, now yellow, but originally, it would seem, blue, such as Louvre, Salla II, centre case, No. 356, are curiously similar in shape, except for the

fact that they are without handles, and give a similar effect of design with their horizontal frieze of open and shut lotus buds. We are informed, however, by Mr. H. R. Hall, that they were not made later than the eighteenth Dynasty, and could not possibly be known to the twenty-sixth. Was there some connecting link?

⁵³ *Ant. Mus. Nekropolis*, pp. 74-5, 79, 88, 89. Löschke (quoted p. 75) was the first to suggest Miletus as the home of the style.

⁵⁴ *Op. cit.* pp. 91-97. Furtwängler, it may be noticed (*Aegyptus*, pp. 478-80), lays stress on the inscription argument, and seems to have accepted Naukratis origin without qualification.

⁵⁵ *Op. cit.* pp. 15-22. For the name see Gardner, *Nauk. ii.* p. 45.

⁵⁶ *Op. cit.* pp. 57-63, and Böhlau, pp. 89-124.

⁵⁷ *Op. cit.* pp. 87-89. Group B differs from Group A (an example of which is figured *J.H.S.* viii. Pl. LXXIX, two lower fragments) in the fact of having incisions. His Group C includes Gardner's Class B, & bowls (*Nauk. ii.* p. 42), an example of which is figured in *J.H.S.* viii. Pl. LXXIX, top fragment. His Group D are the 'eyebowls,' Gardner's Class B, & (*Nauk. ii.* p. 41).

⁵⁸ See *B.S.A.* xiv. pp. 256-7.

⁵⁹ See *B.S.A.* xiv. pp. 44-5.

⁶⁰ In letter dated May 8, 1909.

excavations only twenty Naukratite vase fragments have been discovered, and these entirely from the one site of the Temple of Athena.

In regard to the question of date, it has been already stated⁶⁷ that that demanded for our vase by the whole Naukratite discussion, as well as by Prinz's classification, is a little after 550 B.C. Dr. Kinch writes to us⁶⁸ that he agrees with this dating. In particular, the excavations he has been conducting at Vroulia in Rhodes, which scarcely stretch later than 550 B.C., have yielded no Naukratite of Prinz's Class B, to which our vase belongs, but only of his earlier Class A.

The fragility of the creamy white glaze of this style of vase, and the fine effect of the red and white on the black glaze inside, have already been well described.⁶⁹ The red in the reproduction is rather harder than in M. Gilliéron's water-colour and the original. In the inside, painted on the black, below the band of alternate rosettes and lotus flowers in white and red seen in the reproduction, there are five pairs of horizontal white lines dividing the whole into zones of about equal height, and in the centre of the bottom a flower with ten petals, red and white alternately. On the outside, the part of the body below the handles, like that above them, is coated with white, on which are painted three horizontal black bands. On a level with the handles there ran an elaborate black meander.⁷⁰ Immediately above the handles are two thin black lines, and along the top of the rim four more with a zigzag pattern in between the central pair, in a colour that in its present state is brown, as in the reproduction, but may well have been, or have been meant for, black. The outside of the foot, like the inside of the body, is covered with black glaze, on which are laid, just above the bottom, two thin white horizontal bands.

The cocks on the main zone are black and red with incisions. They are not fighting. The overlapping of the left cock's neck by the chicken's beak is, perhaps, meant to give the effect of depth and grouping in two planes. Cock scenes have, so far as we are aware, only been found on two other examples of our style, both unpublished.⁷¹ One is Brit. Mus. A 993, a frieze of cocks and men, the other a fragment discovered at Miletus, of which Dr. Wiegand kindly sent us a tracing.⁷²

On the main zone of the side of our vase not reproduced nothing remains except the white slip and one large black rosette, like Naukratis II. Pl. V. 7.

§ 4.

POLYCHROME KANTHAROS, Plate XXVI.

GRAVE 18. No. 248.⁷³

An ordinary black glaze kantharos with spurred handles, hgt. to rim 16 m., diam. of mouth 18 m., is decorated with polychrome figures in red and

⁶⁷ *B.S.A.* xiv, pp. 304-7.

⁶⁸ In letter dated June 26, 1909.

⁶⁹ By E. Gardner, *Nauk.* ii, pp. 38-9, 51-2.

⁷⁰ Only preserved on (part of) the side not reproduced.

⁷¹ *Nauk.* i, Pl. VI. 1 and ib. ii, Pl. X. 1 are not, of course, of this 'local Naukratite' style.

For a discussion of the presence of cocks on early Greek vases see *Stix, Dan. Arch.* 1888, p. 202.

⁷² The former has incisions and belongs to Prinz's Group B, like our vase; Dr. Wiegand has not mentioned the point in regard to his fragment.

⁷³ *B.S.A.* xiv, p. 294.

yellow painted on a coat of very flaky white. On one side this coat has almost entirely peeled off, and on the other, as here illustrated, it is only preserved for about half the surface. The original scheme is therefore not certain on all points, for instance in regard to the decoration of the stem. It is clear, however, that the inside of the vase and of the handles was left black, and that a broad line was reserved in black up the outside of the handles, and a thinner one immediately below the strip of white round the outside rim. The main zone of the outside of the body, for a width of about 0.9 m. behind either handle, seems also to have been reserved in black, so that the mass of white on which the main scene is painted must have formed a panel on either side of the vase. The strips of white, however, above and below these panels, were continuous with those that ran up the handles; and, like them, were painted with a deep tooth pattern in a bright light red.⁷⁴ This same red, which is exactly rendered in the reproduction, is seen on the flesh and the garments of the warrior mounting the chariot, and the flesh of the charioteer holding the reins. A slightly darker tint seems to have been used for the wheels and the frame of the chariot, but discoloration from damp makes it uncertain. There is now no trace of a darker line marking off the warrior's χιτὼν from his bare legs and arms, an absence of detail which, if original, is surprising.⁷⁵ The Pegasus or Hippalektryon, which is blazoned on the warrior's shield,⁷⁶ has without doubt the dominant light red for its centre, but the colour of head and tail is problematical. The brownish yellow of the horses' heads and hoofs, again, is certain; but it is only an hypothesis that the shield and the warrior's helmet were of as light a tint of yellow as is here represented. The outline of the helmet, or, as it may possibly be, the peaked Phrygian cap, is doubtful, and has been purposely left vague; in some lights, for instance, it looks as if it had a chin-strap. A blotch of mould, again, leaves it uncertain whether the charioteer's head was uncovered. The eyes of both men and of the two horses furthest away are reserved in white, in the latter case with faded black balls and brows. The mouth of the furthest horse is perhaps reserved in white, and so also (unless the process of colour decay has played us a very curious trick) is the whole mass of the head of the horse third from the back. This, which is made almost certain by the line of the ear, was of course done, on black-figure analogy,⁷⁷ to keep the outline clear from the brown heads in front⁷⁸ and behind it. The bits

⁷⁴ Mr. O. A. Rhonopoulou, who kindly stereochromatized the vase for us, finds traces of mercury in it, as well as of an oxide of iron. This means that it contains cinnabar or vermillion (sulphide of mercury). The red of the Cook Figurine from Grave 18 (*J.S.A.* xiv. Pl. VII. B) and of a typical Boeotian kylix, Class II. (ib. p. 309), as also analysed by Mr. Rhonopoulou, showed only an oxide of iron (Fe_2O_3).

⁷⁵ This applies to the armpits even though the χιτὼν may well have been sleeveless, as in, e.g. B. F. Oenuchos of Chalcidoe, Berlin 1792, B. F. Krates of Nikosthenes, Brit. Mus. B. 364 (*Mon. Frelig.* 1889, Taf. I. 1890-1, Taf. VI. 1.) and B. F. Hydria of Hypis at Munich (Furtwangler-Reichhold, Plate 82). The fold running down to a point behind the warrior's back shows that he wore also another garment. If it were an ἰσάριον we should expect it to be marked off in front from the χιτὼν (as in B. F. Kalche,

Brit. Mus. B. 363), unless here again the darker lines have faded. It might conceivably be a skin, such as girds the waist and hangs in a fold running to a point down the back of the charioteer on the B. F. Amphora, Brit. Mus. B. 176.

⁷⁶ For many examples of Winged Horses as Shield Blazons see G. H. Chase in *Harvard Studies*, xiii. p. 100.

⁷⁷ E.g. Brit. Mus. B. 212 (Amphora from Volsi); *Atk. Mitt.* iv. Pl. XVIII.

⁷⁸ The patch of brown shows that there were four horses. Undoubted examples of triges on vases seem late, as on a late r.f. oenuchos, Beudorff, *Gr. u. Sic. Vas.* Pl. XXXI. 5. See Furtwangler, *Berlin Cat.* p. 476 esp. no. 2134. But note Boeotian figurines (Brussels, Mus. du Cinq. A 107), men driving waggon with three red on white horses.

and reins seem to have been red in all cases. The colour of the back pair of horses' legs is not certain enough to draw conclusions from. These detailed doubts and reservations are necessary to state in view of the bad state of the vase.⁷⁹ It must be emphasized that the Plate as it stands is an accurate reproduction of M. Gilliéron's water-colour, and that that water-colour was not only executed by M. Gilliéron père with his usual skill, but collated with the original point by point⁸⁰ by M. Gilliéron fils in the presence of both the writers. It thus gives the probable view of what one sees.

On the other side of the vase all that remains is the brownish yellow head⁸¹ and forelegs of a horse, and two bright red feet of the man riding it. The red is of the shade dominant on the side illustrated.

The style of ornamentation on our vase is not unique, but occurs on another kantharos (No. 249) from the same grave, with height to rim of 23 m. and diameter of mouth 23 m. The white coat has flaked off so much that the only features of the design that are certain are the tooth pattern on the handles and round the top and bottom of the body, which are in the same red as on our illustration, and the white panel arrangement. One panel has only just left traces of its existence; the other shows masses of brownish yellow where the horses' bodies would be in our illustration, and of red where the human figures are; but the colours have spread and left no trace of outline. No colour remains on the lower part of the vase.

It should be noticed at once that the technique of these vases has nothing to do with the types treated by Six in his important articles in *Gaz. Arch.* for 1888.⁸² The vital difference is that they have their monochrome or polychrome designs painted directly on the black glaze, while our vases have a flaky white slip interposed between black glaze and polychrome design.⁸³ In the same grave⁸⁴ we possess definite specimens, though poor ones, of the Six class. The influences that inspired our kantharoi are to a large extent obscure to us. We do not yet know all the ways in which, by the middle of the sixth century, Ionia had developed the dark on light and polychrome on light styles, which we see as early as the 'Ibex' friezes⁸⁵ and the Euphorbos pinax.⁸⁶ We have seen in the preceding section that at least one of these fabrics was known in Boeotia. It should be remembered, however, if we are inclined to lay stress on this, that our only evidence for it is a vase that was buried at a date probably thirty or forty years earlier than that at which our kantharoi were made. In any case the connexion between Naukratis ware and our Polychrome is remote,⁸⁷ and the same may be said of all known examples of Ionic polychrome.⁸⁸

⁷⁹ It has been stereochromatized by Mr. O. A. Rhomopoulos, so that we may hope its design and colours will decay no further.

⁸⁰ With one odd slip that in the sketch of the whole vase the lower strip of tooth pattern is made to point upwards, when it really points downwards.

⁸¹ The oval eye is reserved in white with faded black ball.

⁸² Pp. 193-210, 281-294. Good examples are Louvre F 114 signed by Nikosthenes, F 196, 196, 197. Brit. Mus. B 688. For discussion see Fottier, *Oct.* vol. iii, pp. 748, 776, 778 and Rhomaios in *Arch. Mitt.* 1906, p. 294.

⁸³ It is interesting to notice that Woltz and Six thought from hearsay descriptions that there

might be a resemblance between some of the vases published by the latter (e.g. his Pl. 38 D) and the Naukratis ware, but that they were soon shown by E. Gardner that the white slip made all the difference. See Six, op. cit. p. 292.

⁸⁴ Nos. 250, 251. See *B.S.A.* xiv, p. 294.

⁸⁵ See above, p. 235.

⁸⁶ For an interesting discussion of this see H. Prinz in *Kl. Funde aus Naukratis*, 1908, pp. 51-5, 68.

⁸⁷ The flaky white slip is the only point in common.

⁸⁸ E.g. the Eleusis fragment published by Rhomaios, *Arch. Mitt.* 1906, Pl. XVII, 1.

On the other hand there is the possibility that our Kantharos may be really an original experiment. An Attic artist, brought into contact with Boeotia, may have been struck by the fine colour effect of the roughly made and simply ornamented vases and figurines of our Class II Boeotian Kylix style⁴⁹; and it may have occurred to him that the same four colours, red, black, yellow, and white, might be used for the only designs that he thought really worth doing, the human scenes of the black and early red-figure he was accustomed to. The black glaze kantharos which he saw in masses around him would be the natural things to experiment on, and it would have mattered little to him that his flaky white slip was bound to peel off a glazed foundation.⁵⁰ It is slightly in favour of this view that the vases have been found in Boeotia at a time when the same four colours were being used locally on a large scale; slightly against it that, as has been already noticed,⁵¹ the composition of the red is different, so that our hypothetical artist would probably have had to bring his paint-pots with him.⁵²

It is possible, again, that the experiment we are dealing with may be as original, but of another kind. The fresco-like impression that we get from the broad mass of red on white, the absence of inner markings,⁵³ suggests the imitation of work done on a large scale. Our kantharos may be a bold attempt to transfer to vases the brilliant effect of polychrome painting on marble slabs.

⁴⁹ See *B.S.A.* xiv, Pls. VII and VIII.

⁵⁰ Nikosthenes and the black on yellow artists, another school that aimed at a whitish ground, were at least sounder craftsmen, though their style was limited by black-figure traditions and inferior to the first red-figure. The painters of white lekythoi and kylixes, one of whom our artist may later have become, alone succeeded in combining permanence of medium with freedom of drawing on a light ground. An unpublished kantharos in the collection of Mr. Giannopoulos, now in the Nauplia museum, kindly brought to our notice by Mr. Koranopoulos and Dr. G. Karo, has a black on white design in the style of early white lekythoi, the white slip being laid directly on the buff clay. It may well be Boeotian, and may possibly be taken as a connecting link between our vase and white lekythoi, though differing from it in its most individual features. The fact that cinnabar was used on the polychrome lekythoi (Rhensopoulos in Biergart, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Chemie*, p. 181) as well as on our vase may suggest that their painters inherited the traditions of men like our artist.

⁵¹ See above p. 325, n. 74.

⁵² It is possible that this criticism may not prove justified. It is not improbable that a remarkable series of early pinakes, painted in the same four colours, represent Boeotian work, and it is possible that their red, which does not give the same impression as that of Boeotian Kylix vases and figurines, would prove on analysis to contain cinnabar. The antecedents

of these vases and their relation to other polychrome ware are obscure. The two Würzburg examples (H. 1807) were obtained from Exachos (Ahae) in Phocis, on the borders of Boeotia, and are called in the Museum inventory an imitation of the style of Exekias; that from the Sammlung Arndt, now in the Museum at Munich, is stated to be from Boeotia, and to be parallel to the strong red-figure style. Notice the early eye with central ball of one of the Würzburg examples; see Pottier, *Louvre*, Cat. III, p. 855, Fig. 3, Walters-Birch i, p. 498, Fig. 99. That in the British Museum (Second vase Room, Case 25) was bought from an Athenian dealer with provenance unknown; the clay is brownish buff, and on this is laid a pure white slip. For the centre figure, which is a dancing girl, this is reserved for flesh and dress, with details painted over in black and bright red; but on the field round her it is itself covered with black, on which details are painted in yellow and white; on the rim of the plate it is covered with red, on which a white wave pattern is painted. The colours are all matt and opaque. On three unpublished pinakes from Thymbra in the Troas (B. 683, 684 and unmarked, in same case) the colour effect is similar, but there seems to be no white slip, and the composition is simpler and leaves a dominant impression of bright red.

⁵³ This criticism may partly be discounted if we feel entitled to postulate the disappearance in certain places of darker hues that originally embroidered the red; see above p. 325.

The combination of cinnabar with the more usual iron oxide in the composition of the red may point in this direction. Cinnabar was used for the so-called Typhon of the Akropolis.⁹⁴ Obscure as the subject of early painting on marble still is, there is no reason to think that the practice of painting polychrome designs on a light ground was not already well established.⁹⁵

On either hypothesis we should expect our painter to be an Athenian, trained in the methods of cotemporary Attic vase painting. Drawing and composition remind one of early red figure; it would be difficult to find a chariot scene so like it as that upon the Munich hydria signed by Hypsis.⁹⁶

§ 5.

THE MEANING OF THE INCISED INSCRIPTIONS.

Rhitsoma has so far produced forty Incised Inscriptions, thirty-three from graves published in *J.S.A.* xiv (Fig. 13, and Grave Catalogues⁹⁷) and seven from those published in the present article (Fig. 8, and Grave Catalogues). Of these

⁹⁴ Rhonsonjon, *op. cit.* p. 189.

⁹⁵ The question is not so simple as is assumed by Fairbanks (*Athenian Lekythoi* p. 18). For instance, as was first shown by Loschcke (*Alt. Mit.* iv, pp. 38-41, 289-308), the present red on white appearance of the horseman of the Lyones stela is due to the disintegration of the marble, and does not represent the original colour effect. There is, however, no reason to assume, as is generally done (*op. cit.* and Conze *Att. Grabreliefe* I, pp. 3-4, W. Lermann *Altgriech. Plastik*, p. 179, note 1, H. Dragendorff, *Jahrb.* xli, 1897, pp. 1-3), that the reddish tone that probably marked the ground colour in most of such stelai was darker than the design as a whole. Although three of these writers compare the technique of these stelai with Early Red Figure, and claim them as a parallel example of light on dark, they curiously ignore the fact that neither in Red Figure, nor indeed in any other classical vase style, was red used for a dark background. On the Lyones stela the only actual remains of the colour of the design is in fact a purple patch, distinctly darker than any red could have been, and there is no reason to think that white was dominant. The terracotta Metopes from Thérmos (*Antike Denkmäler*, Bd. II, Hef. v, 1904, Platte 40 to 53 and Text p. 5), with their red and black on an orange ground, are an interesting analogy, and show that, at least in the sphere of Corinthian influence, a dark on light colour effect was already known for large surfaces and architectural designs.

⁹⁶ Furtwängler-Reichhold, Plate 82, and Text p. 112. In this, it may be noticed, as in most of such scenes, the man mounting is the

inferior, the charioteer, while the warrior stands by; e.g. the Brit. Mus. Chalcidic Sarcophagi, and E.F. vases such as B. 174, 185, 344, 324, 325, 300. On our vase a later moment is chosen, when the charioteer has already mounted. So on Caeretan Amphora, Berlin 1655, and the Kylix of Olton and Enitheos, Berlin 1767 (*Hes. Parley*, 1889, Taf. X, and 1884, Series D Taf. II.).

⁹⁷ The final wording (see *J.S.A.* xiv, p. 228, n. 1) of the 130 plain black glass vases from Grave 31 has proved that the inscriptions were not, as we stated (*ib.* p. 281), all on separate vases. 'Agi' (Fig. 12, 17) is on the same vase as K (*ib.* 22), on the opposite side of the upper part of the body; P (*ib.* 24) is on the lower part of the same side of the vase on which Mra (*ib.* 9) is on the upper part; Δα (*ib.* 8) and A (*ib.* 25) are in corresponding positions on two handles of the same vase; Σα (*ib.* 15) is on the bottom of the foot of the vase that has on the same side of the upper part of the body both 'Aye (*ib.* 18) and vres (*ib.* 10). Fresh letters or groups of letters have also been found. The fragment that fits on to the right of vres is inscribed εμα, so that the whole inscription runs 'Aye . . . εμα εμα; ΒΕ (Ε) appears on the upper part of the body of the vase which has E (*ib.* 23) on the bottom of the foot; Σα (*ib.* 19) is completed to Σα, and is on the same vase as N (*ib.* 14), on the opposite side of the upper part of the body; E (*ib.* 21) is on one of the handles of its vase, and not the foot. Further in Grave 18, in which the plain ware is now also finally mended, Π should be read instead of Γα (*ib.* 34).

forty, all incised on Black Glaze Vases, six fall under recognized types: three are signatures of the potter Teisias, two are statements of ownership, 'Ονασιόδο εἰμι and 'Αγρ... νιός εἰμι,¹⁰⁶ and the sixth, 'Αντίχαρος καλός, is, at first sight at least, to be classed with other καλός inscriptions. All six are incised on the main body of the vase, and are obviously meant to be seen. Of the remaining thirty-four, sixteen are in this same prominent position, on the main body of the vase,¹⁰⁷ while fourteen are in the least visible position, on the bottom of the foot;¹⁰⁸ the remaining four are on the handles, a position half-way between the two, but capable of catching the eye.¹⁰⁹ Of the fourteen inscriptions under the foot of the vase four are single letters, seven are combinations of two letters, one is an obscure combination of four letters, and two are whole or almost whole proper names. Of the four on the handles, three are single letters, one a combination of two letters. Of the sixteen on the body of the vase five are single letters, five combinations of two letters, four combinations of three letters, while there is one combination of three letters¹¹⁰ incomplete owing to the fracture of the vase, and one five-lettered word that is presumably a whole proper name. That is to say, while single letters or two-letter groups are more common on the least visible parts of the vase, they are found also on the most visible; while long names are possible in both places alike. The same inscription, too, occurs in more than one position. In Grave 31 there are two E's on the handle,¹¹¹ one on the foot,¹¹² one on the body of the vase,¹¹³ the two Π's in Grave 31 are both on the foot, and so is that in Grave 26; but Πρ... incomplete to the right, occurs in the latter grave on the body of the vase; Δα is on the foot in Grave 49, Δαπης is on the body in Grave 50; while Δα in Grave 31 is on the handles. Further, of the whole forty inscriptions, almost a third occur two on a vase. Three vases have both a three-letter and a single-letter inscription in the most conspicuous position,¹¹⁴ one combines an ownership inscription in the most conspicuous position with a group of two letters on the foot,¹¹⁵ one a group of two letters in the most conspicuous position with a single letter on the foot,¹¹⁶ and one a single letter on one of its handles with a two-letter group on the other.¹¹⁷

These facts suggest certain questions. Are any or all of the single letters or short combinations of letters of mercantile character, representing private trade-marks or memoranda of sale or purchase¹¹⁸? If so, do the longer words belong

¹⁰⁶ A photograph of the vase showing the inscription will be published later. There is room in the missing fragment for four letters, and the whole may with some probability be completed as 'Αγρ[εθ]έ[ι]μος εἰμι. See *I.G.* xii. 3, 330, 491, etc. (Thera). This would be a regular Boeotian Genitive of an *α*-stem (Meister, *Gr. Dial.* i. p. 245). There is another alternative, that this may be an example of the extension of the use of the patronymic adjective in Boeotian so that it becomes an adjective of the possessor (see J. C. Rolfe, *Harr. Stud. Class. Phil.* ii. pp. 91-2). This, though not impossible (cp. Meister, *op. cit.* p. 229, 'Αγρίος for 'Αγρίος), is rendered improbable from the analogy of the patronymics Καλλισθένης, Φωκυθόνης, Μενόδορος (cp. *op. cit.* pp. 224, 268, 229), in which *α* stems never to be written for *α*.

¹⁰⁷ Grave 50, Δίφης, Κα. Grave 31, Μεα, Ν, 'Αμ, Σμ, Ε, Π'Ε. Grave 26, Πρ. Grave

15, Ηρ. Grave 12, Κ, Ερ, ατ Ερ, ατ ΕΖ, Φα ατ Φα, Α. Grave 16, ΚΑ.

¹⁰⁸ Grave 49, Δα, Α. Grave 50, Δίφης. Grave 31, Π, Π, 'Εργ or 'Εγρ or Πργ or Πργ, Σε, Ηρ, Ε, Χ. Grave 26, Ε. Σωσ(ε)δρ, Γα. Grave 12, 'Αχ or Χα.

¹⁰⁹ Grave 31, Δα, Ε, Α, Ε.

¹¹⁰ Πρ.

¹¹¹ Nos. 21 and 20 of *E. & J.* Fig. 12.

¹¹² No. 23 ib.

¹¹³ No. 22 ib.

¹¹⁴ 'Αμ and 'Ε, Μεα and Π, Σμ and Ν.

¹¹⁵ 'Αγρ[εθ]έ[ι]μος εἰμι and Σε.

¹¹⁶ Ε and Ε.

¹¹⁷ Δα and Α.

¹¹⁸ Treated by Schoene, *Comm. Phil.* in *Ann. Museum.* p. 638, and (much more fully) by R. Hackl in *Monch. Arch. Stud. dem. Ant. A. Fortwangler gewidmet*, 1909.

to the same class! If, on the contrary, these longer words are incised by the owner,¹¹¹ are any or all of the shorter inscriptions abbreviations for such marks of ownership? It has been hitherto assumed that inconspicuous position, which would not deface the vase, is the badge of a mercantile inscription.¹¹² This assumption, however, rests on the idea that lettering could in early Greece count as defacement. The painted inscriptions, which are clearly felt to have a pleasing secondary use as fill ornament,¹¹³ are not so different from graffiti as to make this certain. Teisias, for instance, felt, and, even from our point of view, rightly felt, that his incised signature as artist was an additional beauty to his black glaze vases.¹¹⁴ It is not out of the question, then, that some graffiti in prominent positions should be mercantile, and included in the class treated by Hackl. Several of our combinations could well be so treated.¹¹⁵

On the other hand, it must be acknowledged that most of our inscriptions are rough, and cannot well be compared with the Teisias signature. Most of the two and three letter combinations will do for the beginnings of good Boeotian names.¹¹⁶ *Dapes*¹¹⁷ and *Leukon*¹¹⁸ seem to be nominatives, and the former can be

¹¹¹ For examples of these see C. Smith, *J.H.S.* vi, pp. 371-7; J. C. Rolfe in *Harvard Studies in Class. Phil.* ii, pp. 89-101; Walters-Birch, *Hist. Anc. Pot.* ii, p. 242; *I.G.A.* 247 (a), etc.

¹¹² Walters-Birch, for instance (ii, p. 238), regards all Meconthe inscriptions as 'scratched under the foot.' Hackl, too (*op. cit.* pp. 37, 39), notices that nearly all which obviously belong to his type are under the foot of the vase, and that the few exceptions are in inconspicuous positions. One of the reasons for which, with judiciously moderation, he rejects (*ib.* p. 99) the letters on the krater handles from the Temple of Aphaia is because of 'der gut schlitharen Lage.'

¹¹³ Whether artist, *καλλι*, or scene-descriptive inscriptions, they are generally more prominent than would seem natural to our taste. For the doubtful point of so-called 'nonsense' inscriptions see *B.S.A.* xiv, notes to Grave 48, no. 264 and Grave 22, no. 8 (fin.).

¹¹⁴ See *B.S.A.* xiv, fig. 18, p. 293.

¹¹⁵ *E.g.* *Ka*, *Δα*, etc. Hackl, as we have already noticed, does not press his point unduly. He professionally deals with Attic vases alone, and even this only includes inscriptions of which there are examples enough to warrant an application of his methods. What is now needed is full details of intermediate pieces, such as those from Rhitsona, which do not obviously fall under one of the main classes. It should never be said, as it was of the mass of inscriptions from Naukratis (*Nauk.* i, p. 54), that they were 'only monograms or unintelligible fragments,' which could 'hardly be used for any scientific purpose.' Hackl (pp. 17, 88) is justified in complaining that it is not the character of these Naukratis inscriptions, but the method of publishing them, that has made them useless for his purposes.

¹¹⁶ See *I.G.* vii, Index *passim*. The only exceptions besides those mentioned in the text are *Γα* and *Δα*. We have, however, *Δαπερ* a Chalcidian (*I.G.* vii, 388), and *Γαπίδας* on a non-Attic inscription found in the Piræus (*I.G.A.* 562), *Δαίμων* from Thales (*I.G.* vii, 2440) is very late, but we have *Σταυρίδας* on an ancient inscription found at Olympia (*I.G.A.* 1), *Σταυρίδας* an Argivean (*Reh.* *ad.* 855), and *Σταυρ* on one of the better attested lead tablets from Styra (*ib.* 372, *ant.*), as well as *Σταυρ* and *Σταυρ* on *ib.* 372 *ant.* 372 *ant.*

¹¹⁷ For the termination (*ant.* *αα* or *αα*, as usual in Boeotian), *αα*, *Χαπερ* (*Meister.* *Gr. Dial.* i, p. 272). The name can perhaps be paralleled by the *ΗΑΠΑΔ* inscribed on a Corinthian Hydria from Vulci (Colonna-Bechtel, iii, 2, No. 2156, Kretschmer, *Pausanach.* p. 26). Furtwängler (Berlin Cat. 1657) here finds the name *ααπερ*. The only other mention of the name we know is *Etymology. Mag.* (Gaisford) under *ααπερ*, which reads *αα* . . . *αα* *ααπερ*, *ααπερ*. Huxley gives the form *ααπερ* for *ααπερ*, which might be presented to S. Reinach (see below p. 341, n. 126) for his numismatic theory, or to a less moderate Hackl as a simultaneous order for carpets.

¹¹⁸ *I.G.* vii, 2038, Kirchauer, *Præp. Att.* vol. II, Nos. 9065-9. To the apparently accidental strokes mentioned in *B.S.A.* xiv, p. 264 and shown *ib.* fig. 12, 7 must be added a distinct line running through the circle of the fourth letter, so that epigraphically it might well be a Phi, not a Koppa. Neither *Ααπερ* (or *-αα*) nor *Ααπερ* (or *-αα*), however, is probable, unless the latter, taken as parts of separate words, could be regarded as referring to consignments of *Ααπερ* or *Ααπερ* (Hackl, *op. cit.* pp. 50, 21, 96-7).

reasonably connected with the Δα from the contemporary grave.¹¹⁹ The incomplete Γυρ... suggests that the two examples of Γε may also be abbreviations.¹²⁰ Σωσα(ν)δρι, again, if, as is most probable, it is short for Σωσα(ν)δριδας,¹²¹ shows that in at least one case an abbreviation occurred; if it is a dative from a nominative Σωσα(ν)δρις (-ετις or -ει),¹²² it must be the name of the person to whom the vase was presented and cannot be mercantile. Καί is odd for a sixth-century name, but can be paralleled by the Καίφος of two Naukratie vase inscriptions,¹²³ or by such later names as Καίσις or Καίσιος from Athens.¹²⁴ It occurs, it may be noticed, on the foot of four rather later vases and is included in Hackl's collection.¹²⁵ The only inscription that cannot be easily explained as an abbreviation for a personal name is the, so far as we know, unique combination which may be read Egig, Gige, Egip, or Pige.¹²⁶ There is, however, the possibility that a Greek, who was handicapped in the matter by the absence of initials, did not always abbreviate by using the first letters of his name, as seems to have been done with Μνα, Αμι, and Σοσαυρι, but occasionally left out intermediate parts of the name, as we abbreviate Thos for Thomas.¹²⁷ Thus in discussing a ΚΙΜΣ inscribed on the shoulder of a black-figure lekythos at Gela, Halbherr suggested¹²⁸ that a vowel may have been dropped. It is conceivable that, on this hypothesis, our inscription is an abbreviation for some such name as Πικρογένης or Πικρογένης.¹²⁹ The Gela Inscription need not, of course, be an example of this, and in point of fact Orsi, though mentioning Halbherr's view, himself reads it from right to left and suggests Σμικυθος.¹³⁰ Curiously enough, however, almost the same combination has independently suggested to Hackl the possibility of abbreviation that we have hazarded. He notices that the name ΣΙΜΩΝ, inscribed under the foot of a black-figure Hydria, found at Vulci, shows a character of writing strikingly like that of large groups of ΣΟ's and ΣΜ's which he believes to be of the mercantile class, and implies that they may possibly be its abbreviations. He thus raises the further question whether a merchant's actual name might sometimes be used as an address or trademark.¹³¹ In the particular case the hypothesis that Simon was a manufacturer's or trader's name is strengthened by the fact that it is more

¹¹⁹ In Rhodes (*J.H.S.* vi. p. 376) there were three vases bearing the name Αγε, two in the same tomb. *Αγες ειν shows the class to which they belong.

¹²⁰ Nos. 11 and 12 (*E.S.A.* xiv. Fig. 12) are exactly the same hand. No. 29 is half-way between them and No. 40, in which the gamma approximates more to the Attic type.

¹²¹ A certain name, though apparently not actually appearing.

¹²² Σοσαυρις is a common name (*I.G.* vii. 2649, etc., and Pick, *op. cit.* p. 59), but Antichares by the side of Antichares shows that a parallel -αι (-αις or -ει) form developed as a short form from a patronymic Σοσαυριδης is not impossible. For their frequency in Boeotia and their datives in γ see Blaes, *Étude*, *Mus.* 1881, pp. 904-7. For other datives of the man to whom a vase was given see *J.G.A.* 218, and *op. also* Boeckh, *C.I.G.* 545.

¹²³ *Naukr.* ii. Nos. 717, 705.

¹²⁴ *I.G.* ii. 444, 68 (1), 701 d. 15.

¹²⁵ *Op. cit.* p. 42.

¹²⁶ It is possible that this may be one of the cases where a vase, like our rough notebooks, and odd half-sheets, was a corpus vile for the memoranda of the moment. S. Reinach (*Épigr. Gr.* p. 451) makes this alternative of more general application than is probable.

¹²⁷ *Op.* P. W. Foote on abbreviations in Greek Papyri in *J.H.S.* xcii. pp. 132, 133.

¹²⁸ *Mon. Ant.* xvii. pp. 62-3.

¹²⁹ See Pick, *op. cit.* p. 83. Though the second consonant from the left may be a Π, the first cannot be. Otherwise we might have conjectured the letters to be the beginning of an Ιει with the genitive or dative, such as we find on Boeotian tombstones, e.g. *I.G.A.* 127, 131, 132, 125, etc., or of a name such as Έριγυεις (*I.G.A.* 40, *J.G.* vii. 1747).

¹³⁰ *Op.* p. 340, n. 115, and Kiehl, *Lehlagida* *schrift* p. 122. For Σμικρος, an artist's signature, see *ib.* pp. 126-7.

¹³¹ *Op. cit.* pp. 103, 32, 33.

probable that the name was inscribed in Greece than at Vulci; but the principle of interpretation may well be extended.

While, however, we believe that by acknowledging that a combination of letters is an abbreviation for a personal name we do not bar out a mercantile interpretation; the view that such names were, at any rate most of them, incised by their owners after purchase must not be neglected. Even if, however, we were to agree that they were of the same class as *Ὀνακιδᾶς εἶμι*, we should not exhaust the subject. Were such names written, like that on Tutain's lekythos,¹²¹ at any time when the vase was in the owner's possession, as we write our names in our books? The two inscription vases favour this, and may mark a change of owner, by gift or purchase. Or were they possibly written for the occasion of the funeral, as we attach our visiting cards to our wreaths? If we could believe that vases were always bought new for a funeral,¹²² the latter attractive interpretation would have much in its favour. Unfortunately, this special purchase view, never probable a priori, has now some positive evidence against it. An inscription, dating from about the end of the fifth century, contains the regulations of a Delphic Guild against placing in the grave more than thirty-five drachmae worth of objects *μὴτε πρᾶματα[ρ] μὴτε φοῖτας*, either purchased or taken from the house effects.¹²³ Onasidas and the others¹²⁴ may thus have chosen merely by accident as their funeral gifts vases on which they had already inscribed their names for other purposes. It is perhaps in favour of this that such a small proportion of the vases were so inscribed; one might imagine that a social custom like that of visiting cards, if it existed, would be more binding. It would be interesting to know whether the dedicatory inscriptions on the Naukratis vases, which would present a not misleading analogy,¹²⁵ were much more numerous in proportion to the total dedications.

An inscription which, when coming from a grave, may well have special significance, is *Ἀντίπαρος καλός*. The provenance of our black glass ware (see § 6) is uncertain, but the Ψ for X is Boeotian or Chalcidian. We have no example of a *καλός* vase from Chalcis, and we may reasonably leave it out of the question. Our choice is probably between Boeotia itself and Athens. It is scarcely likely that a Boeotian, if he had a *καλός* inscription made for him in an Attic shop, would choose so plain a vase for it to be placed on, or that an Attic shopman would gratify his taste for Boeotian lettering.¹²⁷ Teisias, perhaps, or some predecessor

¹²¹ Walters-Nisch, II, p. 242; *J.G.A.* 534.

¹²² As suggested by C. Smith in *Naukratis* i, p. 48. Cf. *B.S.A.* xiv, p. 295, note on Grave 15, No. 269.

¹²³ *B.C.H.* 1893. Fasc. C, line 22 and pp. 1, 17, 23, 32. The point is of course not certain except for the given locality and date. The inscription has, so far as we know, not been noticed for this special point, but only as another example of a sumptuary law for funerals, such as those known for Athens (*Plot. Solon* 27) and for Iulis (*J.G.A.* 285). The chief interest of these sumptuary laws is that they illustrate the general tendency to sumptuary extravagance, and show us that the huge number of vases found in some of the Rhamna graves (*B.S.A.* xiv, p. 245, n. 3) should not strike us as odd.

¹²⁴ Schmidt, of course, even if a dative, may

have been the gift of the man to whom the vase was originally given. Cf. *J.G.A.* 226 and 219, and above, p. 341, n. 122. It might, however, conceivably refer to the dead man, and so, on the analogy of the *Ἀντίπαρος εἶμι* of *Naukratis* I, p. 54, etc., might *ὀνειδῆσθαι*. But the view obviously could not be extended to many of our inscriptions, unless we were to postulate repeated interments.

¹²⁵ We may notice that the Aphroditis dedications were incised indifferently on body of vase and foot. Cf. *Naukratis* II, Nos. 756-758 with 6, Nos. 748-761.

¹²⁶ Euryanagor (*Leipziger*, pp. 466, 470-80) notices that the Naukratis potters who painted on their vases, before firing, the names of their Argineter customers who wished to take them home to dedicate to Aphala, naturally used Ionic dialect and alphabet. Shack's interesting

of his,¹³⁸ with a Boeotian Alpha and a Tanagrae shop, may have catered for the local taste, and introduced to it the *καλός* vase as the latest thing from Athens.

Whether, however, incised in a Boeotian shop, or later by a Boeotian owner, a *καλός* inscription written on the spot, and not a work of art from the outside, would surely be out of place at a funeral unless it had some special appropriateness to the present or the past.¹³⁹ Who was Anticharos? And in whose possession was the vase when it was put into the grave? Was Anticharos a friend of the past, whose name the dead man had once written on a vase, and kept it?¹⁴⁰ Or was he a mourner, giving back a gift?¹⁴¹

It is at least a strange coincidence that in the neighbouring city of Haeon,¹⁴² only four miles away from our site, there lived, so Herodotus tells us,¹⁴³ a certain Antichares, who was old enough and important enough in B.C. 511 to come into contact with Dorinus, the Spartan prince, and give advice that was listened to. When our vase was buried he must have been a young man, not improbably a young aristocrat of the familiar *καλός* type.¹⁴⁴ Such identifications can rarely be more than hypotheses; but it is at least more probable that there was only one man of the name living at one time in a small district in Boeotia than that there was only one Miltiades at Athens.¹⁴⁵ The special difficulty in our case is the difference in the termination. It may be rash to suggest that the form of the name preserved in our text of Herodotus may have been a mistake,¹⁴⁶ a natural

point (pp. 32-5) that Ionic letters are found on Early Attic vases and pawns an Ionic carrying trade does not affect this argument, as they would, according to his view, if we understood him right, be found in such cases by the Ionic traders themselves on pattern vases, etc. that formed part of their order.

¹³⁸ If we think that even the earliest of his signatures are more regular than those we use considering; cp. *B.S.d.* xiv, Fig. 18 and pp. 245, 262, and below, p. 248.

¹³⁹ Klein, *Lichtinschrift*,² p. 24, notices that *καλός* names, like artists' signatures, are not found on white ground sepulchral Lekythoi, and remarks that they appear to be foreign 'für sepulchralen Gebrauch.' Another unusual *καλός* inscription is the 'Επίταφος *καλός* of Klein, *Μεταφραστ.* p. 115, *Lichtinschrift*,² p. 3. Cp. also Ovi's interesting discussion in *Mon. Ant.* xix, pp. 86, 102-15; there, however, it is surely more natural to suppose that, while 'Anaplas' is name-descriptive of the lyre-player, *καλός* is only a vase, in our Klein's words (*Lek.*² p. 1) 'das ungewöhnliche vorkommende & rare *καλός*, & *καλός* *καλός*' and not, as Ovi suggests, appropriate, and 'affluente alla tasca dei poeti,' as well as 'alla moda della pittura vascolare.' Besides the doubtful one situated above (p. 216), there are only four *καλός* inscriptions mentioned as incised by Klein (*Lek.*² pp. 61, 81, 137, 118), and of these the last is filled in with red paint. 'Αδελφός *καλός*, however, as stated above (p. 216), is also almost certainly incised, and is perhaps the

example most like our own that exists. It is possible, however, that Klein has not noticed the point in other cases, as (op. cit. p. 83) he has not in this.

¹⁴⁰ 'Gott! Alles sei dem Erben,
Der Lecher nicht zugleich.'

¹⁴¹ In the spirit of H. Smollet, i, 23.

¹⁴² Or Eleon; the modern Drithi, the nearest station to Rhitsona on the Athens-Thebes line. See Fraser, *Pausanias* v, pp. 62-5.

¹⁴³ V. 48; for the date see Macan, *Herodotus*, vol. II, p. 85.

¹⁴⁴ See Klein, *Lichtinschrift*, p. 2, etc. The word *εὐγενέστερος* looks as if Antichares was a private individual travelling in Peloponnesos, who happened to know some of the circles of his own country side. If, however, he were a professional adviser, he would still probably be of a distinguished family, and a leading man in his own city; cp. Scholia ad Aristoph. *Pas.* 1071, *Βλάδης* & *εὐγενής*, & *εὐγενέστερος* & *Εὐγενέστερος* & *Βουζίας*. So the two Eleons who were the advisers on each side before Platon have their family carefully given by Herodotus (ix, 23-7); compare too the leading part played by Thucydides, son of Talmides, in the escape of the Plataeans (Thuc. iii, 20). In the sixth century we should expect a *adviser* to belong still more certainly to one of the old priestly families.

¹⁴⁵ See Walters, *Arch.* i, pp. 463-4, ii, p. 367.

¹⁴⁶ Innumerable instances are not uncommon in literary tradition itself; e.g. the Anachimides of Hdt. v, 23, is the Anachimides of *Ant.* Pet. 19, 5.

substitution of a formation for which both Herodotus and his copyists knew many parallels for one which was quite unfamiliar.¹⁴⁷ Yet the most obvious alternative¹⁴⁸ is an hypothesis which is certainly at least as difficult, that within a few miles of each other there lived at the same time both an Antichares and an Antichares.¹⁴⁹

§ 6.

PROVENANCE.

The question of the dating of the principal types of vases and figurines found in Boeotian Kylix graves has been discussed in *B.S.A.* xiv, pp. 305-318. There remains the question as to where these various types were produced.

The Boeotian-Kylix ware is unquestionably local: the Naukratite vase¹⁵⁰ and the glass amphoriskoi¹⁵¹ are no less certainly imports from the East. The rest of the vases belong to styles that are generally associated with some definite place of production: many for instance might naturally be ascribed to Corinth, many again to Athens. But we are at once faced with this fact. If we take any two of the various styles represented in a typical Boeotian-Kylix grave, we can nearly always find a series of vases that are intermediary between the two, and that leave us in doubt where to draw the line. Such series are of course well known. The importance of those from Rhitsóna lies in two facts: (1) that such a variety of these series can be formed from the vase finds of a single place and period: (2) that the series are all intermediary between types that had become so fixed as to be reproduced in hundreds.¹⁵² Before considering the bearings of this difficulty, it will be best to proceed at once to instances. Small uncoloured illustrations are quite inadequate to enforce a point of this kind. Even a complete series of full-sized coloured illustrations would hardly do more than indicate the nature and extent of the work to be done with the actual material.¹⁵³

(a) Boeotian Kylix style and Proto-Corinthian Skyphoi.

Cp. Grave* 36, No. 2 (= Fig. 14), almost certainly Boeotian,¹⁵⁴ with Grave 49, No. 9 (= Fig. 2), which has plain affinities with the Grave* 36 vase, but does not by itself suggest the Boeotian-Kylix style.

¹⁴⁷ See above, p. 312. In Fick, *Griech. Personennamen*, pp. 267-8, there are compounded from the root $\chi\alpha\sigma$ thirty-two examples of proper names ending in $-\chi\alpha\sigma$ as against one ending in $-\chi\alpha\sigma\epsilon\varsigma$. Rochl. indeed, thought this one ($\chi\alpha\sigma\chi\alpha\sigma\epsilon\varsigma$, *I.G.A.* 289) so odd, that he wrongly (see Collitz and Bechtel, *D.I.* III, 2, 5, p. 552) read it as genitive (= $-\chi\alpha\sigma$ for $-\chi\alpha\sigma\epsilon\varsigma$).

¹⁴⁸ In spite of slips in vase inscriptions, such as those given in Kretschmer, *Festschrift*, p. 185, Klein, *Heck*, p. 47, we can hardly imagine that in such a case the writer made a mistake, either from carelessness or ignorance. But it is possible that both forms were used indifferently of the same man, in the way in which Fick shows that the same man could be called either by his short or his full name (op. cit. pp. 35-6). If we could find an example where the same man had his name split in $-\chi\alpha\sigma$ and $-\chi\alpha\sigma\epsilon\varsigma$ (see

Maister, *Griech. Dial.* I, p. 272), it would not really be parallel. The alternative short-names $\chi\alpha\sigma\epsilon\varsigma$ and $\chi\alpha\sigma\epsilon\varsigma$ in *Erinna* (Fick, *loc. cit.*) are nearer.

¹⁴⁹ Whether we regard the variation as accidental, or as a deliberate attempt at differentiation.

¹⁵⁰ Pp. 322-4 and Plate XXV.

¹⁵¹ Grave 46, No. 157 (Fig. 11), and Graves 31, No. 561, and 26, No. 535 (*B.S.A.* xiv, pp. 279, 285, and Pl. XII 3).

¹⁵² From the graves already published we have 819 coral-bodied aryballoi with floral ornament, 687 black glaze kantharoi.

¹⁵³ All the vases published here and in *B.S.A.* xiv, are now exhibited grave by grave in the Museum at Thebes.

¹⁵⁴ Cp. Böhlau, *Jahrb.* 1885, p. 240, Fig. 17, and remarks on p. 239 before No. 56.

(b) *Boeotian Kylix style and Corinthian (I).*

Grave 31, No. 23 (*B.S.A.* xiv, Pl. XI. c); for colours and pattern on shoulder *cp.* same grave No. 18 (*ib.* Pl. XV. i, indistinct in illustration), a Boeotian kylix of unusual technique but ordinary shape: for check pattern on body *cp.* certain Boeotian kylikes, *via* Grave 40, No. 1; Bonn, No. 1010; *Ath. Nat. Mus.* No. 244; also *ib.* No. 4024, a little plate in form of a duck, one of a series from Tanagra. On the other hand the shape¹⁵⁵ is pure Corinthian; the shoulder pattern may be regarded as a variant of a pattern common on shoulders of aryballoi; for colours and for check pattern on body we may compare *Brit. Mus.*, A 1347, kernos said to come from Corinth. The vase seems to be without any very close parallel in either Boeotian or Corinthian ware: it may have some Proto-Corinthian¹⁵⁶ affinities; the question of Proto-Corinthian as opposed to Corinthian is not important here, the point to be emphasized is the combination of well-known elements in a way that makes it difficult to classify the vase.

(c) *Boeotian Kylix style and Black Glaze and Black Figure Ware.*

Grave 31, Nos. 19 (= *B.S.A.* xiv, Pl. XV. k), 21, 22, 356, 204, 189, 190. No. 19 is a four-handled kylix of the usual Boeotian shape. Though the colouring is unusual, the local provenance can scarcely be doubted.¹⁵⁷ No. 21 is a kantharos; fabric and style of decoration precisely those of No. 19; shape quite Boeotian, *cp.* Grave 50, Nos. 4 (= *B.S.A.* xiv, Pl. X. b)–6. If No. 19 was made in Boeotia, this vase also is a local product. No. 22 is like No. 21, but wanting the linear decoration in black and white.¹⁵⁸ No. 356 is a skyphos, also partly buff, partly black. Its separation in the catalogue from No. 22 is somewhat arbitrary; our reasons for it are (a) its shape, which does not seem to be characteristically Boeotian, (b) the dominance of the black over the buff, and (c) its obvious relationship with No. 357 (*see B.S.A.* xiv, p. 279). Nos. 204, 190, and 189 are also skyphoi; No. 204 has a band of black dots on the buff zone¹⁵⁹; Nos. 189 and 190 have lotus buds with interlaced stalks; their connexion with Nos. 21, 22, 356 is plain¹⁶⁰. It happens, however, that Grave 31 contains a large series of cups of quite the ordinary Black-Figure style, decorated solely with floral patterns, and when the vases are actually seen, it seems an arbitrary proceeding to exclude these three (Nos. 189, 190, 204) from the series (Nos. 189–208).

Some of the vases just quoted (*e.g.* 356 and 204) have incidentally shown how hard it is to draw any line between Black-Figure Ware and Plain Black Glaze Ware. The same difficulty may be illustrated in numerous other ways, *e.g.*

(i) *Cp.* lekythoi, Grave 31, Nos. 163 and 165 with *ib.* Nos. 209–215 and *ib.* No. 216.

(ii) The purple moulding round the stem of Grave 31, Nos. 170 and 202.

¹⁵⁵ Contrast the series of Boeotian oinochoai discussed p. 348, n. 175: the distinctive shape of that series might be used as an argument against our Grave 31, No. 23 being Boeotian; but on the other hand it does show that Boeotian potters made oinochoai, and that they used Corinthian models.

¹⁵⁶ Louvre, I 199, suggests a connexion with the skyphos series Nos. 28–32 of Grave 51, which have Proto-Corinthian features; *cp.* also Grunf, *Die ant. Vasen von der Akropolis*, No. 415, Taf. 15.

¹⁵⁷ *Exhlan, Jahrb.*, 1888, p. 332, has no hesita-

tion in ascribing his No. 21 to Boeotia. [Ganze Schale mit braunschwarzem Firnis überzogen; darauf einige rote Streifen gemalt, und ringumlaufend violele Punktrosetten.]

¹⁵⁸ Between Nos. 21 and 22 may be placed Grave 26, No. 37.

¹⁵⁹ *Cp.* Grave 18, No. 22.

¹⁶⁰ Their close connexion with the series intermediary between Proto-Corinthian and Black-Figure is also obvious, and again illustrates the difficulty of assigning some of these vases to any single class, even transitional.

recalls that on the stems of the Teisias Black Glaze kantharoi, Grave 18, Nos. 133-135.

(iii) Grave 50, No. 266 seems to belong to the same fabric as No. 265 (= *B.S.A.* xiv, Pl. X, a); cp. thick red bands inside both vases. But outside it is completely covered with black glaze except for a band of tongue pattern round the mouth.¹⁶¹

(d) *Proto-Corinthian and Black Figure and Black Glaze.*

The series intermediary between these styles have been given a separate heading in the catalogue of each grave: e.g. Grave 49, Nos. 10-14. Nos. 10-12 are only variants on the purely 'Proto-Corinthian' No. 9 (= *B.S.A.* xiv, Pl. IX, e), though all the variations are in the Black-Figure direction. No. 14 (= *ib.* Pl. IX, c), which is clearly connected with No. 12, brings us close to No. 251 (= *ib.* Pl. IX, k), and thus brings us to the door of the Black-Figure style, if not quite inside.¹⁶²

Again the striking series Grave 51, Nos. 28-32 (No. 31 = *B.S.A.* xiv, Pl. IX, l), shades off through Nos. 43 and 44 (cp. Grave 50, No. 24) into the black glaze ware with thin purple lines; e.g. Grave 46, No. 96.¹⁶³

(e) *Corinthian and Black Figure.*

Reference has been made in the Black-Figure sections of the catalogue of Graves 49, 50, and 51 (*B.S.A.* xiv) to the difficulty of determining the border line between these styles.¹⁶⁴ Cp. especially Grave 50, Nos. 263 and 265 (*B.S.A.* xiv, Pl. X, a, c, d, e, f, g). No. 263 belongs plainly to the kothon series, No. 265 to a series that, though it has distinctive features (see below p. 351), shades off gradually into pure Black-Figure. Yet in the treatment of human and animal figures (*ib.* Pl. X, d, e, f, g), the two vases are hardly distinguishable.¹⁶⁵

(f) *Black Figure and Black Glaze.*

See under heading (e).

(g) *Combinations of various styles.*

Grave 31, No. 42, and Grave 26, No. 38 (*B.S.A.* xiv, Pl. XI, g). For shape of body and general scheme of decoration cp. Grave 51, No. 31 (= *B.S.A.* xiv,

¹⁶¹ Cp. also our Grave 18, Nos. 233 and 234, with *Ath. Nat. Mus.* Nos. 1118 and 623 (*Collignon and Courva* No. 630, Pl. XXVI). Their peculiar hexagonal-sectioned handles seem to group them together. The first three are black glaze kantharoi, the fourth a b.f. kantharos very much like Grave 50, No. 265.

¹⁶² For a direct connection between Nos. 12 and 251 cp. the band of rough black dots just below shoulder of 251 with similar band round top of outside of No. 12. The connection between 12, 14, and 251 is best seen if 12 and 14 are inverted.

¹⁶³ Vases that would fall easily into our (d) series seem to have been found in various parts of the Greek world; e.g. into Grave 49 series, *Ath. Nat. Mus.*, No. 768 (= *Cat.* No. 265) from Kenaeikos; Brussels, *Mus. du Cinq.*, A 1879, from Kona; into Grave 51 series, Brussels, *Mus. du Cinq.*, A 44, bought at

Corinth; Bari, No. 780, from Ruvo.

The small vase with swimming birds and fill ornament seem particularly wide spread: see Böhlman, *Aus den Nekr.* pp. 44 and 135 and *Taf.* V, 5-7; Graef, *Tanen der Akrop.*, pp. 81 *fol.*; Böhlman, on the strength of two examples found by him in Samos and the occurrence of swimming birds (with a quite different fill ornament) on a spät-mikaisch fragment (*loc. cit.* *Taf.* XII, 6) assigned the type to Ionia. Graef (*loc. cit.*) on the ground of 15 examples found in Attica claims it 'provisionally' as Attic. Graef's argument is certainly 7½ times as cogent as Böhlman's.

¹⁶⁴ See also Orsi, *Mon. Ant.* xix, *Nuove Ant. di Oria*, p. 95.

¹⁶⁵ They have also some slight but striking details the same, e.g. the ray pattern round the inner rim of No. 265 and the foot of No. 265.

Pl. IX. 1); for handles cp. Black Glaze vases, Grave 50, Nos. 386 and 387; for band of wavy vertical lines and for colours cp. Boeotian kylix, Grave 31, No. 19, (= *B.S.A.* xiv, Pl. XV, 4) and (except for white) Boeotian oinochoai, Grave 46, No. 32 (= Fig. 10) and Böhlau, *Jahrb.* 1888, p. 340, Fig. 21, and black on brown *παράδες*, e.g. Grave 40, No. 129 (= Fig. 4 on extreme right).¹⁰⁶

One explanation of these vases is impossible. They cannot be taken as transitional vases illustrating the development of a series of styles that succeeded one another in chronological order. Nor can it well be a case of a number of earlier styles arriving at Black-Figure by independent routes. The way that practically every style reacts upon the rest¹⁰⁷ puts both these explanations out of the question. The date of our graves is an independent argument against accepting either of them.

There are broadly two possible alternatives.

(i) Each ware (Corinthian, Black-Glaze, Black-Figure, etc.) may perhaps have always had a single centre of production. In this case our intermediary vases must be occasional experiments by the potters of one centre in the direction of the ware of other centres, which they never thought of reproducing with any accuracy or in any quantities. For instance the vases intermediary between Boeotian-Kylix and Black-Figure ware would be the nearest approach to Black-Figure that the Boeotian-Kylix potters made.

(ii) Although certain styles did indeed develop in certain definite localities, e.g. Black-Figure in Attica, aryballoi in Corinth, all of them that like these two attained to a big general vogue may have been soon manufactured in numerous centres. Only styles like the Boeotian-Kylix style, which were on the whole distinctly inferior, and appealed only to a local taste, might continue to be made in a single centre or area without ever greatly spreading. On this second hypothesis there would probably be potters in all the big centres who worked habitually in several of the main styles, and our intermediary vases might be attributed to them. Here again they would be occasional experiments, but the conditions under which they were produced would be entirely different.

The evidence for deciding which set of conditions actually prevailed is extremely inconclusive.

Epigraphical evidence might appear hopeful at first sight, but it does not lead very far. At Rhitsóna the only inscription that seems to give us definite information is *B.S.A.* xiv, Fig. 12, No. 3, p. 263, from Grave 49, No. 264. Professor Ernest Gardner thinks this Attic. The vase is not one that suggests any other provenance.

The inscriptions¹⁰⁸ *B.S.A.* xiv, Fig. 12, Nos. 1-2, 4-30 and 34 and our Fig. 8, p. 329 are all incised and need not have been put on at the time of making.¹⁰⁹ Those of them therefore that have Boeotian lettering offer no evidence as to provenance. The triangular delta of *B.S.A.* Fig. 12, No. 8, and the four-stroke sigma of *ibid.*

¹⁰⁶ For the rough white cable pattern of Grave 31, No. 42 (same pattern in black round top and bottom of top zone of Grave 26, No. 38) cp. *E.C.H.* 1897, p. 451, Fig. 9, a kantharos from Thelma with floral pattern much like that on our Grave 50, No. 273 (= *B.S.A.* xiv, Pl. X 6) and, perhaps, *Arch. Anz.* 1889, p. 156, a *vasis* now in Dresden, apparently in the colours of our class I (*B.S.A.* xiv, p. 308). The ornament seems characteristic of Boeotia,

but not confined to it, cp. e.g. *Mon. Ant.* xvii, Gela, p. 269, Fig. 155.

¹⁰⁷ See especially the vases just quoted as combining elements of several styles.

¹⁰⁸ For corrections of *B.S.A.* amount, see above p. 333, n. 97.

¹⁰⁹ See above, § 5. In the cases especially where one vase has two inscriptions in different hands, it seems unlikely that both were put on by the maker.

No. 15 are almost equally inconclusive. Both may have been already in use in Boeotia at the time of our Graves 31 burial.¹⁷⁰

The Teisias inscriptions differ from the rest of our incised inscriptions in purporting to have been written by the potter. All three of them show the Boeotian alpha. If they were the only Teisias vases known, this would be regarded as conclusive for the Boeotian origin of the vases. As it is they offer only a useful warning. Vases of the same potter have long been known on which he calls himself *Teisias Athvaïos*.¹⁷¹ It does indeed still seem probable that Teisias had his workshop in Boeotia.¹⁷² That is the best way of accounting for the Boeotian alpha, no matter whether Teisias' claim to be an Athenian was true or false¹⁷³ and whether the inscription was written by Teisias himself or an assistant. In any case, however, it is dangerous to argue from our three Teisias vases to the general mass of our Black Glaze ware. The Teisias vases fall into a small group, of a fine and beautiful fabric that distinguishes them from the mass of our black glaze ware at the first glance.¹⁷⁴

The well known Gamedes inscriptions are equally indecisive. Both have the Boeotian alpha and delta, and both are on vases found in Boeotia, so that it seems fairly certain that they were made in Boeotia. One of the vases (B.M. A. 189*)¹⁷⁵ is an aryballos of ordinary shape. The decoration is, however, unusual.¹⁷⁶ The other¹⁷⁷ is one of a series of oinochoai that have very distinctive features, and all of which have been found in Boeotia.¹⁷⁸ It seems certain that these oinochoai

¹⁷⁰ See E. Gardner, *Greek Sculpture*, p. 147, n. 1; *J.G.A. Nos.* 129, 150, 168, 258.

¹⁷¹ For references see *B.S.A.* xlv, p. 305, note 2. See also above, §5, pp. 342-3.

¹⁷² See Klein, *Meisnerig*,² p. 212. So long of course as no Teisias vases are found outside Boeotia, every new one found in Boeotia increases the probability of a Boeotian workshop. A workshop in Boeotia does not of course exclude the possibility of others elsewhere. It may be only a curious coincidence that a Black Glaze kylix (Ath. Nat. Mus., No. 2492), said to have come from Corinth, of our Graves 28, 18, 12, 46 style, is inscribed in Corinthian letters with a name that would perhaps naturally be read *Teisias* (so Kretschmer, *Monisth.* p. 18); but the third letter has a longer stroke than Corinthian tau generally has, and could possibly be an example of 'τὰ αὐὰ αἰδῶδες ἀσπείρου'. See Kretschmer, *op. cit.* p. 29 No. 19, p. 25 No. 35, and pp. 148-9 of Prof. Rhys Roberts' forthcoming edition of Dion. Hal. *De Comp. Verb.* For ε instead of α in first syllable cf. Kretschmer p. 18, on a Corinthian aryballos, αἰδῶδες, where, as Kretschmer says, p. 36, 'steht wirklich ε für α, wold nur Verzeichnung'. For ε instead of α in second syllable cf. ib. p. 30, Ἀσπείρου for Ἀσπείρου. We know that Teisias varied the length, the spelling, and the handwriting of his inscriptions. Is it possible that he had a branch at Corinth where his name appeared in this much altered form?

¹⁷³ E.g. sign of a shop at Causidanes (Ang.

1909), 'Old England, Articles pour hommes. B. Nahon and Co.'

¹⁷⁴ The descriptions of previously known Teisias vases were published 30 years ago, and are very inadequate. The only one we have been able to see, Ath. Nat. Mus., No. 2229, has all the distinguishing features of the Rhitsóna vases.

¹⁷⁵ Walters-Kirch, Pl. XVII. 6; Dumont and Chaplain, l. p. 290, Fig. 53; Heydemann, *Gr. Vasen*, Pl. X. Fig. 7; *Wiener Fort.* 1888, Pl. I. 5 and 6; de Witte, *B.C.H.* 1878, pp. 550-551 and Fig. on p. 549; Klein, *Meisnerig*,² p. 31, No. 2.

¹⁷⁶ To be remembered when reading Pottier, *Rev. Arch.* 1899, p. 7, 'Mais les Boétiens en (i.e. des aryballos) ont fabriqué aussi, comme il est prouvé par l'aryballe de Garabides.' *Op. ibid.* Fig. 8, a quatrefoil aryballos of our Group A type with a Corinthian inscription.

¹⁷⁷ Dumont and Chaplain, p. 287, Fig. 52; Rayot and Collignon, pp. 81 fol. and Fig. 42; *Wiener Fort.* 1888, Taf. I. 2 and 7; de Witte, *B.C.H.* 1878, pp. 548-550; *Rev. Arch.* xxix, 1875, pp. 172-173; *Gaz. des Beaux-Arts*, 1875, l. p. 303; Klein, *Meisnerig*,² p. 31, No. 1.

¹⁷⁸ Couve, *B.C.H.* 1897, pp. 444-449. Couve regards his Figs. 1 and 2 as earliest, anterior to all Corinthian influence, the Gamedes oinochoai as coming next and representing the developed Boeotian type, still uninfused by Corinthian; his Fig. 3 as latest, and under direct Corinthian influence. Note, however, that his Fig. 1 is much like our Grave 46, No. 32 (= Fig. 10).

are of Boeotian fabric, but as they form a group apart, general inferences are again dangerous. It does, however, seem probable¹⁷⁰ that the oinochoai and kylikes are by the same maker.

This probability is strengthened by a Boeotian kylix in the Boston Museum,¹⁸⁰ of which the inside is here illustrated (Fig. 16) by the kind permission of the Director, Mr. Fairbanks. The shape with two handles and no foot or stem and the character of the outside decoration place it early in the style.¹⁸¹ Its unique and most important feature is, however, the decoration of the inside, with its two zones of living creatures (see Figure). The treatment is so individualistic that it is hard to say what influence the figures betray.¹⁸² Perhaps the nearest parallels to them are the figures on *B.C.H.* 1897, p. 448, Fig. 3, and the Gamedes oinochoe.

These oinochoai and the Boston kylix show us that at a date probably earlier than any of the Rhitsóna Boeotian-Kylix graves, Boeotian potters sometimes imitated animal figures from other styles, though so unsuccessfully that we cannot be sure what exactly they were imitating.

They also illustrate a fact already indicated by the figurines from our Group A graves (49, 50, 51, 40; see *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 310) and by the vases at the Boeotian-Kylix ends of the numerous series quoted above:—that the Boeotian-Kylix potters had a considerable variety of technique. There is nothing in these vases themselves to show whether they represent the limits or only a single stage of the versatility of Boeotian potters. What they do show is that if any intermediary series like those given at the beginning of this section takes us a long way from the Boeotian-Kylix style, or if there are independent grounds for assigning to Boeotia any group of vases that do not seem to have any direct connexion with the Boeotian-Kylix style, the conclusions so suggested cannot be at once dismissed.

It is a priori quite as possible that the Gamedes oinochoe and the Boston kylix were the first step towards such animal friezes as that of the Tanagra Tripod Vase lid¹⁸³ and perhaps of our kylix, Grave 51, No. 231 (= *B.S.A.* xiv. Pl. IX. b,

This suggests that it represents the latest stage of the group, when Corinthian influence was already dying, not still to begin. His Fig. 2, which we would follow him in classing with his Fig. 1 and in making contemporary with the developed K.K. style (cp. *Jahrb.* 1888, p. 343, Fig. 27, reversed S pattern; *ibid.* p. 328, Fig. 14, egg (v) pattern; *B.S.A.* xiv. Pl. XV. d, chevrons) must also be dated later than both his Fig. 3 and the Gamedes oinochoe. Fig. 3 we would ascribe, as did Coe himself, to direct Corinthian influence; but whereas he dates it latest in the series, we are inclined to put it earliest and anterior (at least in type) to the K.K. style. The Gamedes oinochoe remains in the middle of the inverted series, but is brought into the period of Corinthian influence, a position which is confirmed by the report that two Corinthian vases with animal friezes were found in the same grave with it (Dumont and Chaplain, i. 287, n. 2, quoting Rayet's catalogue of his own collection). This chronological re-arrangement of the Boeotian oinochoai not only

accords better with our evidence for the absolute dating both of vases and inscriptions, but is also supported by the analogy of the Boeotian kylikes (see *B.S.A.* xiv. pp. 308-313, and cp. Brussels, A 36 (K.K. with aryballos daisy pattern) and the Boston kylix discussed just below), since we thus have both kylikes and oinochoai deriving some of their chief elements from the developed Corinthian style.

¹⁷⁰ Cp. *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 227, n. 1 and above p. 322, where we have catalogued one of them as belonging to the Boeotian-Kylix style.

¹⁸⁰ Fairbanks, *Boston Museum Report*, 1898, p. 22, No. 5, hgt. 13 m., diam. 288 m.

¹⁸¹ Note especially the band of dots as on early Corinthian aryballoi and cp. *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 315.

¹⁸² Fairbanks, *loc. cit.* 'The drawing of all the figures is evidently imitative.' The incisions are against an early Proto-Corinthian model, see Willib. *Atter, Tainid.* pp. 6 fol.

¹⁸³ *Arch. Zeit.* 1881, Taf. IV.

and p. 269, Fig. 14), as that they were isolated experiments that lead nowhere. The evidence for arriving at a decision is exceedingly scanty. There is only



FIG. 16.—BOEOTIAN KYLIX IN MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON. (A. 112.)

that which is furnished by points of style in individual vases or figurines, or by statistics as to the places of discovery of certain distinctive types.¹⁸⁴

Of the aryballoi, kothons,¹⁸⁵ and Proto-Corinthian or Corinthian skyphoi from

¹⁸⁴ The mere fact of great quantities of any ware being found at any place is of course no argument for a local production, if such ware is known to have been made at some other centre. With plain and presumably cheap ware like the Rhitsona aryballoi and black kantharoi, importation on a large scale is quite conceivable. Such ware could indeed be imported into Boeotia from a distance only if the Poestiana were prepared

to buy by the cartload. (For Corinthian pottery being conveyed in shiploads cp. Willach, *Alt. Tontel.* p. 14.)

¹⁸⁵ A three-handled kothon at Würzburg with main zone of animals as on Grave 51, No. 23 has inside a red band on which is painted a thin white zigzag line. Cp. Graves 49, No. 3, and 51, No. 1.

Rhitsóna none have individually suggested to us a Boeotian origin. Corinthian ware produced in Boeotia has sometimes been postulated,¹⁸⁵ but apparently on no definite positive evidence.¹⁸⁷ Note, however, that Conze's Fig. 1¹⁸⁸ has round upper part of body the sort of tongue pattern that is the main ornament on some of our kothons, e.g. Grave 46, Nos. 45-51. This makes it fairly certain that this particular ornament could be produced in Boeotia in the sixth century.¹⁸⁹

As regards Black-Figure, Grave 50, No. 265 falls into a series of kantharoi that seem to have been found mainly, if not exclusively, in Boeotia.¹⁹⁰

The thick red bands with which Grave 50, No. 265 (as also No. 266), is decorated inside may perhaps be due to the influence of the similar bands that are usually found on the inside of Boeotian kylikes. So far as it goes, this favours a Boeotian origin for vases so decorated.¹⁹¹ Grave 51, No. 231 (= *B.S.A.* xiv. Pl. IX. b) has a zone of birds and animals that shows that the vase was meant to be looked at upside down,¹⁹² an idea that might no doubt have been carried out anywhere, but which is particularly natural to the makers of Boeotian kylikes.¹⁹³ For such animal and bird friezes as a motive used by Boeotian Kylix potters see the Boston kylix discussed above.

As regards our later, Group B,¹⁹⁴ b-f, we have so far no evidence from single vases. Perhaps the purple moulding round the foot of Grave 31, No. 170 might be thought to connect the vase with Teisias.¹⁹⁵ Where the connexion leads to, if it be admitted, is, as has been seen, another and no less problematic question.

There is a more general point that perhaps slightly favours the view that our typical late coarse b-f is a Boeotian product. The Kaberie ware, which

¹⁸⁵ E.g. Böhlau, *Aus dem Neker*, p. 75: 'Das Verhältnis ist ähnlich dem der in griechischen Werkstätten gefertigten und bemalten Vasen zu den korinthischen und protokorinthischen Originalen. Waren uns nur die boeotischen Funde, die dort importierten Stücke und die Masse der Nachbildungen, bekannt, so müssten wir aus deren Ungleichheit auf ausserhalb Boeotiens gelegene Fabriken schliessen, denen die guten Stücke entstammten.' Böhlau's allusion is vague. He seems to be alluding to all Corinthian ware found in Boeotia that is not of first-class quality, and to be assuming that the inferior quality cannot have been an import. Cp. above, p. 350, n. 184, and Winter, *Ant. Terrak.* iii. 1, p. xv. on coarse figurines made for cheap market.

¹⁸⁷ On Gaiades aryballos, see p. 348, n. 176.

¹⁸⁸ *B.C.H.* 1897, p. 445. See above, p. 348, n. 178.

¹⁸⁹ A fully-developed tongue pattern in black and purple, but of rough execution, occurs on a Boeotian *kylix*, Ath. Nat. Mus., No. 4395.

¹⁹⁰ Cp. Furtwängler, *Arch. Anz.* 1891, p. 116. Conze, *B.C.H.* 1897, pp. 450-461 confidently claimed the whole series as Boeotian. Nine out of the ten that he quotes (p. 451) from Berlin Museum were found in Boeotia. The

fact that the tenth was found at Vulci does, perhaps, weaken his case more than he admitted (see p. 352, n. 200). So with the single example (Ath. Nat. Mus., No. 4399) found at Phaleron (as opposed to four from Boeotia, two of unknown provenance) in the series he records (p. 452) from Ath. Nat. Mus. Cp. also a number of unpublished kantharoi and other vases of similar style in Louvre, Salle L.

¹⁹¹ E.g. also, most of Conze's Nat. Mus. series (including, however, No. 4399, see last note); Bonn, No. 334 (Boeotia); Nauplia, Nos. 2 and 72; Munich, No. 427.

¹⁹² Cp. also Grave 49, Nos. 13 and 14, and Grave 51, No. 43, skyphos that can be connected by a long intermediary series with Grave 36, No. 2; but see above, p. 346, n. 163.

¹⁹³ See *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 269. The vase has duplicates, e.g. Ath. Nat. Mus., No. 12847 (Tanagra); Munich, No. 2258 (labelled Attica); we have not yet obtained details as to provenance of other examples.

¹⁹⁴ See *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 306.

¹⁹⁵ Cp. Grave 18, Nos. 133-135, Catalogue, *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 292; note also No. 217 of grave referred to (Grave 31) and cp. Klein, *Meis-terrig.* p. 212 (Teisias Krater mit Oelkranz-ornament am Rande).

is peculiar to Boeotia, is probably to be regarded as a local fabric; and, admitting this, it seems most natural to assume that the Boeotians learned to make b-f. at least as early as the date of our Group B¹⁰⁶ graves, which are roughly contemporary with the end of the b-f. vogue in Attica.¹⁰⁷

The Grave 18 polychrome kantharoi (Nos. 248 and 249) ought to throw light on our problem. Unfortunately, they are the only examples known, and it would be rash for us to infer that they are Boeotian from their having been found in Boeotia. It is quite conceivable too that the vases were made in one place and decorated in another subsequently. It has been noted that their colour scheme finds a close parallel in the Brit. Mus., Munich, and Würzburg pinks discussed above (p. 337, n. 92), which are probably Boeotian.

Our evidence is therefore not, by itself, very conclusive. Perhaps it slightly favours the view that the Boeotian potters turned out large quantities of several well defined styles of pottery, and that our intermediary series are, in the main at any rate, the experiments of men (or at least workshops) that were accustomed to turn their hands to more than one of the fully developed and partly stereotyped vase forms that flourished in the sixth century. This view accounts perhaps most satisfactorily for the number and variety of our intermediary series, and for the way in which each of our main types seems to have reacted on the rest.¹⁰⁸ The latter point applies to colour¹⁰⁹ as well as to form and decoration. It also best explains the fact that certain types seem to have been found almost exclusively in Boeotia.

On the other hand we have the fact that some of our most characteristic types have been found in places to which Boeotia is unlikely to have exported them.¹¹⁰

The question as to where the various fabrics were invented is an entirely different one, whose interest and importance have long been sufficiently recognised. In fact its almost exclusive study has led good archaeologists into unscientific and misleading assumptions. There has been a tendency to postulate one place one fabric, and one fabric one place. Böhlau for instance (*Jahrb.* 1888, p. 343) says 'Tanagra hatte seine Vasen nicht aus Korinth bezogen, wenn es jene selbständig arbeitende Fabrik gehabt hatte.' His argument is rendered untenable by the American boot shops that flourish in all large European cities.

The problem that we have been considering, that of production as distinguished from invention, has an importance that is not merely archaeological. Even approximate information as to the quantity as well as the quality of pottery made and imported by a small sixth century Greek city like Mykalessos is

¹⁰⁶ See *B.S.A.* xiv, pp. 395-398.

¹⁰⁷ A k.M. skyphos at Bonn (No. 304) of distinctly our Group B style should perhaps be ascribed on internal evidence to Boeotia: main zone is divided into panels (3 on each side), a typical Boeotian-Kylix arrangement; four of the panels have down-turned palmettes with petals black and purple alternately, a favourite Boeotian-Kylix ornament.

¹⁰⁸ See above pp. 346-7.

¹⁰⁹ E.g. the occurrence of practically the same colour scheme on such different objects from a single Grave (18) as a Boeotian kylix (No. 1),

the Cook figurine (No. 267), and the polychrome kantharos (No. 248). The red of No. 248 is, however, of a different shade and contains mercury.

¹¹⁰ E.g. the careless b-f. types of the late B.K. graves have been found in Sicily (*Orsi. Mon. Ant.* xvii Gela, p. 103, Fig. 66, and p. 286, Fig. 202; *Mon. Mit.* 1898, p. 216). Boeotian pottery, however, got to Etruria, and from them it may of course have travelled far: cp. Hutton, *Exc. Arch.* 1899, pp. 25-27, on Boeotian *travēis* and horseman found at Etruria.

valuable, and might possibly throw some light upon the commercial background of Greek history.²⁰¹

²⁰⁰ See, *e.g.*, the useful statistics drawn up by Miss G. M. A. Richter, *B.S.A.*, xi, pp. 224-241; there are 25 b.c. skyphoi, 15 kylikes and 3 kantharoi from Boeotia in the Athens Museum, to 3 skyphoi, 7 kylikes and no kantharoi from Attica. Miss Richter's statistics do not support the assumption, made by her without question, that all the Boeotian vases must be Attic export. Unfortunately, the vases that illustrate this point are generally not of striking individual interest. They are

not well represented in museums (see G. M. A. Richter, *op. cit.* p. 225), and information of any value about them is only obtainable from more recent excavations. (See *e.g.* Kinch, *Explor. Arch. de Rhodé*, p. 114.) Some results might be possibly arrived at by comparing the history of other arts in Boeotia: see, *e.g.* C. Robert, *Arch. Zeit.* 33, 1875, p. 152, on local and imported Boeotian sculpture (or perhaps sculpture).

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ARCHAEOLOGY IN GREECE (1908-1909).

THE twelve months since the writing of the last of these Reports have witnessed a continuation of most of the excavations then noticed, although it has been a year rather of promise than of many important discoveries. The prospect of a Middle Minoan III cemetery at Knossos, a period which has yielded some of the finest objects, and the discovery of Mycenaean remains by the British School near Sparta give good hope for the future, whilst the French excavation of Delos has made steady progress, and the German work at Tiryns and in the neighbourhood of Olympia has produced good results.

The Greek Archaeological Society has continued all through the year the work on the buildings of the Acropolis.¹ The Erechtheion is now finished, and the Propylaea has been begun. The fallen blocks from the architrave and elsewhere are now to be replaced *in situ*, and when this has been done a decision is to be taken as to how much further it is desirable to continue the work. On this important point Dr. Kavvadias has expressed himself very clearly, in order to reassure any archaeologists who may fear that too much is being done in the way of restoration and renewal. He writes:—

'It is understood that there is no question of rebuilding the monument with new material, that is to say, of restoration, a word which, taken in this sense, has caused Western scholars to protest against the Greek authorities in this matter of the re-erection of ancient monuments. This anxiety is baseless, because the Society adopt the following system. Fallen stones and architectural members are replaced in their original position, and any intervening pieces, which may be missing, are supplied, in order to render possible the replacing of existing stones. Thus, if a fair number of the drums of a column exist, those lacking are supplied in order that the former may be re-erected. Two points are thus gained: the column is restored, and the parts preserved, by being put back into their original position, are protected from any further damage. There is a prospect of this system being applied to the Parthenon.'²

This careful definition of the limits to which the employment of any new material is to be confined should allay any uneasiness which the achievements of restorers nearer home have made only too natural, and show that the

¹ For these notes on the work of the Greek Archaeological Society I am indebted to an advance copy of *Πρακτικά τῆς ἑτ' Ἀθηνῶν Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας* τῆς ἐτ' 1908, kindly

given me by Dr. Kavvadias.

² *Πρακτικά*, 1908, p. 56.

Greek authorities are fully aware of the extreme importance of the work and of their heavy responsibilities.

The policy of setting in order ancient monuments and buildings, improving local museums, and taking measures for the proper preservation of archaeological sites, notably the Kerameikos, has occupied a great part of the Society's resources, and even now much remains to be done. Dr. Kavvadias writes that the work already done at the temple of Bassai suggests that the fallen remains of the temple of Neumea should also be replaced in the same way, whilst the improvement of the Hieron of Epidauros only emphasizes the condition of Olympia. The work on the Byzantine buildings at Daphni and Mistra should be extended to the famous church at Arta. There is also a prospect that a museum will be built at Athens for Christian antiquities.

Amongst the excavations of the Society the work at Athens comes first. The region in front of the Beulé Gate of the Acropolis has now been cleared, and the approach is to be improved and the tower of Kimon, upon which the Temple of Nike Apteros rests, is to be strengthened by the insertion of new blocks.

The excavations near the Thesæum recorded last year have been continued, but without any results, except to show that the region was used as a burial ground at the time when the temple was a church. The earth has thus been very much disturbed since antiquity.

Dr. Stais' work at Sunion has been continued, and a very ancient temple found with the base of the cult-statue still *in situ*. The broken architrave-blocks of the Temple of Poseidon have been further supported by means of iron bands, and fallen pieces replaced on the same system as that employed for the buildings on the Acropolis.

At New Phaleron the finding of a relief similar to the Echelos relief now in the National Museum has led to an excavation, and Dr. Stais has found the sanctuary from which they both come; it was probably dedicated to the nymphs.

Excavation has been continued in Aitolia and Akarnania by Dr. Sotiriadis. Mycenaean tombs with remains of bronze and terracotta ornaments are reported from Koronta in Southern Akarnania, gold ornaments from Hellenistic tombs in Kalydon, and inscriptions from the temple of Artemis Laphria and from near Phistyon. A museum has been built at Therman to contain all the objects found in recent years which have not been brought to Athens, and the two oval buildings near the Temple of Apollo, which so closely recall the prehistoric apsidal structures which have now been found in the earlier stratum at Olympia, have been further examined.

The work of the Society includes also the discovery of more Cycladic tombs at Komiaki in Naxos, the examination of the building near Karystos identified with the Poseidion of Strabo, the excavation of a temple at Karystos and the continuation of the excavation of the temple of Apollo Daphnephoros at Eretria. A small temple has been found at Itonos in Thessaly, near the scene of Mr. Wace's prehistoric excavations noticed last year, and the

excavation of the Acropolis of Phthiotic Thebes has been continued. Here Dr. Arvanitopoulos has found prehistoric vases with Geometric incised patterns of straight lines without spirals, the incisions being filled with a white pigment.

A note on the restoration of the Temple at Bassai and the photograph here reproduced (Fig. 1) I owe to the kindness of Dr. Rhomaïos. The safety of the columns has been assured by renewing the broken stones of the stylobate and steps. Fortunately not very many blocks were in such a bad condition as to make this necessary, and the appearance of the building has not been materially altered. The cella wall has been rebuilt out of old blocks nearly to the height of the Ionic capitals of the interior. In the course of



FIG. 1.—THE TEMPLE OF BASSAI AFTER THE REPAIRS OF 1908.

the work some interesting finds have been made near the temple. About ten small fragments of frieze have been unearthed, a notable one bearing a headless figure of an Amazon. Fragments of Corinthian and Ionic columns and considerable remains of the terracotta decorations of an earlier temple have also been found. Amongst these latter are some fine fragments which resemble the *acroteria* of the Heraion at Olympia. To a later period belong some tiles inscribed *Δαμόσιος Φιαλέων* and *Δαμόσιος Ἀπόλλωνος*. With these may, of course, be compared the numerous stamped tiles found at Sparta, especially those marked by the words *Δαμόσιος τευχέων* as belonging to the public department concerned with the upkeep of the wall of the city.²

² See report in *E.S.A.*, xiii, p. 18 ff.

Finally, other blocks from the temple of Iktinos have been found, some of which, especially column-drums, it may be possible to replace, whilst others will lead to a further knowledge of the structure of the building. It is interesting to note that many of them show considerable remains of the original polychrome decoration.

Similar work has been done in strengthening the tomb of Klytämnestra at Mycenae and in continuing the arrangement of the Hieron at Epidaurus.

A late Mycenaean cemetery in Kephallenia has been excavated by Dr. Kavvadhias near the tombs at the village of Mazarakata, which he excavated in 1899. He has now cleared a row of some twelve rock-cut graves approached by *drumoi*. In each grave there were from one to as many as fifteen interments and the finds indicate the late Mycenaean period. It is very interesting to note that the bodies are not extended, but lie on the side with the knees drawn up in the contracted position common in the earliest Cycladic graves. A bee-hive tomb near by was in very bad condition. The existence of such a cemetery proves, not merely the importation of Mycenaean objects, but that there was here a Mycenaean population, and its position so far West in the Greek world makes the discovery of considerable importance.*

The American School of Archaeology continues its excavations at Corinth.⁴² In clearing the buildings round the market-place the foundations of a small Roman temple have been found, one of the *ἱερά ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ* of Pausanias. Outside the Agora a portion of the actual road to Sikyon has been recognized, and as the old temple is on the right of this road it is to be identified with certainty as the temple of Apollo, which Pausanias saw in this position as he left the Agora. He here saw also *ἄλγρον ἀποτέρας*, the fountain of Glauke, and beyond this (*ὑπὲρ ταύτην τὴν κρήνην*) the Odeum. Thus guided, the excavators discovered the Odeum in 1907, and have now shewn that it was about 65 metres in diameter with the lower seats mostly cut in the native rock. Of the stage-building only the foundations have been preserved.

The theatre and a paved court between it and the Odeum have been cleared, but the most interesting work has been a further examination of the fountain of Peirene, which has led to the discovery of the channels which brought water to the fountain, of the surrounding court, and of the early, very probably Perianthian, reservoirs and draw-basins.

The discovery of statues of the sixth century A.D. is of interest. A torso has now been found, which forms the fourth of a series of which the best preserved was found in 1907. This represents a man wearing a dress identical in all details with that of the courtiers, who attend Justinian and Theodora in the mosaics of the church of S. Vitale at Ravenna. The latest period of Venetian power in Greece is reflected by a find of sixty-two seventeenth century silver coins, of which all but five or six are Venetian.

* To be published in the forthcoming *Ἀνατομικὰ ἐκ Κεφαλληνίας*.

⁴² These notes on the unpublished results of

1908 and 1909 I owe to the kindness of the Director, Mr. Hill.

The British School has now finished the excavation of the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta, which has been the centre of their work for four years. This year the outlying parts of the Sanctuary were cleared and considerable remains of the wall of the *temenos* at various periods were discovered. The removal of further portions of the foundation of the Roman Amphitheatre enabled more of these walls to be traced, but the comparatively small number of objects found proved that a limit to the deposit had been reached, and that nothing is to be gained by further digging. The centre of the arena was further examined by the removal of some part of the cobble pavement, and underneath it ashes and sherds of Geometric pottery were found, proving that the cult of Orthia on this spot was older than any of the existing structural remains, and the configuration of the site, a natural hollow by the river, was now made quite evident. A remarkable built drain was cleared, which ran right across the outer part of the sanctuary and finally passed below the town-wall and so debouched on the bank of the river. Its course is interrupted by the outer curve of the foundation of the Roman Amphitheatre, and various considerations point to a date in the fourth century B.C. It is at least ten feet deep, solidly built of stones, and when complete was covered with heavy slabs, a large number of which were removed in Roman times, to be used as building material for the Amphitheatre.

Although the archaic deposit of votive offerings was so nearly exhausted in previous years, a few objects of importance were found. Noteworthy amongst these are an ivory fibula-plaque showing the winged Artemis with a snake, and yet another stone relief of two crouching lions facing one another heraldically. This is very possibly a copy of the pediment of the sixth-century temple, from which a fragment of a coloured relief of a lion in poros-stone was recovered two years ago. A very fine vase of the Laconian II style, i.e. late seventh century, has been put together out of fragments, and will be published in the School Annual. The scattered condition of the whole archaic deposit is well shown by the fact that fragments of this vase were found in each of the four seasons of the excavation and in widely separated parts of the site. It was only by keeping all sherds that the reconstruction of this fine piece was made possible.

New ground has been opened up by the discovery of Mycenaean remains at and near the building known as the Menelaion on the east bank of the Eurotas a little below the site of Sparta itself, in a lofty position on the steep hills, which at this point rise directly from the river and command a splendid view of Sparta and the whole valley of Laconia. The building had been previously excavated, and our attention was only called to it again by the chance discovery by a shepherd of some objects found on the slopes below the building itself. This led to an excavation, and a quantity of pottery and bronze ornaments were found, mostly of the end of the seventh century, and thus by great good fortune belonging to the Laconian II period, which had been only scantily represented at the Orthia

Sanctuary. Below these were Geometric sherds. The building itself has now been fully cleared and has revealed itself as a raised platform approached by a ramp; on the platform were found the remains of a construction which may well have been a large altar. The core of the whole is formed by the natural rock and no trace of any tomb has as yet been found. At a low level in one corner some Mycenaean sherds were found, and in a field near by the remains of a Mycenaean house with painted walls. Mycenaean pottery was found on the surface at several places in the fields near by, and next year it is proposed to excavate further. It is most interesting to find these prehistoric remains, hitherto entirely lacking on the site of classical Sparta, at the very place where in Greek times was the shrine of the old hero Menelaos. It would seem that Mycenaean Sparta was here, and that the city was refounded on the classical site at the beginning of the iron age.⁴

The excavation at Rhitsóna, the ancient Mykalessos, in Boeotia has been continued by Professor Burrows and Mr. Ure. Twenty graves were dug this spring, a large number of which contained, undoubtedly, single interments, thus supporting the opinion previously expressed by the excavators. The number of finds was very great: 2400 sixth-century vases and figurines remain to be published. Of special interest is a stone sarcophagus containing a complete skeleton, proto-Corinthian vases, and iron fibulae; it has now been conveyed entire to the Museum at Thebes. With the assistance and support of the local Ephor, Mr. Keramopoulos all the vases are being exhibited in this museum grave by grave, and it is hoped that the numbers used in publication will also be used for the Museum labels. This exhibition of separate tomb-groups will make the Museum of Thebes one of the most scientifically arranged in Greece. The bones have been examined from the point of view of physical anthropology by Mr. C. H. Hawes.⁵

The other excavation which has been carried on in the name of the British School is that of Messrs. Wace, Thompson, and Peet in Northern Greece. Their work at the tumulus at Zerelia in Thessaly was recorded last year; this year they have excavated two more prehistoric mounds. The first of these is a tumulus called Paleomylos at Lanokladi on the left bank of the Spercheios near Neopatras. Shafts sunk across a diameter of the tumulus revealed three successive strata. In the lowest a red-on-white ware was found, which degenerated towards the top of the stratum; in the second was the black-lustre ware which the German archaeologists have called 'Urfirnis.' This is common at Orchomenos, where also it occurs immediately above a red-on-white fabric, the so-called Chaeronea ware, and below the deposit of the grey 'Minyan' pottery. It has now been found marking the lowest stratum at Tiryns. In the uppermost stratum of the tumulus the pottery again changes, and a coarse red hand-made ware is found with Geometric patterns of black paint accompanied by 'Minyan' sherds. In this

⁴ Yearly reports of this excavation appear in the *Annals of the British School at Athens*.

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⁵ The latest reports on Rhitsóna are in this volume and *B.S.A.* xiv, pp. 226 ff.

stratum a house was found with pithoi *in situ*. Above this again was a tomb containing a contracted skeleton. In the first two strata obsidian flakes were found; in the upper two a fine series of flint knives. The other excavation was at a tumulus called Tsáni Maghollá near Kierion in Western Thessaly. The total depth of the deposit is reckoned at twelve metres, of which four are below the present level of the ground at the foot of the mound. Eight strata were observed, divided by layers of the burned debris of wattled huts. As at Llanokládhi the upper two or more layers were eneolithic and the rest neolithic. Nine kinds of pottery were found, forming a long sequence. These styles overlap one another, but as elsewhere the painted red-on-white ware was found early, and above it the black-lustre (*Urfrass*). This latter was rare and probably imported. The general conclusions of the excavators are that in these two tumuli, as at Zerelia, we meet first the degeneration of a neolithic people, who made the red-on-white pottery. The tumuli which stop at the end of this period are numerous, whilst those containing later wares, like the tumuli at Tsáni and Zerelia, are rarer. This would point to a decrease of population as well as a cultural degeneration. The black-lustre ware which succeeds seems at home at Orchomenos and Tiryns, and thus it would appear that the neolithic people of Thessaly, the Spercheios valley, Phocis and Northern Boeotia, for in all of these regions the red-on-white ware is found, were approached upon from the South by the makers of the black-lustre pottery, who reached as far as Mount Othrys. This black-lustre ware does not last long and at Orchomenos is succeeded by the grey 'Minyan' ware and at Llanokládhi by the painted geometric pottery, a fabric which does not appear in Thessaly. This brings us to the period when the Mycenaean civilization gets a footing in North Greece. For the remains found in these tumuli the excavators suggest as a date 1100 to 2500 B.C. The excavation of more of these sites is of great importance, as shedding much light on the archaeology of Northern Greece, whose development would seem to have been entirely independent of that of the Aegean area.¹ In this connexion I may refer to Dr. Vassits' article in *B.S.A.* xiv. on the neolithic culture of Servia, as it supports a view of Aegean influence in Servia which is almost irreconcilable with this independence of the North Greek area.

In Crete there has been no discovery of the interest of those noticed last year. At Knossos Dr. Evans has been able to fix the site of what appears to be a cemetery of the Middle Minoan III period, that is to say the eighteenth century B.C. He was led to this by a find of stone vases near the Royal Tomb of Isopata. A stone chamber was discovered with a pavilion-shaped roof in the same style as the Royal Tomb; it had been plundered, but a few small objects were found, notably a gold-mounted intaglio showing a huge Molossian dog with two men, and a gold ring engraved with an

¹ These notes were kindly given me by Mr. Wace. For reports on these excavations in North Greece see *B.S.A.* xiv. pp. 197 ff., and

Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology, Liverpool.

interesting design of four ladies dancing and above them a religious ceremonial. From the Little Palace to the west of the Great Palace comes the lower part of an Egyptian diorite vase probably not later than the thirteenth dynasty, with the remains of an Egyptian hieroglyphic inscription apparently referring to an official in charge of mining operations. The historical value of such an inscription is plain, especially if its place in the Minoan Series can be ascertained exactly, and the prospect of the excavation of a Middle Minoan III cemetery, perhaps the greatest period in Cretan art, is also extremely alluring.²

At Phaistos the discovery in 1908 of a terracotta disk bearing an inscription in Minoan hieroglyphics in a structure adjacent to the Palace has led the Italian mission this year to continue work in this region.

To the south of the great court on the west side of the palace a large cutting has been made, and house-walls were found, associated with Hellenistic pottery, older remains being rare. Below this Kamares (Middle Minoan) pottery was found, and at the level of the court of the palace a square cistern and a circular well of earlier date; the cistern measures 3.12 x 1.8 metres. It is lined with stones, and its floor is about one metre below the pavement of the court. From the sherds found in both well and cistern it appears that they belong to the period of the earlier palace and were not used when the second palace was built. It is now only necessary to clear the northern part, in order to restore the ancient theatral area to its original appearance.

Still more remunerative was the excavation on the N.E. side of the slope of the Palace Acropolis. Here the room, in which the inscribed disk was found, has been thoroughly examined. Above it was a Greek wall now removed. Below this were sherds ranging from Hellenistic to Middle Minoan, but nothing to contradict the idea that the room was disused at the end of the Middle Minoan period, a conclusion with which the pottery found in the rest of the structure agrees. A part of the building consisted of a portico, which in its position in relation to the palace and in its plan presents a remarkable analogy with the northern entrance of the Palace of Knossos. The number of square pilasters is less, but Dr. Pernier writes that the structure was more complex, more sumptuous, and more harmonious. It opens towards the north, and parallel to this entrance are two rows of three columns, in each of which a circular base stands between two square pilasters. Opposite this entrance a flight of eighteen stairs leads up to the eastern court of the Palace. Thus the portico is an annex adorning the northern entrance of the Palace and the edifices by it seem to be magazines and possibly an *archivio* (the room of the disk). The objects found in this portico agree perfectly with those of the last period of the primitive Palace, all being of the latest Middle Minoan style. To the east of this region a number of fine Middle Minoan vases are reported, and two clay *rhya* in the form of bull's heads finely modelled and painted.

² From a communication which appeared in *The Times* of June 29th, 1909.

Summarizing these discoveries Dr. Pernier says that these buildings, the portico, the house of the disk, and the building between them, were constructed in the first Middle Minoan period, and that the objects found in them belonged to Middle Minoan II and III. The house of the disk was no longer in use after the end of Middle Minoan III; an important conclusion, as it dates the disk itself to late in the Middle Minoan period. The other edifices continued into the period of the second palace.

A continuation of the work at Prinia, so important for the early Greek period, has been deferred, but Dr. Minto at Phaistos has examined the walls of the Greek fortress on the higher part of the Acropolis called *Affendi Christos*. The pottery ranges from Geometric to Hellenistic, but below the foundation walls of primitive houses have been found, and with them Minoan sherds.⁹

In May of this year (1909) a Minoan settlement was found at Tylissos four hours west of Knossos, and Dr. Chatzidhakis, the Senior Ephor of Antiquities in Crete, proposes to excavate it fully. A store of great *pithoi*, a bronze *hydria*, and a large bronze vessel have been found, all pointing to a date in Late Minoan I or Middle Minoan III, that is to say rather earlier than the Knossos Palace style, and the finds are being compared to those of the Palace of Haghia Triadha. Dr. Pernier informs me that inscribed tablets and seal-stones have also been found. Dr. Chatzidhakis has also discovered a prehistoric site some two hours north of Gortyn on the line connecting Knossos with the rich and populous Messari plain dominated by the Palace of Phaistos, and near Gortyn has begun the excavation of what seems likely to be an important sanctuary. The objects from this belong to the classical period, mainly to the third and second centuries B.C., none being earlier than the fifth or later than the second. Thousands of clay lamps are reported, some simple, some grouped together on a high stand, and some in the form of a ring with numerous wicks, and many terracottas, mostly of the fourth century. The commonest types of these are standing women and boys in short chitons holding a small pig in front of the breast. A sitting goddess has been found, probably the presiding deity of the shrine, to whom the pigs were offered, and some fine large terracotta figures, which seem to be copies of statues. All the objects are of native Cretan workmanship. Dr. Chatzidhakis has also set in order and cleared the important church of St. Titus near Gortyn, probably the finest Christian antiquity in Crete.¹⁰

At Delos the French School has now cleared the ancient quay and mole, a work attended with great difficulty owing to the level of the water. The great mole appears to be very ancient, being associated with Mycenaean and archaic Greek pottery, whilst the quays are partly archaic and partly Hellenistic. Mycenaean sherds have also been found in clearing the Agora of Theophrastos and the houses north of it. This Mycenaean

⁹ I have to thank Dr. Pernier for full notes of these latest results.

¹⁰ Drawings of this church have been pub-

lished by Mr. D. T. Fyfe in the *Archaeological Review*.

occupation of Deles is now very clearly proved; it will be interesting to see if anything earlier of the Cycladic or Amorgine period will be found.

The course of the Inopos has been examined, and a large cistern has been found belonging to the end of the third century. It was supplied by the stream above and from the subsoil water below. Broad steps lead to the bottom of the basin, which is five metres deep, and from it an elaborate system of canals was fed. The water-supply of an island of so small an area and with such large demands as Delos must always have needed especial care, and now a fine public fountain has been uncovered at the N.E. corner of the Stoa of Antigonus. The building was constructed of wood overlaid with terracotta, and had on the north a façade of six Doric columns. The cistern was cut into the rock to a depth of seven metres and approached by steps. This interesting building dates from the beginning of the fifth, and was restored at the end of the second century. It is identified with the *Κρήνη Μυρών* often mentioned in inscriptions by the discovery of a relief of a group of three goddesses, a goat, and a bearded Heron, inscribed *Σπόριος Στεφάνιος Σπορίων Νυμφαίς Μυρών*. A fifth century inscription of the authorities controlling the fountain has been found in the basin, and a fine bronze relief of Hekate of good Hellenistic work.

The excavation of the Temenos may now be regarded as definitely completed. The Artemision shows the old *poros* temple and the later Ionic amphiprostyle temple with four columns at either end; it dates from the third century, although the cella seems to be very much older. A number of sherds of Rheneian ware have been found and there is a prospect that some sixty vases may be put together. The Apollo temple dates from the fifth or fourth century; but it was not finished till the third. The fact that the columns were never fluted shows that there was a difficulty in getting the work finished. No earlier remains have been found under the foundation.¹¹

The work of the German Institute in Greece was limited to excavations at Olympia, in the neighbourhood of Kakóvatos (Pylos) and at Tiryns. Last year's Report (p. 332) noticed the excavation of the three bee-hive tombs at Kakóvatos, and the excavation of the temple of Artemis Limnatis was briefly mentioned. This latter is a small sanctuary of Artemis at a place now called Kombotekm on the hills to the N.E. of Pylos. The temple was Doric peripteral and dates from the fifth century. The foundation and some architectural members of *poros*-stone have been found, which will enable a reconstruction of the building to be drawn. The finds include small bronzes and terracottas, the greater number of which are of fifth and fourth century date.

On the little rock of Kleidhi between Samikon and the shore north of Kakóvatos a castle with fine Cyclopean walls and remains of houses were

¹¹ For these excavations see M. Holleaux, to whom my present thanks are due, *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, 1909.

excavated in the summer of 1908. Although at Samikon nothing pre-classical has been found, at this place monochrome prehistoric pottery occurs and also some Mycenaean. Dr. Dörpfeld identifies the site with the Homeric *Arena*.

A further small excavation at Olympia was carried on in the spring of 1909, continuing the work of previous years already noticed in these Reports. The excavators are now in a position to affirm that the earliest remains at Olympia consist of a prehistoric settlement extending from the Metroön right underneath the terrace of the Treasuries, which proves to be an artificial construction. The buildings belonging to the settlement are the apsidal structures reported last year, and it even appears that what was supposed to be the altar of Zeus is in reality only a pair of such buildings. This settlement lasted for a very long period and has yielded numerous stone implements, mostly of flint and only rarely of obsidian, and incised pottery, but no metal. Two isolated metal objects were found, but in a region where the stratification was uncertain. This prehistoric village was covered by a simple layer of sand, and it may be inferred therefore that it was destroyed and buried by a flood. There is no evidence as to the length of the period between the destruction of this village and the beginnings of the later sanctuary. The finding of prehistoric sherds on a hill a kilometre east of Olympia was noted last year. Nothing Mycenaean was found, but a few Greek sherds occurred. The site has been identified with Pisa.

The work at Tiryns was resumed in the spring of 1909, and the main result was to settle the ground-plan of the southern part of the upper citadel. Remains of the pre-Mycenaean settlement with the characteristic black-lustre (*Uferluss*) pottery have been found and six large *pithoi* of this early period from beneath the room marked XXX.¹² This oldest settlement had buildings with curved walls, which recall those at Olympia. Of anything older than this deposit of black-lustre ware, as for example at Orchomenos, no trace has as yet been found. The stucco floors of the two great *megara* have been carefully cleaned, with the result that they have been found to have been painted; in the great *megaron* and its fore-hall conventional patterns were found and also a design of octopus and dolphins swimming in blue water, an idea which calls to mind the popularity of such subjects in Roman floor-mosaics. All round the castle the existence of a lower town has been proved, the northern part dating from the late Mycenaean period, whilst in the south and immediately below the citadel an earlier stratum and some black-lustre pottery were also found. Many Geometric tombs occurred, although no corresponding buildings were found, the body being sometimes contracted in a stone cist and sometimes placed in a *pithos*. The numerous vases give for the first time a picture of the Geometric pottery of the Argolid.¹³ At this date such a method of burial apparently without cremation is very remarkable.

¹² In Schliemann, *Tiryns*, London, 1885, Pl. II.

whom my special thanks are due also for help in other parts of this report.

¹³ These notes were given me by Dr. Karo, to

The Austrian excavations at Ephesus conducted by Dr. Heberdey, to whose kindness I owe these notes, were continued in the autumn of 1908 in the valley between the Bulbül Daglı and the Panyir Daglı. The Odeum excavated by Wood was fully cleared: it revealed itself as a typical Roman theatral building. Amongst other remains the so-called tomb of St. Luke was excavated, and found to be the lower part only of a circular building of unknown use, which served as a chapel in Christian times, and was lengthened by the addition of an apse at the east. This chapel formed the crypt of a church, which was built on a somewhat higher level.

My warm thanks are due to the archaeologists who have generously sent me the notes of their latest work, upon which this report is based:

R. M. DAWKINS.

NOTE ON THE INSCRIPTION OF THE MAUSOLEUM FRIEZE.

THE inscription (Fig. 1) on block 1010¹ of the Amazon Frieze of the Mausoleum has hitherto been regarded as illegible.² The letters are .03 m. high and carefully cut in three lines across the shield of one of the combatants, but have been (perhaps wilfully) defaced. The block in question is one of the twelve acquired by the exertions of Stratford de Redcliffe in 1846 from the Knights-Hospitallers' Castle of S. Peter at Budrum. Of the twelve blocks three were built into the seaward wall of the castle with the arms and inscription (1506) of the Captain Constantius de Opertis;³ the remaining nine, of which No. 1010 is one, were placed inside Newton's 'third gate,' five in the seaward tower and four immediately opposite. Their position is shewn in the drawing of Luigi Mayer,⁴ where No. 1010 is recognisable in the upper left-hand block of the four on the left side of the picture.



FIG. 1.—INSCRIPTION ON THE MAUSOLEUM FRIEZE.

The inscription reads:—

F(rater) Christoffe
Quatnel Jul(ii) I.
1510.

¹ *B. M. Catal. Gr. Sculp.* ii. 103; illustrated in R. Dalton's series of engravings (1751-2). W. H. Dorez, *Planes en the shores of the Mediterranean* (1847), Pl. XVI., *Mon. dell' Inst.* v. Pl. XIX. (iii.)

² Newton in *Class. Mus.* v. 182.

³ J. H. Allan, *Pictorial Tour*, p. 39.

⁴ *Views in the Ottoman Empire. Sketches Caranassia* (1803), engraved again with the figures altered in *Ionian Antiquities* Vol. II. Supp. Pl. II. and signed Myer (sic) delin^g; Dorez remarks that the drawing is exceedingly unreliable, having probably been made up of sketches taken from a boat.

The knight referred to is very probably Christoph Waldener of the Tongue of Germany, Castellan of Rhodes in 1522,⁶ who distinguished himself at the head of his nation in the siege of the same year.⁷ The faulty spelling may be due to the strangeness of German and English names to a southern ear.⁸

Of Waldener's connexion with the fortress nothing further is known,⁹ but it is interesting to remark that the supervision of the Castle of S. Peter, which was built in the first place by a German (Heinrich Schlegelholz), was entrusted in 1428 to the Grand Bailly of Germany, who was expected to visit it once a year and to be responsible for its repair and armament.¹⁰ Waldener may thus have been captain in 1510,¹¹ or merely visitor.

F. W. HASLUCK.

P.S.—Mr. G. F. Hill reads *IVRII* in l. 2, and suggests that a title may be the solution. I have since examined the stone again, but cannot convince myself, and doubt whether certainty is possible as to this badly-used passage of the inscription. A possibility not to be overlooked is that the whole of l. 2 (there is no stop after 'Quatnel' and they are lavished elsewhere) is occupied by the name, either of Waldener in a new and wonderful form, or of a person unknown to us.

F. W. H.

⁶ Boso II. 538.

⁷ *Ibid.* 563.

⁸ Waldener himself figures as *Wualderio* in Fontanus (*Edif. Rhod.* (1827) II.). Heinrich Schlegelholz is called *Emme di Stigleholz* by Boso and some English Knight is disguised by the same author under the extraordinary name of *Sequipunt*.

⁹ Fontanus (*loc. cit.*) describes him as *Germanus equum armatum et anticipandi pietas urbemque imperialis Hayonum summus praefectus ac Commendator qui Rhodis in pace suadendat*. Gossardier (II. 538) says he died in 1533.

The supposed Waldener arms in the *Castellania* at Rhodes given by Berg are really, as Delabre has recognised, those of L'Ile Adam: the building dates from the reign of G. M. d'Amboise (1503-13), before Waldener became Castellan.

¹⁰ Boso II. 147 (1423), 148 (1443), but cf. 481 (1504), where the new works at S. Peter's are visited by the Prior of Aquitaine.

¹¹ A list of Captains of S. Peter is given in Newton's *Hallensmusus* II. 2. 665, Note 9, but many names can be added from Boso.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

The Stone and Bronze Ages in Italy. By T. ERIC PEET. Pp. 528. 6 Plates, 4 Maps, and 275 Figures in the Text. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1909.

Mr. T. E. Peet of Queen's College, Oxford, taking up the study of prehistoric Italy, found himself confronted with any amount of material, but no reliable and impartial synthesis of it. He set to work to make one for himself, and having achieved his task and realised in the process the obscurity of many sources of the necessary facts, determined by publishing his notes in book form to make them useful to others, who also would have to follow the same laborious road. So voluminous, however, was his material that the resultant volume of over five hundred pages does not take the reader beyond the Bronze Age and leaves the 'Villanova' and other types of Iron Age culture in Italy to be dealt with later.

Both for Mr. Peet's idea and his execution of it we can only be too truly thankful: and it augments our gratitude that he has not confined himself merely to boiling down all the necessary authorities, but has commented in a critical spirit throughout both on the facts and on the deductions previously drawn from them. To add this acknowledgment is to pay a very high compliment to so young an archaeologist: for very few older scholars would be able at the same time to compile so thoroughly and with so little appearance of subjective selection, if their minds were working critically on the material the while.

Having laid the foundations of his study so scientifically, Mr. Peet has every right to put forward views on the significance of the evidence. One may think him, like some of his Italian masters, too prone to try to write the racial history of very distant times from the scanty and partial evidence of tombs and refuse pits, and sometimes a little weak in argument, as, for example, in his denial to the *terramara* builders of any intention to make their villages primarily fortresses, because they all belonged to one race. In society so primitive more general consanguinity would not preclude the enmities of tribes and families or prevent the growth of communal exclusiveness—not even if we had reason to suppose (which we have not) that all the lake-dwellers entered Italy in one horde at one time, or that all the *terramara* dwellers developed out of indigenous lake-dwellers without the introduction of any fresh element. Nor does Mr. Peet always allow full force to arguments which tell against his theory, as for instance, to the difficulty in the way of identifying the early Swiss and later Italian lake-dwellers which arises from strong evidence for the practice of inhumation by the former. The advantages of lake-settlements were so great and obvious that, when once the idea had been introduced into a new country, it might have been adopted very quickly and very generally by others than those who introduced it.

But no view expressed by Mr. Peet in this book can be lightly criticised. Still less can it be ignored. He is far too well armed at all points; and we find ourselves cordially in agreement with most of his chief contentions. If we still feel a little sceptical of an intimate relation between South Italy and the very primitive neolithic people of the Eastern part of North Greece, and wait for the exploration of Epirus at any rate, he will not quarrel with us. In any case he and his book have to be taken very seriously. He has written the most valuable monograph that has yet appeared as a result of work done by an actual Craven Fellow, and his future career will be watched with most respectful interest by all archaeologists.

Münchener Archaische Studien dem Andenken Adolf Furtwänglers gewidmet.
Pp. 504. Illustrated. München: C. H. Beck, 1909. 25 m.

This work is made up of four separate archaeological studies. The first is by Rudolf Hackl and is entitled *Merkanile Inschriften auf attischen Vasen*. It deals in an interesting manner with a class of inscriptions which are found incised or painted on the feet of ancient Attic vases. The author has drawn up a catalogue of such vases, and reaches the following conclusions. The inscriptions generally relate to the number, price, or kind of vases. It seems probable that they were incised on the foot of finished vases at the manufactory to serve as memoranda of the requirements of an intending purchaser. The prices of ordinary vases are shown to have been very low. Thus six kraters are found priced at four drachmae. The inscriptions also furnish valuable evidence as to the numerical systems employed at Athens. The Milesian system (of letters) appears to have been used up to about 480 B.C.; the decimal system of numerical signs from that date onwards. The Ionic alphabet is in common use for mercantile purposes on Attic vases from about 500 B.C.

The second study (by Anton Hekler) deals with *Römische weibliche Gewandstatuen*. The author seeks to demonstrate that the Roman artists of the first and second centuries after Christ were entirely dependent upon Greek originals in modelling their statues of women. He believes that in the Augustan-Claudian epoch models were supplied by the Greek fifth-century statues of deities; in the second century the Praxitelean motives were chiefly in vogue. The article closes with a catalogue of Roman draped female statues arranged chronologically according to the Greek types from which they are presumed to be derived. The study is vigorous and able, though there is a tendency towards over-hastiness of judgment, witness the remarks (p. 247) on the recently acquired Treutmann statue in the British Museum.

The value of Eduard Schmidt's *Der Knielauf* is hardly in proportion to the length of the article. It is true that example after example is collected with unwearying diligence, but there is a decided lack of any clear scheme of arrangement. As far as can be gathered the author's principal conclusions are as follows. That running in archaic Greek art is really depicted by what he calls the *Speziallauf*, where both feet actually or nearly touch the ground and the legs are spread very widely apart. That what is commonly known as the *Knielauf* is in origin a purely ornamental scheme found convenient for filling a particular field, though this is afterwards extended to express rapid motion, e.g. flight. This representation of flight is an invention peculiar to the Greeks. But as a whole the general aim of the study is far from clear.

The concluding article is one on *Griechische Schilde* by Georg Lippold. It is a clearly arranged and useful study of Greek shield-forms from Mycenaean to Hellenistic times. In the case of the Boeotian shield he endeavours to show that the apparent excisions on each side are really due to the natural curve of the leather when stretched between the two end frames. In this he is not altogether convincing, as the curve seems to be too pronounced to be produced simply in the way suggested. He seems right in arguing that the Boeotian shield is generally given to heroes in Greek vase-painting to distinguish them from the common soldiers who carry the round shield. Considerable space is devoted to discussing the place of origin of the round shield, which the author would derive from the barbarians of Southern Asia Minor. The Homeric shields he would identify with those that appear on Dipylon vases; but the evidence available hardly seems to warrant any very confident conclusion.

There is no index to the book, an omission which very seriously lessens its utility.

Vergleichende Formenlehre des Ornaments und der Pflanze mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Entwicklungsgeschichte der architektonischen Kunstformen. Von M. MEURER. Large 4to, Pp. xii. + 596; about 2000 figs. Dresden: Kühnmann, 1909. 60 m.

Wandtafeln zur vergleichenden Formenlehre des Ornaments und der Pflanze. Von M. MEURER. 250 plates, 100 x 75 cm. Berlin: Albert Frisch, 600 m. (200 copies printed.)

It is impossible within the limits of a short notice to express the beauty and interest of the above works. The author, Prof. Meurer, is an accomplished artist of decorative design, and is well versed in those parts of Botany and Archaeology that concern his special subject, namely the application of plant forms to decoration.

After introductory sections on the origin of ornament, and employment of plant-forms, and on the process of change in types of ornament, Prof. Meurer treats of the comparative study of forms in twenty-four sections, beginning with the study of the simple symmetrical leaf. Each section as a rule gives firstly, drawings or photographs of the natural objects, secondly, generalized geometric studies (sometimes of striking beauty) of the same subject, and thirdly, copious series of illustrations, showing the progress of the theme from early Egyptian art onwards. In some instances the subjects are traced to mediaeval and even to modern times. The problem therefore that the author sets out to solve is to discover the primordial natural basis of a decorative element, to prove its continuous evolution into unexpected forms, and to analyse the reasons of its changes. The solutions offered usually carry conviction. The palmette, for example, is traced from the Egyptian lily-like flower of the South, to a fully developed conventional form, current in all the Mediterranean countries. Thence again it makes a singular return to a quasi-natural but quite different form in Greece. At the same time the volutes of the Ionic column are convincingly shown to be derived from the same source by a collateral descent. Other sections of equal interest deal with the lotus, the acanthus, the rosette, the various forms of kymation, and the like.

The second of the two works named above consists of a series of splendid plates intended for Art Schools and public lectures. For individual study they are all reproduced (together with much other material) in the first of the two books, namely the *Vergleichende Formenlehre*.

Griechische Grabreliefs aus Südrussland, im Auftrage des k. deutschen Arch. Instituts herausgegeben von GREGOR VON KIESERITZKY und CARL WATZINGER. Pp. xi + 148; 56 plates. Berlin: G. Reimer, 1909.

The publication of the Greek tomb-stones from the S. of Russia was undertaken by Kieseritzky, and the collection of the material occupied him at intervals during the twenty years preceding his lamented death in 1904: the work has been completed since then by Dr. Watzinger. While they are of little artistic value, this series of reliefs is of considerable interest as giving a very full illustration of the development of style and of subjects, in a limited number of types and within a clearly defined region; in date they vary from the fifth century B.C. down to the second or third century of our era. The stelae are classified according to their subjects: the 56 plates, containing about six photographs each, suffice to give a very complete notion of the character of the reliefs, the total number of which amounts to 700. The descriptions and references appear to be full and accurate, and the work in every way worthy of the Institute responsible for its production.

Greek Architecture. By ALLEN MARQUAND, Ph.D., L.H.D. Pp. x+425; 392 illustrations. New York: the Macmillan Co., 1909.

This is a new volume of the Macmillan Series of Handbooks. Professor Marquand has made a thorough and careful compilation and arrangement of what is known as to Greek architecture. It is, however, rather too technical in its order and presentation of the facts to be serviceable to the general reader or the scholar who is not a specialist; this is chiefly owing to the absence of any comprehensive historical account of architectural development. The chapters are I. Materials and Construction; II. Architectural Forms; III. Proportion; IV. Decoration; V. Composition and Style; VI. Monuments. It follows, for example, that no formal account of the conventional three orders is given until p. 280 in Chap. V, though most of the facts about them have been already included in the chapters on forms, proportion, and decoration. It is another result of the arrangement followed that examples of the most various periods, from Mycenaean down to late Hellenistic, sometimes follow one another in a rather bewildering succession. The full indices and numerous and well-chosen illustrations will make the volume very useful for reference.

Greek Buildings represented by Fragments in the British Museum.
IV. *The Thesum, the Erechtheum, and other Works.* By W. R. LETHBRIDGE. Pp. 72. London: Batsford, 1908. 2s.

Mr. Lethbridge has now issued a fourth and concluding part of his note-book of an Architect in the British Museum. He deals in the last part not only with the Thesum, the Propylaea, the temple of Nike Apteros, the Erechtheum, but also with the temples of Phigaleia and Rhamnus, the Nereid Monument, the temple at Priene, the Lion tomb at Onidos, the temples of Branchidae, Naucratis, Teos, and Magnesia, the monuments of Lysicrates and Thrasyllos, the Lycian tomb, and the facade of the Treasury of Atreus. All Mr. Lethbridge's notes are interesting and suggestive. The most important is that in which he shows that the anta-capital No. 436 belongs to the temple of Nike Apteros, and not to the Ionic temple on the Ilissee, to which it has long been assigned on account of its approximation to Stuart's drawing.

A Restoration of the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus. By J. J. STEVENSON. Pp. 35, 4 plates. London: Batsford, 1909. 2s. 6d. net.

The late Mr. J. J. Stevenson devoted much thought to the restoration of the Mausoleum. He read a paper on the subject before the Society of Antiquaries, in 1896, which was published in the *Builder* of August 27, of the same year. A revised edition was in preparation at the time of his death in 1908, and it is now issued by his representatives.

The author assumes the complete order—that is, including the sculptured frieze—and a peripteral plan, with double lines of seven columns at each side, and six columns at each end. The striking feature of the design is a change of pitch from a 'pyramid' of six steps with a broad tread and low rise, to a 'meta' with eighteen steps, with a narrow tread and high rise. By this device (in which he was anticipated by Count Caylus) the twenty-four steps of Pliny are obtained without giving excessive size and weight to the structure. He interprets the much disputed statement of equality to mean that the pyramid and meta were equal to the base.

A coloured reproduction of the drawing which was executed by Mr. E. J. Lambert, under Mr. Stevenson's direction, and which is now exhibited in the Mausoleum Room, is given as a frontispiece.

Les 'Apollons Archaïques': Etude sur le type masculin de la statuaire grecque au vi^e siècle avant notre ère. By WALDEMAR DEONNA. Pp. xii + 407. Geneva: Georg, 1909.

An exhaustive study of the type described in the title. The group is discussed from all points of view, in the first part. Its individual members are catalogued in the second part. The third part, called '*Essais de groupements*', classifies and discusses the specimens in groups. A novel and interesting feature in the first part is a series of plates, comparing the sculptures, point by point. Thus Pl. IV is a comparative study of alabasters, and Pl. VI consists mainly of ears.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art: Catalogue of the Collection of Casts. Printed for the Museum. New York: MCMVIII. Pp. xxxiv + 383.

In the Greek and Roman section of the catalogue Miss A. M. Richter has written an accurate and useful handbook to the collection. The notes upon each statue are very brief, but all restorations are carefully indicated and one select reference is given for each. There are several well selected illustrations, though that entitled '*The Sitting Boxer, as discovered*' is surely misleading, as bronzes are not discovered ready cleaned in the earth. In a few places the necessity for close compression has also led to misleading statements in the text. It is hardly correct to speak either of the *Lateran Sophokles* or of the *Dying Gaul* as copies of bronze originals, or to say that the *Herculeanum bronzes* are (with two exceptions) 'of Roman execution.' Miss Richter would have the *Venus of Milo* to be an original work of the fourth century but forbears to give her reasons. The bronze bust of the *Bearded Dionysos* from *Herculeanum* can hardly belong to the fifth century, and the inscriptional evidence for placing the *Laokoon* in the first century rather than the second seems to be conclusive. In the collection itself there are one or two noticeable gaps, the archaic *Calvebenner* of the *Acropolis Museum* and the *Hestia Giustiniani* being conspicuously absent.

The Monuments of Christian Rome from Constantine to the Renaissance. By A. L. FROTHINGHAM. Pp. 412. New York: The Macmillan Company. *Handbooks of Archaeology and Antiquities.* 1908. 10s. 6d.

A manual of mediæval Roman artistic history for English readers has long been needed: it is a great gain to possess a compact volume like the present, condensing a mass of information upon an intelligible plan.

Perhaps the first point which impresses the student of this long period is the conservatism of Rome, persisting through vicissitudes which in any other place would have destroyed all traces of old tradition: it is as if the *genius loci* had escaped the exile of the pagan gods. This loyalty to old forms is especially manifest in the case of architecture. While other countries, and other parts of Italy, were experimenting with domes and vaults, with new capitals and rich mouldings, the Roman builders were faithful to the basilican church with its bare round-headed windows and its timbered roof. In some respects they even went backward, reverting in their interiors from the archivolt to the architrave which had preceded it in the course of development. During the revival of the twelfth century, we find them deliberately selecting the plain Ionic order for their columns; this at the time when the capital was the chosen field for the creations of a luxuriant and disordered fancy. The love of the antique could never quite die out in Rome: the soil was too rich in ancient remains, the hereditary instinct to admire them was too firmly rooted in the Roman nature. While France was preparing for the development of Gothic art, the Roman sculptors were setting up

antique capitals, cornices, and friezes to be copied by their pupils; a statue of Asculapius signed by one of the Vassallati was discovered in the ruins of his family work-shop.

This tenacious conservatism of Rome perhaps helps us to understand, at least under some of its aspects, the interminable Byzantine question. Dr. Frothingham has adopted the reasonable attitude to be expected from one both versed in the study of Byzantine art and almost entitled to claim rights of Roman citizenship. He shows how hopelessly the artistic life of the city was weakened by the successive departures of the 'schools' of craftsmen between the fourth and sixth centuries; he describes a Rome left with an enfeebled constitution, and susceptible to any powerful external influence. He explains that from the first such influences were oriental, coming from Ravenna, from the orientalised south of Italy, or more directly from the Christian East. The hold of Basilian monasticism upon Rome was strong before the disasters of the Gothic war. It became stronger yet when the half-ruined city was repopled, not by wealthy patricians and their dependents, but by poor and intimidated men to whom the austere side of Christianity appealed with irresistible force. It triumphed with the influx of refugees from the East at the time of the iconoclastic dispute. The completeness of the triumph during the two centuries between the times of Narces and Charlemagne is proved by all the art of the time, no less by such frescoes as those of St. Sabas and Sta. Maria Antiqua than by the minor objects discovered a few years back in the treasure of the Santa Sanctorum at the Lateran. Yet even during this period of low vitality there is sometimes a faint assertion of Western independence. Dr. Frothingham finds traces of this even in the mosaics of St. Cosmas and St. Damian, as Vitet had found it before him in the ruder work of later times. In the ninth century, when the Franks saved the papacy, the absolute predominance of Byzantium came to an end. Byzantine influence was not entirely banished for centuries: it perhaps inspired the incrustated marble work of the Cosmati: it is visible in the mural mosaics of the thirteenth century. Rome was no more able to dispense with it than other parts of Italy. But she seems to have borne with Byzantinism as with the diet of an invalid. No sooner did she regain a little strength than she turned to the antique as to a source of nourishment. Rome bade fair to lead the early Renaissance, when the Babylonian captivity at Avignon put an end to all her hopes.

The historical sketch, to which the first part of the book is devoted, is followed by a review of the various arts between the fourth and fourteenth centuries; the chapters on painting are especially important, with their attempt to classify the early frescoes. The *scenografi* are adequately treated: the half-mysterious figures of mediæval Roman art pass before us and become something more than empty names. The book ends with an index, and a valuable supplementary list of Roman churches. Numerous half-tone blocks illustrate the text.

In a work which can be so sincerely praised it may seem hypercritical to mention a few apparent blemishes, none of which essentially detract from its merit. There does not appear to be any discussion of the lower mosaics in Sta. Costanza; we are rather led to suppose that the famous Byzantine dalmatic in St. Peter's is much older than the 14th century, the date now assigned to it; one may demur to the phrase 'the mæsthetic Byzantinism of the 11th century'—the century which gave us the mosaics of Daphni and St. Luke of Stiris, and the most delicate ivories and illuminations. On pp. 301 and 305 the word 'pendentive' is used in a sense new to the writer. But these are matters of secondary importance. When all is said, this interesting and scholarly volume should hold its own as an authoritative manual, and pass without difficulty into other editions.

Die Antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen, unter Mitwirkung von PAUL HARTWIG, PAUL WALTERS, ROBERT ZAHN, veröffentlicht von BERTHO GRAEF. Kaiserlich deutsches archäologisches Institut. Heft 1. Text pp. 1-88. Tafeln 1-46. Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1909. 40 m.

This long-promised and long-looked-for publication of the Acropolis vases has at last begun to make its appearance, and will be greatly welcomed by all students of the subject. This first instalment contains 724 items, and includes all the earlier fabrics (primitive *Muthaleret*, Mycenaean, etc.), the vases of the Voynia type (119 items), and the earlier examples of the B.F. style ('François-vase type': 22 items), as well as 119 large vases of developed B.F. style (dinets and krateres). Inasmuch as few of these vases and fragments have been hitherto published, they will in some respects come as a revelation to those who have not been privileged to examine the originals in Athens; many of the B.F. examples exhibiting a richness of decoration and delicacy of execution hitherto unknown, except from a few signed specimens by Exekias and other artists. It would almost seem as if the *chefs d'œuvre* of the black-figure artists were specially reserved for dedication to the protecting goddess of the city. The earlier fabrics, being so sparsely represented, demand less attention, though it is interesting to note to what extent they occur on a site more definitely associated with a comparatively late cult. But in these days of enthusiasm for the primitive and prehistoric, anything which recalls our attention to the art of a more developed period is to be welcomed. Among individual items No. 606 may be cited as a particularly fine example, with its friezes of racing horsemen and chariots. We have only one fault to find. Seeing that nearly all the examples figured in the plates are fragments (Plate 30 is almost the only exception) it seems a great pity that such an unwieldy format has been adopted. For a catalogue a handy size is essential.

Catalogue of the Roman Pottery in the Departments of Antiquities, British Museum. By H. B. WALTERS. Pp. liv, +464. With forty-four Plates, and 283 figures in the text. 4to. London, 1908.

Recent years have witnessed a great development in the scientific study of Roman pottery. Very sound pioneer work on the subject was done by Professor HANS DRAGENDORF, who virtually mapped out the lines on which subsequent investigation has proceeded. Déchelette followed a year or two later (1904) with his monumental account of the *terra sigillata* industry in Gaul. Now Mr. Walters provides us with a detailed catalogue of the fine British Museum collection. The book bears the stamp of industry and learning on every page. Yet somehow it fails to satisfy. The introduction is full and clear, and its study may be commended to all who desire to make themselves acquainted with the first principles of the subject. It is when one comes to the practical application—to the catalogue itself—that the desire for more light makes itself most strongly felt. The very completeness with which the object in view is accomplished, the precision with which each fragment is classified, inevitably tends to engender a certain sense of distrust, or at all events a wish for a more definite exposition of the reasons that have led the author to his particular conclusions. In some cases these conclusions are difficult to reconcile with the premises on which they are based. Nor do we always feel perfect confidence in the readings given of the numerous potters' stamps. It does not appear whether they were in all cases verified by a second eye. If not, this is matter for regret. Only those who have strained sight and patience over a task such as Mr. Walters has accomplished, can realise the immense value of a systematic check. Sometimes the most careful observer produces two different versions within as many hours, and at the end of a third hour finds it impossible to decide between them. The illustrations are very good, and should be extremely helpful to those to whom the actual sherds are not accessible. The indexes

are business-like in plan and execution. One final remark. Although the designs are ultimately derived from Greek mythology, that scarcely seems sufficient reason for adopting Greek nomenclature and spelling in the case of proper names. We may be sure that neither the makers nor the users of the pottery spoke of 'Eros' and of 'Herakles,' of 'Seilenos' and of 'Artemis.' Why should we?

Catalogue des Figurines de Terre Cuite. Musées Impériaux Ottomans. By GUSTAVE MENDEL. Pp. x+664. With 15 plates. Constantinople, 1908. 15 f.

This catalogue does great credit to the authorities of the Museum at Constantinople. Seeing that all finds from excavations on Turkish soil are necessarily collected in that institution, it is a matter for much satisfaction that it is showing such enterprise in making them known to the world, and judgment in entrusting the work to competent scholars. No less than 3,554 items are all carefully classified (primarily on a geographical basis), and clearly and succinctly described. The collection includes large numbers of terracottas from Myrina and the Danish excavations at Lindos, and others from the British Museum excavations at Ephesus, from Smyrna, Priene, and other less-known sites, extending all over the Turkish Empire. Those from Cyprus have already been catalogued by M. Nicole. All types and periods of Greek terracotta statuettes are represented, but the majority are of the Hellenistic period, like those from Myrina. There are fifteen plates, comprising about 140 figures, and admirable tables and indices at the end of the volume.

Catalogue of the Antiquities (Greek, Etruscan, and Roman) in the Collection of the late Wyndham Francis Cook, Esquire. By CECIL H. SMITH and C. ARY HUTTON. Pp. 133. 44 Plates. London, 1908.

The Wyndham Cook Collection, as is well known, consists of Renaissance and modern works of art, which were published in 1904, and of the antique gems, jewellery, and bronzes described in this book, which forms the second volume of the Catalogue. Many of these pieces were included in the Exhibition of the Burlington Fine Arts Club in 1904, and the collection has always been accessible to students; but it is now for the first time presented as a whole, in such a way that both its beauty and its scientific value may be adequately appreciated. The greatest treasure is perhaps the agate cup, published in the Burlington Catalogue under the name of the Hamilton Vase, but now called the Rubens Vase. Although no continuous pedigree can be traced, its connexion with the painter seems to be well enough established. The Gnostic gems are an important group. The description of these and of the other stones and rings is especially the work of Miss Hutton. In the bronzes Sir Cecil Smith has elaborated his former suggestions in regard to the statuette which was published in the Burlington Catalogue as a sick man; he corrects the reading of the inscription from Euthamidas, son of Perdikkas, to Euthamidas, and identifies the figure as the contemporary portrait of a Macedonian mystic, perhaps even a companion of Alexander, who is known to have been attracted by the Indian Yoga. By Mr. Cook's desire every piece of importance has been illustrated: the plates are luxurious reproductions in photogravure; and as the text consists of only so many words as are necessary to complete the photographic illustrations and to explain the objects, the catalogue may well serve as a model for those of public museums.

Catalogue of the Southesk Collection of Antique Gems. Edited by LADY HELENA CARNEGIE. Vol. I. 17 Plates. London: B. Quaritch. 30s.

Archaeologists will welcome the appearance of the first volume of the Catalogue of one of the more important private collections of engraved gems formed during recent years, and the more so because it will apparently include the whole of the collection and not merely a selection from it. The present volume deals with about 400 Egyptian, Assyrian, Phoenician, Greek, Etruscan, and Roman intaglios and a few cameos.

The late Earl of Southesk who formed the collection appears to have been a prudent, if not an inspired buyer, and though, judging from the illustrations, there is not much that can fairly be reckoned as first class, a good proportion of the collection is of quite average merit. The descriptions of the gems, the notes on them (with the exception stated on p. xiii) and a portion of the *Preface*, are the work of the collector. The descriptions are carefully written, though a reference to the plates does not always result in agreement with the text; for instance, E 32 cannot be 'Priam': it is undoubtedly either Mithras or a portrait in the character of Mithras. A discursive note follows each description, and as these notes, though frequently diverting, have little archaeological value, it is to be regretted, as the work is published for general circulation, that the Editor has not cut out the greater portion of them, nor even corrected such slips as the statement (p. 46) that Furtwängler does not figure the A. Morrison Athena head (No. 246; *Sale Cat.*) in his *Antike Gemmen*. He figures it on Pl. XXXVIII. 39, and notes in the *Appendix* that it had passed from the Tyskiewicz Collection (where he saw it) into Mr. Morrison's possession. Possibly an undecipherable MS. or the printer is responsible for the remarkable phrase (p. 139) 'the Panther with his five emanations,' but it is difficult to understand on what grounds it can have 'seemed better' (*Pref.*, p. xiii) to print these notes on the Gnostic gems. The gems themselves are an interesting collection which would well repay further study, and were bought between 1878 and 1888; the notes also belong to those years, when Lord Southesk was much under the influence of King's *The Gnostics and their Remains*, and particularly of those portions of it which modern research has shown to be quite untrustworthy. There is reason to believe that he contemplated the thorough revision of the notes in this section, and it is impossible to help feeling that the Editor would have shewn more *pietas* by cutting them out than by printing them.

A very copious index facilitates reference to the contents of the volume.

Nymphen und Chariten auf griechischen Münzen. By F. IMHOOF-BLUMER. Pp. 1-213. With twelve colotype Plates. Athens: Meissner and Kargaduris, 1900.

As a rule, Dr. Imhoof addresses himself directly to the specialist in numismatics. The present work will appeal rather to the general student of archaeology. It comprises a careful catalogue of all the representations of nymphs and graces known to occur on Greek coins, and is illustrated by beautiful reproductions of no fewer than 482 admirably selected pieces. Nothing could exceed the accuracy and succinctness of the descriptions, while the identifications, some of which are quite novel, make the whole a most attractive handbook to a not unimportant branch of Greek and Graeco-Roman mythology.

Catalogue Raisonné et Illustré des séries gallo-romaines du musée épigraphique cantonal de Genève. Par EMILE DUNANT. Pp. iv+200. Genève: Kündig, 1900.

The Romano-Gaulish Geneva was a subordinate town, or vici of the *colonia* of Vienna on the Rhone nearly a hundred miles away. It had local magistrates, apparently called

sediles, and a fairly considerable town-life, despite its dependence, and its museum conserves many traces of this. The volume before us, a quarto of rather over 200 pages, forming one of the 'Mémoires de l'Institut Genevois' describes that part of these traces which consists in Roman inscriptions and sculptures—about 60 of the former and 40 of the latter—together with some 20 inscriptions which it was convenient to add. It is the work of a local Genevese archaeologist of much promise, who died young in 1902: it has since been brought up to date and published by his father. It necessarily contains little, either in the way of inscriptions or in the way of interpretations, which is not to be found in the *Corpus* (vols. xii. and xiii.), but there is a line-block for every item and the notes are sensible and scholarly—though the constitutional and historical paragraphs on pp. 165-6 need revision. One regrets that the whole could not have been produced on a smaller scale. It does not really contain more matter or illustration than (let us say) Mr. Haverfield's *Catalogue of the Chester Museum inscriptions*, but it is about five times the bulk. Fine feathers do not make fine birds in archaeology any more than in the general world.

Il Simbolismo nelle figurazioni sepolcrali romane. Studi di Ermeneutica, di VITTORIO MACCHERON. [R. Accad. di Napoli.] Pp. 143. Napoli: Tipogr. della R. Università, 1909.

Like most essays in the interpretation of symbolism, this is more useful as a collection of material than for the interpretation which it provides. The author deals with numerous well-worn subjects, such as the butterfly-soul, the bird-soul, the serpent, and with many others less familiar. His handling of the evidence is not always critical. In order to establish a religious significance for the cicada, he discusses for two paragraphs on the religious significance of coin-types in a way which shows that he is not abreast of recent research on this question. He seems to know of only three coins which show the cicada (in Western Hellas alone it occurs on the coins of at least six cities) and he falls into the common error of treating an adjunct, which is merely a varying monetary mark, as if it had a significant connexion with the main type. Some most important subjects, such as the eagle, are treated in a most cursory way. In spite of these and similar faults, it is, as stated above, useful because of the references which it provides. There is a full index, but no illustrations.

Le Origini del Kabiri nelle Isole del Mar Tracico. Memoria di R. PETTAZZONI. [R. Acc. dei Lincei, 1908.] Pp. 110. Roma: Tipogr. d. R. Acc. dei Lincei, 1909.

This is a very careful discussion of the literary and monumental evidence relating to the Kaberoi. The author concludes that the primitive cult in Samothrace and the neighbouring islands was a nature-cult of a god (Dionysos-Sabazios) and goddess (Bendis-Hekate), accompanied by Satyre and Maenads. Phoenicians introduced the Kaberoi (who were assimilated to the Satyrs) and their leader Eshmun-Kadmilos (who was identified with Dionysos); the consort of Dionysos became Kabero; On this, again, was superposed a Hellenic ethnical and mystic cultus of Demeter, Kore, Hades. Apart from the validity of the author's conclusions, which may sometimes seem disputable, the memoir is quite indispensable as a collection of material. It is satisfactory to find that, in some points at least, the statements of Philo of Byblus are shown to be borne out by independent evidence.

Malaria and Greek History. By W. H. S. JONES. To which is added *The History of Greek Therapeutics and the Malaria Theory* by E. T. Withington. Pp. xi. + 175. Manchester: University Press, 1900. 5s.

This volume, which forms No. 43 of the 'University of Manchester Publications,' is an interesting attempt to prove that we may 'see in malaria one factor, out of probably many others, that caused the harmful tendencies' latent in the Greeks even at the greatest period of their history to develop, and thus aided in bringing about the decline of the nation. After a brief introduction dealing with the causes and forms of malaria, Mr. Jones gives an account of the present malarious condition of Greece, based upon statistics gathered by the Greek Anti-malaria League. Some of the statements made are startling in the extreme to those who are unfamiliar with the work *Ἡ Ἐλασσία τῆς Ελλάδος*, published under the auspices of the League. For example, we are told with reference to the year 1905, 'It is calculated that, out of a total population of 2,433,896, no fewer than 900,048 were attacked by malaria and 5,916 died.' The author then passes in review the passages in ancient writers, medical and other, which deal with, or may be supposed to refer to, malaria. He concludes that down to 430 B.C. malaria, if not unknown in Greece, was at least not prevalent to any great extent, but that during the Peloponnesian War there was an epidemic of malaria (one of its victims perhaps being Pericles himself), which from that time became endemic, aided by 'the absence of prophylactic measures and the lack of adequate means of treatment.' Chapter V deals with the effects of malaria upon the individual and the race—the depopulation of malarious districts, the disappearance of the agricultural classes, the weakening of physical powers and the tendency towards sluggishness, the economic loss, finally the physical suffering and the actual loss of life entailed.

The work is moderate in tone, and the author is careful to call attention to the unsatisfactory nature of much of the available evidence and to refrain from claiming too much for his theory. We think that he has done a real service to the study of ancient history in pointing out a factor which was of importance in the fourth and succeeding centuries, the possible influence of which the statistics from modern Greece will guard us against underrating.

Griechisches Bürgerschaftsrecht. I. Teil. Das Recht des altgriechischen Gemeindestaats. Von JOSEF PARTSCH. Pp. ix. + 434. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1900. 14 m.

We have in this imposing volume the first part of an exhaustive study of the meaning of the Greek *ἐγγύς* and its place in the legal systems of the Hellenic world, primarily in that of Attica. Although the evidence of papyri is frequently cited for important points in the procedure of the Hellenistic period, the detailed examination of the material bearing upon Egypt in the Ptolemaic era is reserved for a second volume.

Starting from a discussion of Od. viii. 344-360, the earliest instance of *ἐγγύς* in Greek literature, Dr. Partsch passes on to a careful examination of the various terms used in reference to suretyship both in Attic and in other sources. He then sets forth at length its juristic position and its practical application in the civil procedure of ancient Greece, its employment in criminal cases and finally its use in state transactions and in international relations. The author has done well to approach the evidence with an unprejudiced mind, free from the preconceived notion that the Greek idea must correspond with that found developed in the Pandects. Although adducing some interesting parallels from Germanic and Indian law, he has arrived at his results by carefully collecting and rigorously analysing all the material which is available in Greek writers, notably the Attic orators, and inscriptions. The task has been one involving great labour, for, apart from the scattered nature of the ancient sources, there is a not inconsiderable modern literature on the subject. But the author has carried out his

task well and thoroughly, and though it is possible that further epigraphical or papyrological discoveries may necessitate some additions and modifications, yet this will undoubtedly remain for very many years to come the standard work upon the subject with which it deals.

The Provinces of the Roman Empire from Caesar to Diocletian. By THOROMOMMSEN. English translation by the late Prof. W. P. Dickson; reprinted with corrections. London: Macmillan & Co., 1909. Two volumes, 21s. net.

The thanks of English readers are due to the reviser, Prof. F. Haverfield, and to the publisher for this improved and cheaper reprint of the late Prof. Dickson's translation of Mommsen's standard work, which has for some years been unprocurable except at a prohibitive price from the second-hand bookseller. It is not a popular work. It does not appeal even to as wide an audience as the earlier volumes to which it forms a pendant. Nevertheless it was an epoch-making book which revolutionized current conceptions of the character of the Roman Empire to an extent hardly realized by the younger generation of students who have grown up in the new light shed by the master-hand, and we are glad to see it on the market again in a better form and at a reduced price. A mere reprint would scarcely have been defensible. Prof. Dickson's translation was, unfortunately, much less happy than his rendering of the earlier volumes had been. It was marred by errors—some of them curious and serious—and the very frequent retention of the 'mould of the German,' which the translator himself felt he had at times followed too closely in his desire 'to reproduce the form as well as the matter of the original,' was not only irritating to the English reader but often obscured the meaning, and this was the more unfortunate because Mommsen's abstract style of itself makes his exposition by no means easy reading. The only real remedy for these defects would have been a new version; but the adoption of such a heroic measure was hardly to be expected in view of the necessarily limited sale of a book of this kind, and the reviser's task has been restricted, as Prof. Haverfield explains, to the introduction of such alterations as the stereotyped plates allowed. These alterations we are told run into several hundreds. Slips, like 'Poetovio on the middle Danube' (p. 23), have been corrected, though some have inevitably been overlooked, such as the printer's favourite 'Cicilian' for Cilician (I. p. 335), *ἀγέρει* (p. 351), and *Tragolyte* and *Tragolytis* several times in ch. xii. Besides smaller improvements involving the change of one or two words, dark places have been made light, and glaring mistranslations have disappeared. The reader is no longer startled by the remark that the Roman government dared not introduce in Asia Minor 'the formation of poor-clubs and of voluntary fire-works,' or by the statement attributed to Fronto that 'the *crossants* were regarded by the Roman soldiers as giving the signal to run away' (a blunder which might have been avoided by a reference to the Latin *tribus quasi fagus signum crucantis*), nor need he call his critical faculty into play to emend the remark that Plantius, the conqueror of Britain, was 'the last private' who attained the honour of a triumph. An effort has also been made to embody the not very considerable changes made by Mommsen in the later German editions, of which an example may be found at the end of ch. iv. We regret that the references to older collections of inscriptions, not generally easy of access, have not been replaced by references to the later volumes of *C.I.L.*

The question how far Mommsen's conclusions have been affected by later research is answered only in the case of Britain, which has a special interest for those to whom the translation is addressed. The Appendix of eight pages devoted to it will suffice to stay the hunger of the expectant crowd that awaits the publication of the editor's *Blind and Ford Lectures*. We should have liked the same sort of thing for other provinces, but we can sympathize with the editor's plea that it was too large a task. For the Germano-Rhaetian frontier and for Syria the need is to some extent supplied by the

references given in the Prefatory Note. The list might have been extended with advantage to several other provinces where investigation has been actively and successfully pursued.

Zum ägyptischen Grundbuchwesen in römischer Zeit. Von OTTO EGGER.
Pp. viii+212. Leipzig and Berlin: B. G. Teubner.

With the constant multiplication of the number of published papyri it grows increasingly difficult for any single student to master all the problems presented by them, and the monograph becomes more and more a necessity. The present volume is a further addition to the already not inconsiderable literature devoted to papyrological questions and will take its place by Wozniński's *Grundbesitz* and Otto's *Prätor und Tempel* as an indispensable authority on the subject which it treats. That subject is the official registration of land in Roman Egypt. The volume, with the exception of the last chapter, which deals with *ἀπογραφὰι* or declarations of landed property addressed to certain other officials, is concerned exclusively with the *βιβλιοθήκαι ἐγκρίσεων* and their functions. Beginning with a tabulated list of all the papyri dealing either with these officials or with the *ἐγκρίσια βιβλιοθήκαι*, the author proceeds to examine in detail the evidence thus collected, and after distinguishing the *δημόσια βιβλιοθήκαι* from the *τῶν ἐγκρίσεων βιβλιοθήκαι* and determining the sphere of the latter's activities (which he is probably right in regarding as confined to private property and *γῆ κτισμένη*) he proceeds to a careful examination of the whole process of registration. The evidence bearing on this subject is rather more abundant than is the case with some other papyrological questions, and though there are naturally many points which cannot at present be conclusively settled and others in regard to which the author's views will be disputed, it seems likely that his main conclusions are substantially sound. Besides its value as a general statement of the process of land-registration through the *τῶν ἐγκρίσεων βιβλιοθήκαι*, the book contains many useful suggestions on matters of detail. Its value as a work of reference would be greatly enhanced by a full subject index; it contains only an index of sources.

Studies in Roman History. By E. G. HARRY. Second series. Pp. xii+307.
London: Sonnenschein, 1909. 6s.

This is a less valuable volume than its predecessor, but every fair critic must recognize that it has real uses. Its contents fall into three parts. Rather more than a third deals with the armies and frontier relations of the German provinces. This was written fifteen years ago and laid aside: it is now printed at a time when failing eyesight has made the author unable to bring it up to date, and as it is full of detail—references, measurements, proper names—this is serious. Every one will regret deeply the cause. When, however, we have to deal with the result, it is no kindness to the author to shelter him behind his infirmity. It is better to say what we believe to be the truth, that while the article in general is both too detailed and too old to benefit ordinary scholars, it contains incidentally a great deal that may benefit specialists. The second section, which is rather longer than the first, discusses the history of the reigns of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius and is valuable particularly because of its military sections, which are very well worth the historian's attention. The third and shortest section discusses the civil war between Caesar and Pompey, down to the battle of Pharsalus. Altogether, students of Roman History will find that this volume has not been issued in vain. There are two maps, which the publishers seem to have viewed with an unfriendly eye.

Philostratos über Gymnastik. Von JULIUS JÜTHNER. Pp. vii + 236. Leipzig u. Berlin: B. G. Teubner, 1909. 10 m.

The treatise of Philostratos is valuable as the only remnant of what must have been an extensive literature dealing with Gymnastic, and Dr. Jüthner has now provided us for the first time with a trustworthy text based on the actual MS. which was discovered by Mynas in the middle of the last century. To the actual text he has added a German translation, a full commentary, and an elaborate introduction, half of which is devoted to questions connected with the actual text, the other half to a history of Gymnastic in literature.

The text of Kaysir proves to be more accurate than was supposed, and most of Dr. Jüthner's changes are comparatively unimportant. In chapter 7 there appear to be good reasons for substituting *palamed* for the epithet *παλιδας* applied to the Hoplitodromoi, a change which invalidates part of the argument which was used in vol. xxiii. of this journal though it does not affect the conclusions there reached as to the general character of the race in armour, which, in spite of Dr. Jüthner's indignant protest, was not regarded, it may still be maintained, with the same seriousness as other athletic events. There seems less reason for the change in arrangement of chapter 36, where Dr. Jüthner separates the type of athletes described as *οἱ ἐκ μέρους περὶ αὐτῶν* from its true connexion with the wrestlers and pankratiasts described in the previous chapter and makes them the first class in the highly fantastic classification which follows.

The commentary, if somewhat disappointing in its dealing with practical matters, is a storehouse of quotations from ancient writers, and of references to modern authorities. There is probably no work where the student will find such information so conveniently collected, and so accessible by means of the indices.

The introduction contains among other matters a valuable discussion on the Oxyrhynchus wrestling papyrus quoted in vol. xxvi. of this journal, p. 22. The earlier sections, dealing with gymnastic in literature, are based on what seems to the writer a mistaken estimate of the value of the science of physical culture among the Greeks, the founding of which Dr. Jüthner ascribes to Herodikos of Selymbria. Dr. Jüthner appears to suppose that the new science developed steadily during the following centuries and exercised a valuable influence on medical science and on the national physique. Unfortunately the progress of the new science, if progress it was, coincided with the decline of national physique and the growth of professionalism. These evils began in the last quarter of the fifth century, the time of Herodikos. Aristophanes is our witness that in his time the palaestra was deserted; Euripides paints for us the evils of professionalism. The old simple training had made the Greeks at the time of Marathon a race of athletes: the scientific training of Herodikos produced the physical degeneracy of the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

Aus dem griechischen Schulwesen. By E. ZIEBARTH. Pp. viii + 150. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1909. 4 m.

Dr. Ziebarth makes no attempt in the modest volume before us to give a complete account of the theory and practice of Greek education. He does not aim at superseding Griseberger or Girard or Freeman. Indeed, the period with which he mainly deals is different from that covered by the last two writers, who do not profess to extend their survey beyond the end of the fourth century B.C., whereas the evidence discussed by Dr. Ziebarth belongs chiefly to the Hellenistic and Roman periods. What we have before us is an admirable treatment by an author whose 'Das griechische Verfassungsleben' and 'Die Stiftung nach griechischem Recht' are standard works in their respective fields of the evidence which inscriptions afford us on the subject of the organization of Greek education, chiefly, but by no means exclusively, in the Greek towns of Asia

Minor. The author is abreast of the most recent discoveries and his command of the material and lucidity of treatment leave nothing to be desired.

The nucleus of the book is formed by the publication, with a translation and commentary, of a hitherto unedited inscription from Miletus, recording the details of an endowment left by a certain Eudæmus for the education of freeborn children. In Chapter II the author discusses the position of national and private schools in ancient Greece and the extent to which school attendance was made compulsory by the state. Chapter III deals with the question of 'School endowments and endowed schools,' in which we notice that endowments seem to have been devoted not so much to the intellectual as to the athletic side of education—to the founding of games, the provision of oil, the building of baths, and similar objects. In the concluding chapter the epigraphical evidence for the school curriculum and organization is collected and discussed—the lists of scholars, their division into classes, schoolboy clubs and societies, the social position, rights and duties of schoolmasters, school libraries, and that characteristic feature of Greek life, the school *ἀγῶνες*, whether these consisted in the annual examinations or in the school or state sports and contests. To all those interested in the history of education the book may be warmly commended as one which cannot fail to afford both interest and instruction.

De Vita atque Cultu Puerorum Monumentis Antiquis Explanato. By G. VAN HOEN. Pp. 98. 37 Illustrations. Amsterdam, 1909.

The subject is one of those which may be spoiled by too much or too little gravity in handling. In this case the mean appears to have been found, and the essay is equally entertaining to the scholar and useful to the specialist. Some rather unexpected notes on various subjects, of literary as well as archaeological interest, are incorporated in the work. The illustrations are good, the references copious and recent, but there is no index.

Plato's Doctrine of Ideas. By J. A. STEWART. Pp. 13+205. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1909. 6s.

The professed object of this book is to treat the Platonic doctrine of Ideas as a 'variety of experience' whose nature may be better indicated to us through the help of modern psychology than by any other means. 'The literary evidence' is 'to be submitted for interpretation to the Court of Psychology' (p. 12); too close an attention 'to the letter of Plato's text' is deprecated (171, 42, 100, n. 2). The doctrine should be regarded, and Plato treated it, as having a double function, (1) as a methodology, (2) as expressing aesthetic experience.

By calling the Ideas methodological (after Professor Natorp, who is freely cited in the first part), what is meant is this: I may ask 'By employing what principles, and following what method, does Human Understanding succeed in explaining the facts of sensible experience?' And the answer always is: 'By bringing its logical categories to bear upon the facts of sensible experience, and so thinking out systematically the various contexts, first immediate, and then wider and wider, in which alone these facts have any significance for conduct and science' (128). The *εἶδη* are such logical categories, or general terms, which we use in this task. The expressions Professor Stewart uses about them are indeed various and perhaps divergent. They are 'points of view, from which things are scientifically regarded' (26), or 'by taking which, Human Understanding succeeds in making the facts of the sensible world intelligible' (128, cf. 172); and a point of view appears to mean an aspect—at least, the only example given of looking at things from a convenient point of view is that

we may look at a number of things 'as having a Quality, say, "astringency," which enables us to do something with any one of them. Apart from the interest we have in this Common Quality, the Things are uninteresting, that is, they are "mere particulars." In technical language we are ready with "motor reactions" in response to them only as stimulating us by a certain Quality. And this "readiness," this "habit of attention," is what comes to be spoken of as the *eidōs* in which they all "participate", and by participating in which cease to be "mere particulars", and become "instances" of a law or principle' (132). Again, the *eidōs* of the virtues are the 'meaning of the virtues in each case' (48); they are (as Prof. Natorp says) 'Methods, Pure Suppositions of Thought' (43); 'explanation of things' (109); 'the Law of Nature, or Causal Context, which a scientific explanation of any class of objects, qualities, or events, must set forth' (28); 'the Law, the Cause, the Use, the Context, the Right Point of View; for it is advisable to find different expressions for different cases' (119); 'centre of an individual force which is in the act of distributing itself among particulars, so that it appears in them as a common quality' (181); *quā* real, they are 'expressions of Force, of the Force inherent only in *ψυχή*' (87); they are 'ways in which the mind reacts, according to its own constitution, upon the influences which come to it from without' (27); 'a product of the mind's activity, an instrument constructed by the mind, whereby it "makes nature", "moulds environment", so as to serve the purposes of human life' (7, cf. 100).

We have quoted so large a number of passages partly in order to let the book speak for itself, partly because it seems to us to suffer from some obscuring of differences. Thus on p. 179 a concept is said to be "attention fixed directly on some interesting quality common to the particulars"; but two pages later concept is equated with 'scientific point of view.' Again on p. 94, the method by which in the *Philebus* Dialectic is to fill in the *prior* of a classification is said to be the method of empirical search for Laws of Nature; and on p. 123 Plato is said to suggest the employment of the *μύθοις γὰρ* of the *Sophistes* 'in much the same way . . . that modern science employs its Methods of Agreement, Difference, Concomitant Variations, to explain the data of sense, to discover the Laws of Nature governing them.' We are even told (44) that, though Plato did not see it, 'it is really all the same whether in speaking of the fundamental judgments, we use the old description, "eternal truths," or the new one "pragmatic postulates."'

The theory of the Idea as object of aesthetic experience is difficult to state briefly. Thus regarded, the Idea is an individual, which we do not discourse of, but contemplate; but not the sensible individual. Rather, we see this through its 'dream-image,' and what we see is thus taken out of the flux of things, and 'remembered' as if eternal. There are said to be 'three "psychic systems" always suffering arrest from one another' in aesthetic experience (149). We have found it a little difficult to get a clear view of the underlying psychology. It is assumed that every quality is 'a felt condition of the subject projected into the object. So far Psychology is clear' (139). An object is a concretion of qualities projected (130-131). Beauty is, in general, such a quality; more specifically, it is a feeling 'connected with the condition known to Psychology as "concentration"' (139). Concentration is to be explained in connexion with 'cerebral dissociation' (141, n. 1). But if one now asks, 'What is a brain?' will there not be some difficulty in replying? And it seems to us that the assumptions of the second part of the book do not quite square with those of the first. In the second, ecstatic experience is explained on the assumption that there are certain definite reals operating so as to produce through 'the arrest of sensori-motor tendencies' (162) a particular affective state in the ecstatic subject; in the first, all definiteness of reals is explained as due to the subject moulding a fluid environment through the instrumentality of Ideas as points of view. But no doubt the facts here are difficult enough to excuse a good deal that may puzzle one in the account of them.

Aristotle on the Art of Poetry: a Revised Text, with Critical Introduction, Translation, and Commentary. By L. BYWATER. Pp. xlvii+387. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1909. 16s. net.

Prof. Bywater's long-desired edition of the *Poetics* is a notable addition to the literature of scholarship. Its distinguishing features are its mastery of both the language of Aristotle and the literature of the subject, the sanity of its criticism and exposition, and the restraint with which the editor confines himself to the business on hand, namely the elucidation of his author's meaning. Other editors have, with ample justification, made Aristotle's treatise the text for a discussion of Greek poetry, or of poetry in general; and no one will complain that they have done so. Prof. Bywater has kept himself within narrower limits; and for a masterly examination of the meaning of Aristotle, his work will bear comparison with anything that has been written on this much-discussed treatise. It is noteworthy that he has refrained from direct controversy with recent fellow-labourers in the same field. Vahlen, indeed, plays a great part in the commentary, as frequenters of Prof. Bywater's lectures a quarter of a century ago will expect; but Gomperz and Butcher are barely mentioned. On the other hand Prof. Bywater has a profound knowledge of the earlier literature of the subject, and makes frequent use of Tyrwhitt and Goulston and many continental scholars, old and new. The translation is plain and idiomatic, and (though it was apparently added with some hesitation) is unquestionably useful. Textually Prof. Bywater adheres to A¹ as the primary authority; he totally disbelieves in any independent line of tradition in the Renaissance MSS., and he uses the evidence of the Arabic version with caution. It is of course inevitable that doubts should occasionally remain as to the validity of Prof. Bywater's interpretations; but no one can read the book without feeling how dangerous it is to differ from such a master of the mind of Aristotle, and it is quite certain that no one can safely form an opinion on a doubtful passage without turning to this edition to see what Prof. Bywater has to say on it.

Aristophanische Studien. Von H. WERER. Pp. 180. Leipzig: Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1908.

This volume consists of notes on various passages of Aristophanes, selected from the papers of H. Weller by his son. A considerable part was left by the author ready for press, the rest has been completed by the editor. The notes are mostly rather full discussions of special points of obscurity or interest, mainly in the *Acharnians* but with some also on the *Knights*, *Wasps*, and *Clouds*. Such a volume does not lend itself to brief review, but must be noted for reference by future editors and students of Aristophanes.

Ménandre, L'Arbitrage: édition critique, accompagnée de notes explicatives et d'une traduction. [From *Rev. Ét. Gr.* xxi.] Par M. CROISSET. Pp. 93. Paris: E. Leroux, 1908.

M. Maurice Croiset, who was the principal adviser of M. Lefebvre in the preparation of the *editio princeps* of the Cairense Menander, has here republished the most complete of the four plays, with a revised text, elementary notes, and a translation. He has made use of the labours of others (though he appears not to know Mr. Walter Headlam's pamphlet), and the text is naturally much in advance of the *editio princeps*; but it can hardly be said that this new edition makes any considerable addition to the criticism or interpretation of the recovered classic.

Ὀππιανοῦ Κυνηγετικά, édition critique. Par P. BODDREAUX. Pp. 151. Paris: Champion. 1908.

This is the first fully critical edition of the *Cynegieticon*. M. Boudreaux has collated all the MSS., but one (in the almost inaccessible Phillips library at Cheltenham), and has done his best to establish the text scientifically. It may be said that Oppian is hardly worth the trouble, but it is satisfactory to have the work thoroughly done once for all; and this, so far as the *apparatus criticus* is concerned, M. Boudreaux has done. In the restoration of the text finality is not attainable.

Les Mavroyéni, Histoire d'Orient (de 1700 à nos jours) illustrée de nombreuses gravures, portraits, facsimilés, cartes, etc. Par THÉODORE BLANCARD. 2 vols. 8vo. Pp. xv+757 and 817. Paris: Leroux. 1906. 15 f.

These volumes are devoted to the history of the family of Mavrogenes, which at the time of its appearance on the political stage—the latter half of the eighteenth century, despite the promise of the sub-title—was established at Paris. Volume I. contains the life of the founder of the family fortunes, Nicolas, who was dragoman of the Imperial fleet under the Captain-pasha Hassan Ghazi and in that capacity settled the affairs of the Maina after Orloff's ill-fated expedition. Nicolas Mavrogenes, an 'outsider' from the Islands, became, to the great disgust of the Phanariotes, not only an influential personage at Constantinople, but eventually Hospodar of Wallachia, which post was always regarded as a Phanariote perquisite. As Hospodar he successfully conducted the war with Austria till the loss of a battle in 1790, coinciding with the death of Hassan, cost him his head. The second volume deals with other members of the Mavrogenes family who have risen to distinction chiefly in the Turkish civil and diplomatic services, but have also played a part in the affairs of the Greek kingdom.

The book contains much interesting matter, but unless the author was commissioned by the family concerned (which we cannot help suspecting to have been the case) the form chosen is unfortunate. Family history is rarely worth writing at second hand, and the great knowledge and patience of the writer would to our mind have been better employed in developing some of the many subjects of wider interest touched on by the way; as it is, these digressions, entertaining in themselves, rather clog the narrative. The illustrations also with few exceptions are chosen for their family interest: even so it is difficult to see what purpose is served by pictures of isolated arm-chairs and coffee-cups. There is no index, and what is still more singular in a work of this kind, no general pedigree of the family.

Λαογραφία, Δελτίον τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Λαογραφικῆς Ἑταιρείας κατὰ τριμηνίαν ἐκδιδόμενον. Τόμος α', τεύχος α' [pp. 168]. Ἐν Ἀθήναις, τύποις Π. Δ. Σακελλαρίου, 1909.

The quarterly publication of the newly-founded Greek Folklore Society will be welcomed firstly as an outlet for the editor's (Prof. N. G. Politis') vast collections of Greek folklore, secondly as a stimulus to a more scientific study of the subject than has been usual in Greece, where popular customs and traditions are apt to be appreciated only as survivals from the classical period. It is with the wider object in view that the editor devotes his first pages to an exposition of the spheres, methods, and aims of the study. Among the contents we note with pleasure a collection of Graeco-Albanian songs and stories from Spofsa and Attica with a racy Greek translation and full commentary by the editor. To foreign students of Greek folklore the reviews of recent Athenian publications will be invaluable.

Investigations into the History of Commerce in the time of the Hellenistic Monarchies and the Roman Empire. Vol. I: *History of Eastern Trade in Greco-Roman Egypt.* By MICH. CHWOSTOW [Russian]. Pp. xxviii+478. Kasan, 1907. [See the notice by Restorzew in *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, IV. Pp. 288-301.]

This is the first volume of what promises to be a most important work. The author for the present confines himself to the Indo-Arabian and South African trade, excluding Syria, Asia Minor, and Western Asia, Northern India, as well as the districts round the Black Sea and Greece itself. The volume contains an exhaustive account of the commodities, the trade-routes by sea and land, the social and economic conditions of the countries concerned in relation to trade, the development of state-initiative and private enterprise, the influence of trade on science, culture, and politics.

Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions. Ed. by P. S. ALLEN and J. DE M. JONSSON. 2 vols. Vol. 1: Pp. xl+327. Vol. 2: Pp. 457. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908.

The papers read at this Congress which are most likely to interest readers of this Journal are the following: W. von Bissing, 'Notes on some paintings from Pompeii referring to the Cult of Isis'; P. Gardner, 'Greek Influences on the Religious Art of N. India'; The whole section VI. on the Religions of the Greeks and Romans, especially: F. B. Jevons, 'Defixionum Tabellae'; L. Campbell, 'The Religious Element in Plato'; Jane Harrison, 'Bird and Pillar Worship'; A. B. Cook, 'The Cretan Axe-Cult outside Crete'; and A. J. Evans, 'New Lights on the Cult and Sanctuaries of Minoan Crete.'

Hellenica Oxyrhynchia cum Theopompi et Cratippi Fragmentis. Recogn. B. P. GREENFIELD et A. S. HUNT. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 4s. 6d., cloth, 4s., paper.

This is a convenient reprint of the text of Pap. Ox. 842, with apparatus criticus, followed by the fragments mentioned in the title, and indices. It (like the other volumes of the Bibliotheca Oxoniensis to which it belongs) would be even more convenient if the pages were numbered.

Θεσφαλικά Μνημεία. Ἀθανατοκίων Μουσείον ἐν Βόλῃ. By A. S. ARVANITOPOULOS. Pp. 96. With 45 illustrations. Athens: Eleutheroudakes. Volo: Panagiotopoulos, 1909.

This little volume contains a sketch of the history of Greek painting from the beginning down to the present day, and a brief account of the excavations at Pagasae, as an introduction to the description of the famous stelae, which however are not themselves to be found in its pages.

Nomisma: Untersuchungen auf dem Gebiete der antiken Münzkunde III. Pp. 30, with 3 plates. Berlin: Mayer u. Müller. 3.60 m.

This publication, which appears at irregular intervals when sufficient material has accumulated in the editors' hands, is of great importance to numismatists. The present part contains an exhaustive study by one of the editors, Dr. H. von Fritze, of the chronological arrangement of the autonomous coinage of Abdera.

* For other books received, see *List of Accessions to the Library*.

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