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THE JOURNAL  
OF  
HELLENIC STUDIES



(49)



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THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES

THE JOURNAL  
OF  
HELLENIC STUDIES

25984

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J. H. S.



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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, 40 Hon. Members, 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 40 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.

## REGULATIONS FOR THE USE OF THE LIBRARY

AT 19 BLOOMSBURY SQUARE, W.C.

I. THAT the Hellenic 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 10.30 A.M. to 5.30 P.M. (Saturdays, 10 A.M. to 1 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 for August and the first week of September.

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; but Members belonging both to this Society and to the Roman Society may borrow six volumes at one time.
- (2) That the time during which such book or books may be kept shall not exceed one month.
- (3) That no books, except under special circumstances, 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. Libraries of Public and Educational Institutions desiring to subscribe to the *Journal* are entitled to receive the *Journal* for an annual subscription of One Guinea, without Entrance Fee, payable in January of each year, provided that official application for the privilege is made by the Librarian to the Secretary of the Society.
- 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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Applications for books and letters relating to the Photographic Collections, and Lantern Slides, should be addressed to the Librarian, at 19 Bloomsbury Square, W.C. 1.

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# GREECE.

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# HOLLAND.

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JOURNAL OF HELLENIC STUDIES.

- American Journal of Archaeology (Miss Mary H. Buckingham, 96, Chestnut Street, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.).  
 American Journal of Numismatics (American Society of Numismatics, Broadway, and 156th Street, New York, 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.  
 Annuario della Regia Scuola di Atene, Athens, Greece.  
 Archaiologike Ephemeris, Athens.  
 Archaiologikon Deltion, Athens.  
 Archiv für Religionswissenschaft (B. G. Teubner, Leipzig).  
 Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift (O. R. Reisland, Carlsstrasse 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).  
 Bulletin de la Société Archéologique d'Alexandrie, Alexandria.  
 Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma (Prof. Gatti, Museo Capitolino, Rome).  
 Byzantinische Zeitschrift.  
 Catalogue général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, with the Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, Cairo.  
 Classical Philology, University of Chicago, U.S.A.  
 Gazette des Beaux-Arts (The Secretary, 106, Boulevard St. Germain, Paris, VI).  
 Glotta (Prof. Dr. Kutschera, Florianigasse, 23, Vienna).  
 Hermes (Herr Professor Friedrich Leo, Friedländer Weg, Göttingen, Germany).  
 Jahrbuch des kais. deutsch. Archäol. Instituts, Corneliusstrasse No. 28, Berlin.  
 Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts, Tuerkenthalstrasse 1, Vienna.  
 Journal of the Anthropological Institute, and Man, 50, Great Russell Street, W.C.1.  
 Journal of Egyptian Archaeology (Hon. Editor, Dr. A. H. Gardiner, 9, Lansdowne Road, Holland Park, W. 11).  
 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. E. Kornemann, Neckarhöfstrasse 55, Tübingen).  
 Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale de l'Université S. Joseph, Beyrouth, Syria.  
 Mélanges d'Histoire et d'Archéologie, École française, Palazzo Farnese, Rome.  
 Memnon (Prof. Dr. R. Freiherr von Lichtenberg, Lindenstrasse 3, Berlin Südende, Germany).  
 Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome (The Librarian, American Academy, Porta San Pancrazio, Rome).  
 Memorie dell' Istituto di Bologna, Sezione di Scienze Storico-Filologiche (R. Accademia di Bologna, Italy).  
 Mitteilungen des kais. deutsch. Archäol. Instituts, Athens.  
 Mitteilungen des kais. deutsch. Archäol. Instituts, Rome.

- Mnemosyne (c/o Mr. E. J. Brill), *Leiden, Holland*.  
 Neapolis, Signor Prof. V. Macchiolo, *Via Cravillo 3, Naples*.  
 Neue Jahrbücher, Herr Dr. Rektor Iberg, *Kgl. Gymnasium, Würzen, Saxony*.  
 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, c/o M. E. Leroux (Editeur), 28, *Rue Rougemonte, Paris*.  
 Revue des Études Grecques, 44, *Rue de Lille, Paris*.  
 Revue Épigraphique  
 Rheinisches Museum für Philologie (Prof. Dr. A. Brinkmann, *Schummernstrasse 38, Bonn-am-Rhein, Germany*).  
 Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums (Prof. Dr. E. Dretup, *Kaiser-Strasse 33, Munich, Germany*).  
 University of California Publications in Classical Philology and in American  
 Archaeology (Exchange Department, *University of California, Berkeley, Ca., U.S.A.*).  
 Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie, *Berlin*.

## PROCEEDINGS

## SESSION 1917-18

During the past Session the following Papers were read at General Meetings of the Society:—

- November 13th, 1917. Professor Percy Gardner: *A Female Figure of Pheidon Type* (*J.H.S.* xxxviii. pp. 1 sqq.).  
 May 7th, 1918. Professor B. P. Grenfell: *The Value of Papyri for the Textual Criticism of Extant Authors* (see below, pp. xliii. sqq.).  
 June 25th, 1918. Mr. E. Norman Gardiner: *The Alleged Kingship of the Olympian Victor* (see below, pp. xlv. sqq.).

THE ANNUAL MEETING was held at Burlington House on June 25th, 1918; Dr. Walter Leaf, President of the Society, in the Chair.

Mr. George A. Macmillan, Hon. Secretary, presented the following Report for the Session 1917-1918.

The Council beg leave to submit the following Report for the Session 1917-18.

In this the fourth year of the war the Council have little to report beyond the fact that to the best of their ability they have carried out the programme set forth in last year's Report, 'not to initiate any fresh development of the Society's work, but merely to keep the machinery in good working order so that when the proper moment comes no time may be lost in making a fresh start.' At the same time it is necessary to look ahead now, to consider how this fresh start is to be made, and it has been suggested that the Society might usefully undertake the collection, examination and classification of sketches, plans, diaries and notes made by travellers in the Near East in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The moment is opportune because under the stress of war conditions libraries are being dispersed and portfolios and papers examined which have been untouched for many years, and it may well be that among them are papers of no money value but of great interest as records of things now lost or destroyed, and of conditions which have



passed away. A beginning has already been made owing to the kindness of Miss Annie Barlow, who has handed over to the Council a roll of drawings of Sicily, Malta, etc., bought at the Frere sale, and which from internal evidence were probably collected by the Rt. Hon. J. H. Frere, the translator of Aristophanes, who lived in Malta from 1819-1846.

The Council are prepared to make arrangements for the examination of any collections reported to them, but the discovery of such collections must be, in the main, the work of individual members whose co-operation in the scheme is herewith invited. (See below, p. lii.).

The Council have once more to record their appreciation of the voluntary services rendered to the Society by their colleagues, Mr. G. F. Hill and Miss C. A. Hutton. On Mr. Hill falls the full responsibility for the *Journal*, no light responsibility in these days of a restricted supply of paper and metal; on Miss Hutton the management of the Library and the secretarial work, though Mr. Penoyre, in addition to the important national work on which he is engaged, has made time to keep the Author and Subject Catalogues in the Library up to date, and to revise and enlarge the Library Catalogue of the Slide Collection.

It will have been a great satisfaction to members to see in the recent list of Honours that Mr. Penoyre has been made a Commander of the new Order of the British Empire in recognition of his valuable services. No honour could have been better deserved.

After careful consideration the Council have decided until further notice to issue the *Journal* in one part only, to be published in the autumn. By this means a considerable saving will be effected in the incidental expenses of packing, carriage, etc.

**Changes on the Council, etc.**—On the occasion of Monsieur Venizelos' visit to England in the autumn of 1917, the Council, feeling that such a course would be in accordance with the wishes of the Members, offered him the compliment of Honorary Membership of the Society, which he gratefully accepted.

The Council record with regret the deaths during the past year of two foreign Honorary Members, Professor John Williams White of Harvard, and Monsieur Maxime Collignon of the Sorbonne. Among the older members who have passed away are Dr. Montagu Butler, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, Dr. W. W. Merry, Rector of Lincoln College, Oxford, and Canon Greenwell of Durham; while the interests of archaeological and classical studies in the United States have received a severe blow in the premature death of an American member, Professor J. R. Wheeler, professor of Greek archaeology and art in Columbia University. The Society has also lost one of its French members, Monsieur J. P. Milliet, a former student of the École du Louvre, and the author of two important catalogues of Greek pottery.

Of the younger members now on active service the following have laid down their lives during the past year: L. Davies, L. W. Hunter,

A. W. Maugham, J. B. K. Freedy, and E. W. Webster. The death of Captain Webster (K.R.R.), a former Craven student of the School at Athens, Fellow of Wadham College, an accomplished linguist and a zealous student of Aristotle, is a great loss to the study of pure scholarship at Oxford.

The Council do not recommend any additions to the number of Vice-Presidents this year, nor any changes in the Council. The following Members retire by rotation, and being eligible, are nominated for re-election: Messrs. J. D. Beazley, E. R. Bevan, W. H. Buckler, R. Burrows, M. O. B. Caspari, F. M. Cornford, E. J. Forsdyke, E. Norman Gardiner, H. R. Hall, and C. Flamstead Walters.

**The British Museum.**—A Special Meeting of the Council was held on January 8th, 1918, to consider the proposal of the War Cabinet to take over the British Museum as the offices of the Air Board. A strong resolution of protest was carried unanimously and forwarded to the Prime Minister, and it is satisfactory to record that in this instance the combined pressure of every learned and scientific society in the United Kingdom, and of educated opinion generally, compelled the War Cabinet to reconsider a policy which might have involved great danger to the National Collections.

**General Meetings.**—Three General Meetings have been held during the past Session, it having proved impracticable to hold one in February as contemplated.

At the first Meeting, held on November 13th, 1917, Professor Percy Gardner read an illustrated paper on 'A Female Figure of Pheidon Type,' recently Acquired by the Ashmolean Museum owing to the dispersal of the Hope Collection at Deepdene. An interesting discussion followed Professor Gardner's paper, which will be published in the forthcoming volume of the *Journal*. Mr. Arthur Smith discussed various points raised by the lecturer, and congratulated him on this important addition to the Ashmolean Collection.

At the General Meeting held on May 7th, 1918, Professor B. P. Grenfell read a paper on 'The Value of Papyri for the Textual Criticism of Extant Authors.' He said that Homeric papyri showed that the vulgate was not the prevailing text in Egypt before B.C. 150. Ludwig's view that the additional lines in the earliest papyri were eccentric variants was unsatisfactory; the influence of the Alexandrian Museum was responsible for the later predominance of the shorter text. Papyri of Sophocles showed that the value of the Laurentian MS. in relation to the rest had been overestimated; the papyri of Euripides tended to be superior to the MSS., and those of Aristophanes to support the Codex Venetus as much as the Codex Ravennas. Forthcoming papyri of Pindar and Theocritus stood apart from the existing families. Herodotean papyri tended to be conservative, while those of Thucydides presented



many improvements in the text. In Xenophon they were noteworthy for their agreements with the so-called *deteriores*, and in Plato they modified the pre-eminence assigned to the Bodleian and Paris MSS. A papyrus of the *Περὶ τῆς Ἀλκιβιάδου* was much superior to the MSS. Demosthenes, except in his minor works, was less affected than Isocrates and Aeschines. In later authors, such as Polybius and the writers of Romances, the papyri were, as a rule, much superior to the MSS. In summing up, the lecturer said that the texts of the chief authors had not undergone extensive changes since the second century, but that there was evidence for much less stability at an earlier period. In some authors conjectural emendations had received pleasing confirmation from the papyri. The division of the MSS. into families was later than the papyrus period. In the lecturer's opinion an eclectic method in reconstructing a text was right as against reliance on a single line of tradition.

In proposing a vote of thanks to Professor Grenfell for his erudite and valuable communication, the President offered some observations on the questions raised by the Homeric papyri, and observed that one of the results of the lecturer's investigations was to clear the character of the mediæval scribe who was often accused of tampering with the texts he copied; evidently an unfounded charge if the texts of the chief authors had not undergone extensive changes since the second century.

**Library, Photographic and Lantern Slide Collections.**—Over 500 visitors have used the Library during the past year, the number of volumes borrowed from it being 497. Partly for economic reasons, and partly because very few suitable books have been published, the number of new books added to the Library is small, but through the kindness of friends it has been enriched by the addition of some important earlier works.

The Hon. Librarian, Mr. Arthur Smith, presented thirty volumes of early travel and topography, including two volumes of the *Tracts on Troy*, written by Bryant, Chandler, Le Chevalier, Morritt and Wakefield, at the end of the eighteenth century.

Another interesting addition is a copy of the Plan and View of the *Plains of Troy*, drawn on the spot by Sir Henry Acland and published in 1839. This rare publication has been presented to the Society by his son, Sir Reginald Acland, K.C.

Three books were obtained at the sale of the Deepdene heirlooms, one of which, a beautiful presentation copy of the *Bedford Marbles*, given by the Duke of Bedford to Mr. Hope, was purchased with funds provided by Miss Lorna Johnson.

During the past year exchanges have been arranged with the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* and the *American Journal of Numismatics*.

The Council acknowledge with thanks gifts of books from H.M. Government of India, the Trustees of the British Museum, the Ministère

de l'Instruction publique (Paris), the Egypt Exploration Fund, and the following donors: Sir Reginald Acland, K.C., Sir R. Allison, Messrs. W. H. Buckler, A. van Buren, S. Eitrem, E. R. Garnsey, B. Haussoullier, G. F. Hill, Miss L. Johnson, Mr. J. G. Milne, Dr. W. Rhys Roberts, Mr. G. A. Rosenberg, Sir John Sandys, Mr. G. Schütte, Mr. Arthur Smith, and Dr. Parkes Weber.

The following publishers have presented copies of recently published works: Messrs. G. Bell & Sons, H. Blackwell, W. Heinemann, Longmans, Green & Co., Macmillan & Co., the Medici Press, and the University Presses of Oxford and Cambridge, and of Chicago, Johns Hopkins, Princeton and Virginia.

The number of slides borrowed during the past session is 1,280, a slight decrease on the figures for last year: the number purchased is 131, including some sent to S. Africa and to America. The Council regret that the great increase in the cost of materials and of labour compels them to increase by thirty-five per cent. the charge for slides and photographs purchased from the Society. No change is made in the charge for the hire of slides (1*d.* per slide and postage).

The Council desire to express their special thanks to Mr. J. G. Milne for a generous gift of negatives and photographs, also to the Committee of the British School at Athens, and to Prof. E. A. Gardner, Mr. G. F. Hill, Miss C. A. Hutton, and Mr. Arthur Smith for donations of slides, negatives and photographs.

As almost all the books and slides added during the past Session were included in the *Lists of Accessions* published in *J.H.S.* xxxvii 2, it has been decided not to publish further lists this year.

**Finance.**—In order that the latest possible figures may be presented at the Annual General Meeting it has been the practice to close the accounts annually at May 31 in each year. This year the usual rule has been observed, but, with the omission of expenses for the *Journal* consequent on the decision to issue the volume complete in the autumn, the accounts presented look more favourable than would have been the case if, as usual, the cost of one of the parts for the current year had been included. Under present conditions the expenditure during the later months of the year must necessarily prove more heavy than during the earlier, and it may therefore be deemed advisable to close the books yearly at December 31, in order to present more accurately the exact financial position than is possible by the present practice.

Apart from the *Journal* account there is hardly anything that calls for special note. The expenses vary but little, while the income, although less than last year, must be regarded as very satisfactory under present circumstances. The amount for the current year's subscriptions from Members is only £14 less than last year, while the receipts from Libraries are a few pounds up. The losses by death and resignation have not been heavier than usual, and the number of members elected, although



not equal to the losses, has been very gratifying. The number of Candidates is due to the valuable help of members who have introduced the Society to their friends, for which assistance the Council desire to express their best thanks.

The President announced the re-election of all Vice-Presidents and Officers, and of those members of Council retiring by rotation of whose names a printed list had been circulated. He then made a few comments on the Report, paying an eloquent tribute to the late Master of Trinity, Dr. Montagu Butler, a pillar of Hellenic culture throughout his long life, and a man whose name was revered by all who, like himself, had had the good fortune to come under his influence. Dr. Leaf concluded by moving the adoption of the Report. This was seconded by Mr. A. B. Cook, who desired to associate himself with the President's tribute to Dr. Butler, to whom he also owed more than he could express.

A vote of thanks to the Auditors was moved by Professor P. N. Ure and seconded by Mr. Penoyre. It was mentioned that, owing to the absence, on active service, of Captain W. E. F. Macmillan, the whole duty had this year fallen on Mr. C. F. Clay.

Mr. Norman Gardiner then read a paper on 'The Alleged Kingship of the Olympian Victor.' He said that the theory discussed was originally propounded by Mr. A. B. Cook and had since been elaborated by Sir James Frazer in *The Golden Bough* and by Mr. Cornford in *Thesis*. These writers found the origin of the Olympic Games in a ritual contest for the throne.

The theory was based on the arbitrary interpretation of certain arbitrarily selected myths. Proof of the kingly character of the victor is found in the honours 'regal and divine' paid to him in historical times. The four-horse chariot 'assimilated him to the Sun-God,' the olive wreath 'likened him to Zeus,' he was pelted with leaves 'like a Jack-in-the-green.' Hymns were sung and statues erected in his honour. He was feasted in the Prytania, and, on his return home, clothed in purple and drawn into the city in a four-horse chariot through a breach in the city walls. After death he was worshipped as a hero.

In the speaker's opinion some of these honours belonged to the beginnings of the Games, others were the result of the athletic hero-worship of the fifth century, or of the ostentation of Hellenistic princes and Roman emperors. None of them was peculiar to the Olympic victor, none of them proved his regal or divine character. If the theory was true of the Olympic victor, it was equally true of almost any athletic victor.

Sir James Frazer further connected the Olympic festival with his theory of the octennial tenure of the throne. The only evidence for this

theory was found in a passage of Plutarch about the Spartan kings and Plato's explanation of a line in the *Odyssey* that Minos

*ἐνέωρος βασιλεὺς Διὸς μεγάλου ἄριστος.*

The interpretation of these two passages was too doubtful to justify the assumption that the octennial kingship existed in either Sparta or Crete, much less that it existed in 'many parts of Greece.'

There was then no proof that the Olympic victor was ever regarded as a divine king. Greek athletics were secular in origin. Competitions were held at religious festivals because they alone afforded the necessary peace and security. The athletic character of many legends was due to the athletic character of the nation and did not prove that athletic competitions originated in ritual.

At the conclusion of Mr. Gardiner's paper the President read letters which he had received from Sir James Frazer and Captain Cornford dealing with various points raised. A discussion followed in which Mr. A. B. Cook and Dr. Farnell took part. Mr. Cook pointed out that some time had elapsed since he first put forward the views discussed, that he had since modified them in several important particulars, and that he hoped to return to the subject in a future publication. Dr. Farnell expressed general agreement with the point of view and the argument of Mr. Gardiner's paper. He had long ago come to disbelieve in the ritualistic origin of Greek games. Ancient legends as well as historic records point to several occasions for their institution: funerals, marriages, temple worship, celebration of victory by an army: on all such occasions large numbers of men would be gathered together, and in the athletic-heroic age games would be a natural accompaniment of the gathering. It is easy to understand how the great games grew up under the aegis of temple-worship: the great difficulty to be solved was to institute international games and yet preserve the peace between members of different communities that might be at feud: the sacredness of the temple-ground secured a holy truce: for the same reason it might be convenient to hold a market on temple-ground. There was no evidence for the ritualistic origin of Greek athletics in general: where running was part of ritual, as in the *Karneia* at Sparta, and in the *Lampadephoria* at Athens, the ritual purpose remained dominant and obvious, and it never developed into an independent sport. There was no evidence for connecting the Olympian games with the marriage of Sun and Moon or succession to a divine kingship; no evidence that the Olympian victor was originally a divine personage or had anything to do with the girl who conquered in the *Heraia*. (Greek festivals were regulated by the Calendar, and the Calendar by the lights of heaven; but it did not follow that the personal agents in the festivals impersonated the lights of heaven.) The whole of Mr. Cornford's structure was based on one fundamental error: he took the first Olympian ode of Pindar as giving the accepted tradition of the origin of the Olympian games, and therefore connected it with the story

of Tantalos and with Pelops and Oinomaos: there was nothing in this ode to suggest that Pindar pretended to be giving any myth of origin: it was in the tenth Olympian that he formally and explicitly did this. And he explained the institution of the games as a celebration of Herakles' victory over Augeas—a secular event of epic saga. That this was the only orthodox Elean tradition might be taken on Pindar's authority: that it gave a *vera causa* is indicated by the legend concerning the foundation of the Nemea (army-sports), the historic record concerning the army of the Amphictyones and the Pythia, and by Xenophon's account of the games instituted by the Ten Thousand at the end of their journey.

The proceedings closed with a hearty vote of thanks to the lecturer.



JOURNAL OF HELLENIC STUDIES, ACCOUNT, FROM JUNE 1, 1975, TO MAY 31, 1978

Dr.	Cr.
<p>           To Printing and Paper, Vol. XXXVII., Part II., and Part cool            Vol. XXXVIII.         </p> <p>           Plates ..... 199 13 7            Drawing and Engraving ..... 32 12 6            Editing and Review ..... 22 16 8            Packing, Addressing, and Carriage to Members ..... 31 9 6            ..... 34 19 3         </p>	<p>           By Sales, including back Vols., from June 1, 1917,            to May 31, 1918 ..... 31 5 2            Per Macmillan &amp; Co., Ltd. .... 9 14 0            " Halliess Society ..... 49 19 2            " Receipts from Advertisements ..... 7 0 0            Balance to Income and Expenditure Accounts ..... 273 11 9         </p>

EASTERN SLIDES AND PHOTOGRAPHIC ACCOUNT. FROM JUNE 1, 1947, TO MAY 31, 1948.

LANTERN SLIDES AND PHOTOGRAPHS ACCOUNT, FROM JUNE 1, 1917, TO MAY 30, 1918.	
To Slides and Photographs for Sale .....	£ 14 18 2½
.. Slides for Hire .....	1 0 8
.. Photographs for Reference Collection .....	1 8 8
.. Balance to Income and Expenditure Account .....	0 1 9½
	£31 9 8
By Receipts from Sales .....	£ 36 18 8
.. Hire .....	4 14 7
.. Sale of Catalogues .....	1 10 5
	£33 9 4

LIBRARY ACCOUNT. FROM JUNE 1, 1917, TO MAY 31, 1918.

LIBRARY ACCOUNT. FROM JUNE 1, 1917, TO MAY 31, 1918.			
	£	s	d
To Purchases	11	0	0
" Binding	10	0	0
	<hr/>		
	21	0	0
By Received for Sales of Catalogues, Duplicates, &c.			
" Donation from Miss L. Johnson			
" Balances to Income and Expenditure Account	35	8	0
	<hr/>		
	56	8	0



# INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT, FROM JUNE 1, 1917, TO MAY 31, 1918.

Expenditure.		Income.	
To Rent	£	By Members' Subscriptions—	£
Salaries—		Proportion brought forward from last year.	353 13 5
Librarian and Secretary	140 0 0	Received during current year—Arrears.	49 13 0
Assistant Treasurer	25 0 0	" " " " 1917	10 10 0
" " Librarian	80 3 8	" " " " 1918	392 4 0
Typist, &c.			
Insurance	245 3 8	Less 1/3 of 1918 subscriptions forward to next year	1006 0 11
Miscellaneous Expenses	15 11 6		
Stationery	85 8 6	Members' Entrance Fees	243 9 0
Postage	15 14 3	Libraries Subscriptions—	
Sundry Printings, Rules, List of Members, Notices, &c.	21 0 1	Proportion brought forward from last year.	87 11 9
Heating, Lighting, and Cleaning Library Premises	18 19 8	Received during current year—1916 & 1917	23 3 6
Gravel	33 17 1	" " " " 1918	157 10 10
British School at Athens	50 0 0	Less 1/3 of 1918 subscriptions forward to next year	270 5 3
" " " " " "	50 0 0		91 17 6
Balance from Library Account	100 0 0		
Balance from "Journal of Hellenic Studies" Account	45 8 6	Life Compositions brought into Revenue Account	178 5 9
Depreciation of Stocks of publications	273 11 9	Dividends on Investments	11 2 7
Balance	112 11 61	Contributed towards Rent by British School of Athens and British School at Rome for use of Society's room	84 2 7
		Rent of rooms occupied by the Royal Archaeological Institute	20 0 0
		Contributed by the Society for Promotion of Roman Studies	10 0 0
		Rent	
		Use of Library	50 0 0
		Sale of "Excavations at Mytilene"	80 0 0
		Balance from Archaeological Excavations Account	3 0 0
		Balance from Lantern Slides and Photographs Account	27 8 4
			6 1 0 1/2
			£1094 16 41

## BALANCE SHEET, MAY 31, 1918.

<i>Liabilities.</i>		<i>Assets.</i>	
To Doubt Payable	£ 0 0 0	By Cash in Hand—Bank	£ 272 4 0
“ Subscriptions carried forward	4 17 0	Assistant Treasurer	2 5 0
“ Endowment Fund	781 3 0	Petty Cash	49 3 11
(Includes legacy of £200 from the late Canon Adam Farrar and £200 from the late Mrs. H. E. Foster)			324 10 11
“ Emergency Fund (Library Fittings and Furniture)		Debits Receivable	100 5 23
Total Received	304 13 0	Investments (Life Compositors)	1384 3 11
“ Life Compositions and Donations—		“ (Endowment Fund)	270 0 0
Total at June 1, 1917	1883 4 0		2134 3 11
Received during year	37 5 0	Less Reserved against Depreciation	100 0 0
	1920 9 0		2034 3 11
Less carried to Income and Expenditure Account—Members (deceased)	all	Emergency Fund—Total Expended	420 0 0
	1920 9 0	“ Valuations of Stocks of Publications	448 8 0
Balance from Income and Expenditure Account	113 11 64	“ “ Library	350 0 0
Less Endowment at May 31, 1917	35 17 94	“ Expenses “ Strabo” carried forward	1 1 10
Balance Surplus at May 31, 1918	76 13 9		
	£376 9 104		£376 9 104

\* Examined and found correct.

(Signed) C. F. CLAR.

\* In the absence of Captain W. E. F. Marshall on military service the accounts have been audited by Mr. C. F. Clar above.

## NOTICE TO MEMBERS.

### ARCHAEOLOGICAL DRAWINGS AND MEMORANDA.

ONE of the objects of the Hellenic Society, according to Rule II., is 'to collect drawings, facsimiles, transcripts, plans, and photographs of Greek inscriptions, MSS., works of art, ancient sites and remains.' The Council are anxious to increase their collection of such documents, and desire to call the attention of members and their friends to the fact, and to beg them to use their influence to save such objects from the destruction or dispersal which too often awaits them. The Council would also be glad, quite apart from any question of acquisition, to be made acquainted with the present whereabouts of any such memoranda or sketches. Communications should be addressed to the Librarian, at 19 Bloomsbury Square, London, W.C. 1.

## A FEMALE FIGURE IN THE EARLY STYLE OF PHEIDIAS.

[PLATES I-III.]

### I.

I HAVE to bring before the readers of this *Journal* a female figure of great interest recently added to the Ashmolean Gallery of Sculpture. Its beauty and dignity will be evident to all who look at the plates (Pls. I, II). In addition to its beauty it has also special interest, because a discussion of it necessarily involves the whole question of Attic art in the age of Pericles, and particularly of portrait sculpture in that age.

The figure comes from the Hope Collection at Deepdene in Surrey, which was sold by auction in July last. It lay unnoticed in the Deepdene mansion, and was not seen by Michaelis when he visited it in 1877, nor by more recent visitors. I have not succeeded in finding any information as to its source; but as many of the Hope sculptures were found in Rome, it is very probable that this comes thence. The restorations are in Italian marble, and were probably executed in Rome. It is wrongly described, and not figured, in the Hope Sale Catalogue.

The height is 6 feet (m. 1.83); the height of the face (chin to roots of hair, is 7 inches (m. .18); the breadth of the shoulders is 1 foot 6 inches (m. .46). The figure and head are of Pentelic marble. On this point I am supported by Mr. W. Pinker, head mason at the British Museum, who has had rare opportunities for studying that material.

The body is sculptured in a hard block of Pentelic marble, which seems almost impervious to the action of time and weather, and preserves all details. The restorations are: both forearms from the elbow, and a few patches in the ridges of drapery on the front. Both forearms were originally made of separate blocks, and fresh blocks have been inserted in the vacant holes. The restorer has placed in the left hand a scroll, evidently regarding the lady as a poetess, probably as Sappho. The right hand was so badly restored as to be intolerable, and I was obliged to amputate it.

The right foot, which is very delicately carved, is partly visible (Fig. I). The dress consists of an Ionic chiton, of which only the sleeves with lines of



fibulae on the upper arms are visible, and over this the heavy woollen Dorian garment commonly called the Dorian chiton but more correctly the Dorian peplos. The peplos of our figure is fastened on both shoulders, but the brooches by which it is fastened are not visible. The peplos is not, as in some cases, open at the side, but forms at the sides two false sleeves.

The lower part of the neck is a restoration. Of the head, the nose and a small part of the upper lip are also restored. The upper part of the right ear is broken away; the left ear, which is beautifully modelled, is complete. The lips are slightly parted.

The proportions are noteworthy. The shoulder breadth, so far as it can be measured through the dress, is one fourth of the height. The length of



FIG. 1.—RIGHT FOOT OF THE OXFORD STATUE.

the face is one tenth of the height. The build is very solid and dignified; but the hips, as in all statues of the period, are somewhat narrow.

The head and the body belong to one another. At first sight I doubted this, as the head has suffered far more than the body from weathering, especially on the top. It seems to be of a softer block of marble, but style and period correspond. There is however more definite proof at p. 102 of Furtwängler's *Masterpieces* (Eng. trans. p. 70). There will be found a poor engraving of a statue, formerly in the Cepparelli Gallery at Florence,<sup>1</sup> now

<sup>1</sup> Dötschke, *Bildwerke in Nord-Italien*, ii. No. 412.

in the Museo Archeologico, of which both head and body nearly resemble our statue, though they are rather later in style. The head, it is true, is—like that of our statue—inserted with a modern neck. But both Dütschke and Milani are convinced that it belongs to the body; and when Furtwängler expresses a doubt on this subject, he gives no reasons for scepticism. Now it might have been possible to doubt the belonging, either of our head or of that of Florence, if either figure were unique, but that twice over a head of a special type (of which but two are known) should have been arbitrarily joined to a body of almost exactly the same style and date passes all limits of probability. To the Florence statue I return later. (See Fig. 2.)

Though the provenience of our statue is uncertain, any one with trained eyes who considered it carefully could scarcely doubt that it was a fifth-century original. The delicate way in which the ends of the garment are treated, the admirable modelling of the shoulders at the back and the breasts, the beautiful work of the foot, make this clear. Copies of the Hellenistic age are mostly exaggerated and fanciful, those of the Roman age mechanical and unintelligent; but here we have a figure perfectly self-consistent, combining in the highest degree simplicity and elegance; every detail, even of the back, finished with perfect care.

If our statue, for example, be compared with a copy of a draped statue of the fifth century from the Library of King Juba II. of Mauritania, now in the Museum of Cherchel,<sup>2</sup> which is no doubt the work of a copyist of Roman times, the contrast will be striking. Here the drapery is dry and undecided, the nude under it is imperfectly rendered, the proportions are unsatisfactory: on all these points our statue will pass the severest criticism.

No doubt some beautiful statues of the same class found in Rome are by most archaeologists regarded as copies of the Roman Age. Prof. Mariani<sup>3</sup> has suggested that they are in some cases copies made by artists of the school of Pasiteles. But the signed works of that school are by no means mere exact copies but transpositions. Of course, if a precise copy of a fifth century work were made at Rome, we could not now detect it. But we have no reason to think that this was usual: Roman copyists were not so exact and conscientious. There is no reason why genuine Greek statues of the early period should not be found in Rome, and in fact many such have been found, especially in the Horti Sallustiani. Such are the fifth century Niobids in the Ny-Carlsberg Gallery, the Hestia Giustiniani, and other figures mentioned below.

## II.

I propose to consider in turn the drapery and the head.

The drapery ranges our statue with a large class of figures of the fifth century. These I propose to divide into two groups.

The first group is of female figures clad *only* in the heavy Dorian chiton or peplos. As is generally known, this was a mere square of cloth, doubled

<sup>2</sup> Graecker, *Musée de Cherchel*, p. 102, Pl. V.

<sup>3</sup> *Bull. Comm.* 1881, p. 79.

back so as to make an overfall to the waist, and generally drawn up through the girdle, so as to form a kolpos. Sometimes one side is left open all the way down: more often it is fastened so as to make on both sides rudimentary or false sleeves. Some of these figures are quite archaic in style. Of those belonging to the middle part of the fifth century, I would specially cite the following:—

Hippodamia in the Olympian pediment.

Female figure in the Ludovisi gallery, headless, of Parian marble.

(Helbig, *Führer*, ii. 1287; Brunn, *Denkmäler*, Pl. 357. Helbig regards it as a Greek original.)

Figure in the Villa Borghese, not unlike the last mentioned.

(Helbig, *Führer*, ii. 1558; Brunn, *Denkmäler*, Pl. 261, 262. Helbig calls it a copy of a bronze statue of Peloponnesian school.)

Figure in the Ny-Carlsberg Gallery, headless.

*Catalogue*, Pl. 7, 8, p. 13. Arndt considers it a Greek original. A head in plaster is now added.

The Hestia Giustiniani, with veiled head.

A figure in Greek marble, headless, now belonging to Mrs. J. Gardner of Boston. (Mariani in *Bull. Comm. di Roma*, 1901, p. 71, Pl. VI.)

Bronze girls from Herculaneum, the peplos variously arranged.

All of these statues show considerable severity.

In this connexion should be mentioned a very interesting series of statuettes about a metre high, existing in the Doge's palace at Venice, and coming from the Grimani Collection, which was formed in Greece in the sixteenth century. These are described by Fortwängler.<sup>4</sup> According to him they belong together, and are Greek originals from some temple in the Greek Islands or Asia Minor. They range in date from the middle of the fifth to the middle of the fourth century. The dress in some cases is the Ionian chiton with himation, in some cases the Dorian peplos. Whom do they represent? The view of Fortwängler is that they all represent Demeter or Persephone; and belong to a shrine of these deities; but only one or two have any of the attributes of the goddesses, and it is more probable that most of them represent women. The heads, however, so far as they remain, are not individual, so that we seem in this case to have a continuation of the early custom of dedicating generalized female figures in the temples of the deities. Two points which are common to all these figures, that they are of Parian marble, and that they show no Ionian chiton under the peplos, as well as their small size, make a broad line of distinction between them and our statue. Certainly they are not of Attic school.

Figures of this class, clad only in the peplos, are commonly regarded as Peloponnesian, and, generally speaking, with justice. We know that Dorian girls were thus clad. Thus we are told that Periander of Epidaurus saw Melitta the daughter of Procles clad in the chiton only (*ἀναμπεχονος και*

<sup>4</sup> *Abhandl. der bayr. Acad. der Wissensch.* vol. xxi. part 2, p. 277.



μοροχίτων),<sup>5</sup> by which is doubtless meant the peplos. In one of the fragments of Anacreon<sup>6</sup> we have the phrase *ἐδύσα χιτῶνα δωριζέειν*, which shows that the absence of a chiton under the peplos was generally recognised as a distinctively Dorian costume. The peplos served both as the *ἔδυμα* or undergarment and the *περιβλήμα* or outer garment.<sup>7</sup> And this information, derived from ancient writers, is confirmed by existing remains. A number of small bronzes and terracottas of this type have been found in Peloponnesus.<sup>8</sup> But though most of the statues above mentioned are Peloponnesian, there may be exceptions, since the Dorian dress became quite usual for girls at Athens in the early fifth century. For example, the beautiful Hestia Giustiniani may very well be an Attic original.

But there is a second group, of which the Attic origin is probable. It consists of figures which wear, under the Dorian dress, a fine linen chiton.

The prototype is the archaic dedicated figure in the Acropolis Museum at Athens, which differs from all of the rest of the set in dress, and is one of the earliest. It is well known.<sup>9</sup> The under chiton is clearly visible on the upper arms. Some other Acropolis figures, of a time before the Persian wars, show the same costume: an Athena (Dickins, *Cat. No. 140*); a Nike (*Cat. No. 694*), etc. Furtwängler insists on the Attic character of these. A few later works in the round with this costume are known, such as the great Medici torso of Athens in Paris, and a statuette in the Ny-Carlsberg Museum 675 metres high (*Cat. p. 13*), of which the head is supposed to belong, though re-inserted; this figure is of Pentelic marble, and so probably Attic.

Closer to our statue, alike in head and body, is the figure in the Archaeological Museum at Florence already mentioned. The size is given by Dütschke as more than life. Both arms are restorations. Milani in his Guide to the Museum describes the statue. It has been wrongly restored as Demeter, holding ears of corn; Milani regards it as an Aphrodite. He calls it a fine Pheidias type (*tipo fidiaco*) and says that it is of Pentelic marble. He also figures it (Plate CL, No. 6), but on so small a scale that it cannot be clearly seen. I insert here a cut (Fig. 2) made from a photograph kindly supplied by the Director, Sig. Pernier, through the friendly mediation of Mrs. Strong. It will be seen that though the head apparently closely resembles that of our statue, the style of the body is somewhat later, and the weight rests on the right leg; both feet, clad in shoes, are visible. The Florence figure wears a fine chiton, and over that a doubled Dorian peplos, over which again is a small cloak, falling at the back down to the waist, and drawn forward over both shoulders. It is the same dress, but for the under

<sup>5</sup> Pythæmetus in Athenæus, viii. 30.

<sup>6</sup> *Fragn. 59.*

<sup>7</sup> Pollux, vii. 49.

<sup>8</sup> See especially *Tiryns*, i. Pl. IX, X, 8; Reinach, *Reportoire de la Statuaire*, ii. 643.

*J.H.S.* xxi. Pl. XIII.

<sup>9</sup> E. A. Gardner, *Handbook*, p. 179; Collignon, i. p. 341; other references in Dickins, *Cat. Acropolis Museum*, No. 679.



chiton, which is worn by the girls in the Parthenon frieze; and this fact combined with the character of the marble, make clear its Attic origin.<sup>10</sup>



FIG. 2.—STATUE IN THE MUSEO ARCHEOLOGICO, FLORENCE.

<sup>10</sup> This figure is not mentioned by Amfing in his *Führer durch die Antiken in Florenz*, (1897).

In the *Bulletino Comunale* for 1897 Mariani publishes several female figures which have some likeness to the Ashmolean statue. The only one of them which calls for more detailed mention is one found in Creta.<sup>100</sup> It is of Greek marble, small-grained and like ivory in hue; whence it would seem to be Pentelic. The height is six feet; the figure not only wears the Ionic chiton under the Dorian peplos, but even the folds of the over-garment, the ponderation, and the way in which the right foot comes out, are almost identical with the Ashmolean figure, which however, so far as one may judge from photographs, seems to be much finer in execution. But the remarkable thing is that the head of the Cretan figure which, though reinserted, seems to belong to it, is of quite another type. It is of rather severe features, with the hair in two masses over the temples, and drawn back in a knot at the back. Several heads of the kind are known. Arndt has brought together several of them,<sup>101</sup> and expressed the view, which is in fact generally held, that they are of Peloponnesian type. But of this there is no adequate proof. In fact they vary considerably among themselves; and the Cretan head, at all events, has an Attic appearance.

It is well known that, after the Persian wars, there was a great tendency at Athens to abandon Ionian customs, in dress and other matters, and to adopt the Dorian ways. In dress the change was rather gradual. The archaic dedicated figures of the Acropolis nearly all wear the Ionian chiton, and over it a cloak or himation. And most Athenian figures, both in vase painting and sculpture, still wear this dress after the Persian wars. By the time of Praxiteles it had again become usual, though in the fourth century the cloak was far more elaborately arranged. But meantime, during most of the fifth century, the Dorian modes were prevalent. Thus in Attic vase-paintings of the time just after the Persian wars the Dorian peplos is very frequently found on girls, either open or joined, and with or without girdle. But the combination of the Ionic chiton, as an undergarment, with the Doric peplos is a rarer arrangement. It is difficult to trace in red-figure vase-painting, except in the case of Athena. Athena certainly sometimes is thus clad; I would instance the *Theseus vase* of Euphronius;<sup>102</sup> also she is thus clad on the earlier Athenian terracotta, representing the birth of Erichthonius.<sup>103</sup> But though thus infrequent on vases, this particular form of dress is quite Athenian. It is also to be found later on the well-known relief from the later temple at Ephesus, which represents (perhaps) the return of Alcestis from Hades, and in Hellenistic and Roman art.

The marble and the costume thus both indicate Athens as the place of origin of our statue; the next point is the date. This is certainly about the middle of the fifth century. The decisive features are the following:—The upright folds of the drapery, and particularly the folds across the breast, belong to a time shortly before the Parthenos of Pheidias and the Iris of the Parthenon pediment, and a little later than the Sterope of the

<sup>100</sup> *Bull. Com.*, 1897, Pl. XII–XIII, p. 170.

<sup>101</sup> *La glyptothèque Ny Carlsburg*, p. 49.

<sup>102</sup> Furtwängler and Reinhold, Pl. 5.

<sup>103</sup> *Archäol. Zeitung*, 1872, Pl. 63.

Olympia pediment and the bronze charioteer of Delphi. The work of the outer corners of the eyes is a good test of the date of statues. In figures earlier than the middle of the fifth century, such as the sculpture of Olympia, the upper eyelid meets the lower at an angle, but does not overlap it. After the middle of the century it does overlap. We may see the custom coming in in the head of Nemesis by Agoracritus and the sculptures of the Parthenon. One can only cite dated works on such points as these; to cite undated works is useless. And to cite Roman copies is still more futile, for the Roman copyist often alters or transposes such small points of style. In our statue the upper eyelid does not overlap. A survey alike of drapery and head thus justifies one in assigning our statue to B.C. 460-440.

The school must be that of Pheidias, the most noteworthy of the schools of Athens at the period. Though Pheidias's greatest works were in ivory and gold, yet he is said to have also worked in marble, and a statue of Aphrodite of his handiwork, made of Parian marble, was shewn at Elis,<sup>13</sup> and another in the Gallery of Octavia at Rome.<sup>14</sup> The other noted Athenian school of sculpture at the time was that of Calamis, which was distinctly conservative and Ionic in character. Calamis and his pupils devoted their skill to the perfecting of graceful detail. We are told by Dionysius of Halicarnassus<sup>15</sup> that the school of Calamis was noted for lightness and grace (*λεπτότης καὶ χάρις*) while that of Pheidias aimed at what was dignified and large in style (*τὸ σεμνὸν καὶ μεγαλότεχρον καὶ ἀξιοματικόν*). There can scarcely be a doubt as to which of these tendencies is shown in our statue. A noted feature in the Pheidian school was the adoption of Peloponnesian dress, as is shown by the use of the Dorian peplos in the Pheidian statues of Athena. But sometimes, as in the great Medici statue of Athena—no doubt a somewhat later work of Pheidian type—the finer under-chiton was combined with the peplos. There can thus be little question but that our figure must belong to the Pheidian school. We do not know with certainty when Pheidias began his activity, but he must have been born very early in the fifth century, and as we shall see later he was well established by B.C. 460.

### III.

Let us next more carefully examine the head (Pl. II.). I know of only one head of the same type and of so early a period, that of the statue in Florence already mentioned. But parallels of a somewhat later date exist in several museums. Bernoulli has enumerated them;<sup>16</sup> and Furtwängler,<sup>17</sup> S. Reinach,<sup>18</sup> and others have discussed them. They form the group commonly regarded as portraits of Sappho.

The most distinctive feature in the Ashmolean head is the way in which the hair is arranged in the form called a *sphendone*, from its likeness to a

<sup>13</sup> Paus. I. 14, 7.

<sup>14</sup> Pliny, xxxvi. 15.

<sup>15</sup> *De Iocrate*, ch. 2.

<sup>16</sup> *Griech. Ikonographie*, i. pp. 59-72.

<sup>17</sup> *Masterworks*, p. 102; *Masterpieces*, p. 70.

<sup>18</sup> *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1902, 2, p. 457.



sling. The band is narrow above the forehead, wider a little higher up, widest at the back of the head, where it forms a sort of bag. Above the middle of the forehead is a fastening in form like an ivy-leaf, and on either side over the temple there is a bunch of hair, while two spiral curls in the form of sea-shells hang on each temple. The *sphendone* is common on the heads of goddesses on the coins of Syracuse<sup>19</sup> and Corinth,<sup>20</sup> where it occurs in infinite variety. It occurs often also in Attic sepulchral reliefs. The *sphendone* on the head of Hegeso<sup>21</sup> is remarkably like that on the present head, and the hair running in parallel waves is adapted to the lines of the fillet in similar fashion in both heads; but in the case of Hegeso the ends of the fillet fall in front of the ears.

The little spiral curls, two on each cheek, are a more notable feature, and may furnish us with a clue. As to their origin, they seem to succeed, and to supersede, the long curls falling over the breast which are usual in archaic art, and so they form a transition to later styles of hair-dressing. In the Chigi Athena at Dresden,<sup>22</sup> which may be regarded as in almost all respects a faithful copy of an original of the mid-fifth century, there are still three curls on each shoulder, but they are no longer stiff and formal. In the head of one of the bronze figures of women from Herculaneum, we have three curls on each cheek, but they no longer fall over the breast. Formal curls lingered longer in Asia Minor, as relics of the stately customs of early art. We may judge this from the formal curls on the head of Artemisia from the Mausoleum, and the head from Priene. Traces of the old convention may even be found in the masks of the comic stage. In the dress of the New Comedy at Athens, the mask of the courtesan had curls by the ear (*βοστρύχους ἔχει περὶ τὰ ὦτα*),<sup>23</sup> and her hair was bound about with a *taenia* (*ταυνίῳ τῆς κεφαλῆς περισφιγμένον*). The particle *περι* seems to imply something more than one simple band, and would very well apply to such an arrangement as that of our statue. Probably the dress of the stage courtesan was taken from that of some of the noted courtesans of Ionia; and they no doubt followed the highest fashions of their time. Thus, though the *sphendone* in itself is a very ordinary headdress, we may well suppose that when combined with the short curls it was specially appropriate to the attractive women of Ionia.

The attribution of the heads of this type to Sappho is based on grounds which are not very solid. The reason consisted, in fact, in the inscription on a herm in the Palace of the Conservatori at Rome, on which was a head with this kind of headdress,—which inscription is certainly modern.<sup>24</sup>

The figure of Sappho is found on vases of the red-figured class and on terracottas—Bernoulli has made a list of these representations, and several

<sup>19</sup> For example, Healy's *Syracuse* (Num. Chron. 1874), Pl. III. I, V. 1, 2, etc.

<sup>20</sup> *Re. Mus. Græc.*, Corinth, Pla. V, and X.

<sup>21</sup> *Comte*, Pl. XXX. This figure is closely like the Parthenon Priene.

<sup>22</sup> Best published in *J.H.S.* 1912, pp. 43-50; Pl. I.

<sup>23</sup> Pollux, iv. 153.

<sup>24</sup> See Bernoulli: *Griech. Illm.* I. p. 61.

of them are put together by Jahn.<sup>26</sup> I do not find in them anything distinctive, or indicating a knowledge of sculptural types. Some of the bronze coins of Mytilene of the Roman imperial class give representations of the head of Sappho and of a seated statue of her. But they are on so small a scale that they give us no testimony of value as regards features, and the hair sometimes is bound with a kerchief, sometimes with a fillet, and sometimes is arranged in a simple knot.

But much more interesting is the head to be found on bronze autonomous coins of Mytilene of about B.C. 300<sup>27</sup> (Fig. 3). The little lyre which occupies the reverse of these coins seems to be purposefully contrasted with the large square lyre which occupies the reverse of the coins on the obverse of which Apollo appears. And the notable feature of the two short curls on the cheek of the female head on the obverse seems to indicate an individual, not a deity. Julius Pollux tells us that the people of Mytilene put Sappho on their coins<sup>28</sup>; and he can scarcely be referring to the coins of the imperial



FIG. 3.—BRONZE COIN OF MYTILENE, ENLARGED.

age, as in the other coin-types which he mentions he must be speaking of the autonomous series. I am therefore disposed to think that on the bronze coins to which I refer the head is that of Sappho, perhaps regarded as one of the Muses, and as the object of a cult.<sup>29</sup> These coins, however, being very small and of conventional character, do not help us to recover the actual traits of the poetess, or rather of her accepted art-type, for considering the period of Sappho, there could not exist any naturalistic portrait of her. Later sculptors who portrayed her, such as Silanion, who was a contemporary of Plato, must have created a conventional art-type of Sappho, just as they did of Homer.

We must examine the whole class of sculptured heads called 'Sappho.' They differ widely one from the other in essential particulars, and range in date from the middle of the fifth century to the time of Alexander. I will try to group them in chronological order.

<sup>26</sup> *Ueber Darstellungen griech. Dichter und Künstler*.

<sup>27</sup> *Omn.* ix. 84.

<sup>28</sup> *De Mus. Cal., Trans. de., Pl. XXXVIII.*

<sup>29</sup> In the *Br. Mus. Cat.* Wroth thinks the head is of Aphrodite.

The earliest group is that which comprises two heads only, that of the Ashmolean statue, and that of the statue at Florence. Here the work of the eyes is almost archaic, long narrow eyes without any overlapping of eyelids.



FIG. 4.—THE 'OXFORD BUST.'

The curls on the cheek are also a clear survival of archaic art. These heads I reserve for further discussion.

The group second in order of date is in many ways quite different. Noteworthy examples are:—

Bust in the Ashmolean Museum, the so-called 'Oxford Bust' (Fig. 4).



Head in Corneto,<sup>28</sup> which appears to be similar but inferior.

Head in the janiform bust at Madrid, called Phaon and Sappho.<sup>29</sup>

The Oxford bust is well-known, and has been frequently figured, but never adequately. I take this opportunity to edit it more seriously. (Pl. III.) The head has been put together from several fragments, but is complete except for the nose, and a part over the left temple. It is very pleasing, but unfortunately it has been so much exposed to the weather that little remains of the original surface. Especially noteworthy are the remarkable shape of the face, which is in form almost oblong, and the extremely beautiful arrangement of the hair, which is bound with crossing bands. This hair in its wavy outlines has quite the character of the fifth century.

The connexion between head and breast has caused much perplexity to archaeologists. The head has been regarded as a work of Pheidias school; but no parallel to the drapery is to be found earlier than the Pergamene age. Perhaps the nearest parallel is to be found in the drapery of figures in the frieze of the great altar at Pergamon, especially in the figure called Selene, who rides on a horse.<sup>31</sup> This drapery is beautifully executed, and has suffered from weathering. It is drawn together round the bosom with a hem which, as Michaelis observed, passes tightly over the right breast without in any way modifying it. If this bust is antique, it must be part of an ancient statue with all but the front surface cut away in order to lighten it, for busts of this form were quite unknown in Greece. Furtwängler in speaking of this bust<sup>32</sup> says that it does not belong to the head, but he does not say whether he regards it as ancient or modern. Professor Lethaby has suggested that it is a fine work of the Renaissance, and that seems to me the best solution of a difficult problem. In any case we must reject it as in no way connected with the head, and so outside the present investigation.

The head seems to be of different marble from the bust; but both marbles are Greek: I think the head is Pentelic.<sup>33</sup> The restorations are the nose (which is very bad) and some of the locks of hair over the left temple, which have been restored in plaster. The eyelids are almost gone: but one can still see that the outer corners of the eyes are finished in the style of the mid-fifth century, with no overlapping of the upper eyelid. In the older casts the neck was too long, in consequence of the interposition of a band of plaster between head and lower neck. This band has been partly removed.

Furtwängler and S. Reinach (a strong combination) have pronounced this head a work of the school of Pheidias. This is probable, though the arguments of neither writer can be called convincing. Furtwängler's arguments rest upon his views as to Pheidias suggested by the head at Bologna, which he regards as the Lemnian Athena. Reinach's arguments

<sup>28</sup> *Gaz. des Beaux Arts*, 1902, 2, p. 437.

<sup>29</sup> Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, p. 68.

<sup>31</sup> *Altorth. von Pergamon*, iii. 2; Pl. V.

<sup>32</sup> *Statuenkopfen*, p. 50.

<sup>33</sup> A careful description in Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, p. 555.

are based upon the Laborde head, supposed to belong to the Parthenon pediment. This again is not very safe ground. The Laborde head is so much restored (forehead, nose, lips, chin, back of head)<sup>24</sup> that it is only authoritative for the treatment of hair and eyes. And as Pheidias certainly did not execute the Parthenon pediments (see p. 16), a head belonging to them can be no safe index of his style.



FIG. 5.—HEAD IN THE VILLA ALBANI.

A much safer authority for the Pheidian treatment of hair and eyes is to be found in the fragment of the head of Nemesis from Rhamnus, by

<sup>24</sup> See E. Sauer, *Der Weber-Laborde'sche Kopf*, 1903.

Agoracritus,<sup>25</sup> since this was a great religious work, and not merely decorative. Ancient critics were in doubt whether the statue was by Pheidias or Agoracritus, or by them jointly: but it is a first-rate piece of evidence for the wavy lines of the hair and the transitional corners of the eyes, which are doubtless late Pheidian in character.

A very interesting comparison may be made between the Oxford head and the head of the Greek poetess in the Palace of the Conservatori at Rome.<sup>26</sup> This delightful full-length figure, of Greek marble, clad only in a himation, has been restored as Urania, with globe and rod; but this restoration is incorrect, and the attributes of the figure are lost, only that by her side is a box of manuscripts, which is antique, and which proves that she was an authoress. According to Bulle, she originally held a lyre. The face is clearly a portrait; but the remarkable point about it is that it is unmistakably like the Oxford head. The long almost oblong form of the face, the long narrow eyes, the full lower lip, the fashion of hair and head-dress all correspond. The style of the Roman head is, however, somewhat more advanced and the appearance more youthful.

We must have in the two cases portraits of a poetess. There was no poetess at Athens in the fifth century. The representation is far more probably of some well-known poetess of an earlier age, such as Sappho. The dress of the Roman figure, consisting only of an over-garment which leaves the right shoulder bare, though quite usual in the case of a man, is very unusual, if not unique, in the case of a woman. What it may signify it is not easy to determine. For this head I am disposed to retain the identification as Sappho.

The third group is best represented in two heads of the Galleria Geografica and the Villa Albani<sup>27</sup> (Fig. 5). The features are of solid, not to say stolid, type. The hair is not merely bound with a *sphendone*, but almost entirely concealed by it. The eyes are large, the chin massive. There are curls on the cheek. This type certainly closely resembles the head on the bronze coins of Mytilene, which I have already tried to shew to be Sappho. I am greatly disposed to agree with Professor Winter, who regards it as a copy of the portrait of Sappho made by Silanion in the first half of the fourth century.<sup>28</sup> He compares the bronze coins of Mytilene above cited with curls on the cheek.

The fourth group is represented by a noteworthy head in the Pitti Palace at Florence<sup>29</sup> (Fig. 6). Here again the hair is almost concealed by

<sup>25</sup> *Br. Mus. Cat. of Sculpture*, i. p. 264.

<sup>26</sup> *Bull. Com. arch. communale*, 1878, Pl. I.; Arndt-Bruckmann, *Portraits*, Pl. 143-4.

<sup>27</sup> Bernoulli, *Greek. Homogr.* i. pp. 65, 67.

<sup>28</sup> *Jahrbuch des Inst.* v. Pl. 3.

<sup>29</sup> Bernoulli, *Gr. Hom.* i. p. 69; Arndt-Bruckmann, *Portraits*, Pl. 149, 150.



the kerchief. But the character of the head is quite different, passionate and enthusiastic, and at once reminding us of the works of Scopas and of Lysippos. This must be a representation of a poetess; probably a head of Sappho of the later part of the fourth century.



FIG. 6.—HEAD IN THE PITT PALACE.

These last three groups of heads cannot in any objective sense represent the same person. They are of varied character. Even the style of the headdress is not really the same, varying between a long taenia and a kerchief. Yet of course they may all be varied representations of a person who lived before the age of portraiture. It seems not unreasonable to regard

them all as poutesses; the heads in group 3 being almost certainly intended for Sappho, the second and the fourth groups being of more doubtful attribution.

The attribution of group 1 remains for further consideration in the next section. Meantime, I wish further to justify my claim that we have in our statue an early work of the Pheidias school. We have treated separately the body and the head, and have found that both, in the present state of our archaeological evidence, point to a Pheidias origin. But this view may be unpleasing, and may even seem paradoxical, to some English students who take their notions as to Pheidias from the Elgin Room at the British Museum. So it is necessary to say a few words as to our evidence for the period and style of Pheidias.

As Pheidias was represented as a bald and elderly man on the shield of the Parthenos statue,<sup>40</sup> made about 440 B.C., he cannot have been born much later than B.C. 500. Among his earliest works was probably the Athena of Pellene; for if this figure of Athena is represented, as is probable, on the coins<sup>41</sup> of the city, it is of an archaic Palladium-like type. Pheidias made for the Athenians two monuments in memory of Marathon, the great bronze Athena of the Acropolis, which was of stiff and early type, to judge from Athenian coins;<sup>42</sup> and the great bronze group with portrait of Miltiades, set up at Delphi. Exactly when these works were set up we do not know; but their date is not likely to be more than twenty years after the battle (i.e. B.C. 470). Unfortunately we are unable to identify any of the earlier works of Pheidias among extant statues, for the intricate attempts of Furtwängler to make such identifications are far too speculative and fanciful to serve as a basis for any conclusions. Our best evidence for Pheidias style is derived from copies of the Parthenos statue dating from the Roman Age, the Lenormant statuette, the Varvakeion statuette, and the copy from Patras. A comparison of these with such figures as the Athena from Pergamon and torsoes found on the Athenian Acropolis does enable us to form a fairly adequate notion of the Parthenos statue. But of no other statue by Pheidias can we form a satisfactory idea. The attempt of Furtwängler to assign to the great master a number of works now extant in the form of Roman copies nowhere reaches more than a low degree of probability, and often rests on a very fragile substructure.

When one speaks of the work of Pheidias most people at once think of the sculptural decoration of the Parthenon. And that Pheidias was in a measure generally responsible for this is made probable by the phrase of Plutarch in reference to the buildings of Pericles, *πάντα ὁκίει καὶ πάντων ἐπίσκοπος ἦν αὐτῷ* (Περικλεῖ) Φειδίας. But that Pheidias in person and

<sup>40</sup> This we learn from Plutarch, *Pericles*, Pl. 8, x. ch. xl.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.* Pl. 2, i.-xii.

<sup>42</sup> *Nomenclature Commentary on Pausanias*.

minutely directed the work of sculpture on the Parthenon is most unlikely. The oversight of such work was usually taken by the architect; and the architect of the Parthenon was not Pheidias but Ictinus. Moreover, from the record which is extant of payments to sculptors for the work on the Athenian Erechtheum we may judge how many artists worked at once on a temple. In the fragment of this record which is preserved twelve sculptors are mentioned, some citizens and some resident aliens, all of whom are paid at the same rate, 60 drachmas (about 60 francs) for each figure. The pedimental figures of the Parthenon cannot be by Pheidias. An Attic inscription is preserved<sup>42</sup> which records payment to the *sculptors* (not the sculptor) of the pediments; and the date of the document, though not absolutely fixed, appears to be too late for any superintendence by Pheidias.

Any careful examination of the sculpture of the Parthenon will shew not only varieties in execution but marked differences in important points of style. For example, two adjoining figures, Hephaestus and Poseidon, in the group of gods in the east frieze, are strongly contrasted in style; so are the running Nike of the east pediment and the adjoining seated figures. The actual sculptors, whoever they were, must have had quite a free hand; and this altogether accords with what we know of the ways of Greek artists in the fifth century. There was no broad line of distinction between sculptor and stone-mason. The latter may have worked under the general direction of a noted master, but he was no slavish subordinate. We know indeed that at Epidaurus Timotheus furnished models (*τύποις*) for one of the pediments, but that may have been a fourth-century innovation. And there are strong reasons for denying close relations between Pheidias and (at all events) the pedimental figures of the Parthenon. These not only were probably made after his death or imprisonment, but also they are much freer in style than the great cultus figures for which Pheidias was noted. The fact is that the great field for practice in sculpture offered by the decoration of the Parthenon seems to have produced a very rapid improvement in freedom and technique. It seems at first sight almost incredible that some of the stiffer metopes of the Parthenon, and the pedimental group of the Fates, can have belonged to the same building, and been produced within a few years of one another.

If Pheidias was really responsible for the planning of the sculpture of the Parthenon, it must have been quite at the end of his life. His earlier activities were concentrated on such works as the great statues of Athena at Plataea and Pellene, and the magnificent bronze memorial of Marathon set up at Delphi; and we know from ancient writers that it was not for technique that he was noted, but for the preciousness of his materials, and above all for his success in embodying the highest religious ideas of his contemporaries.

<sup>42</sup> Woodward in *Annual of Ber. School*, 1909-10, p. 196. Mr. Woodward observes that Pheidias exercised practically no supervision over the last stages of the decoration of the Parthenon.



## III.

In discussing the meaning and attribution of our statue, we have before us three alternatives. It may represent, first a deity, secondly a generalized type, or thirdly an individual.

The generalized type, to begin with the second alternative, is best represented by the great series of archaic female figures dedicated to Athena, which was discovered on the Acropolis of Athens in the excavations of the latter part of the last century. That these figures did not represent the goddess is I think generally allowed: nor did they represent her priestesses. They must have been dedicated to Athena by her worshippers. But they had nothing individual about them; they were not portraits, but *kôpai* or girls given to, and belonging to, Athena. Similar series have been found on other sites.

In the case of the present statue we may reject this interpretation. These series of *kôpai* belong rather to archaic art than to that of the fifth century, although as I have already suggested, they may have been in some places continued. But anyone who carefully looks at our statue will reject at once the notion that it represents no one in particular; it is far too full of character.

A point not without importance is its size, six feet in height. That was certainly not, at all events for a Greek woman, life size, but heroic size. The usual height for a male heroic figure was about 6 feet 8 inches (2 mètres). Six feet for a woman nearly corresponds to six feet and eight inches for a man, being about one-seventh more than the normal height, taking that at 5 feet 10 inches for a man and 5 feet 3 inches for a woman. The series of dedicated *kôræ* at Athens and elsewhere are usually below life size. The heroic scale shews that our statue is not merely one of a series, but a figure of special significance, like the figures of the Tyrannicides at Athens or the Agias group of portraits at Delphi.

There remain the two other alternatives, a deity or a portrait. But these alternatives do not strictly exclude one another. For in the great period of Greek art, as well as in its later periods, it was possible to represent a person, living or dead, in the guise of a deity, and with some of the attributes of deity. It is in this compound way that I am disposed to interpret our statue.

If, whether simply, or in a divine translation, it is a representation of an Athenian lady, one can scarcely avoid the question as to the person portrayed.

According to the manners of Athens at the time, it is very unlikely that any ordinary matron would be represented in a statue. The queens of Syria and Egypt in the third century appeared in many statues. But the Athenians of the fifth century, and especially the statesmen, held that women of repute should not be seen (save on rare occasions) outside their own houses, that

their duties were limited to control of their children and their slaves. It is unlikely that a statue of any of them would be put up in a public place.

We must consider important facts in the history of Athens. We know from the life of Pericles by Plutarch, as well as from the comedies of Aristophanes, that a revolt against the accepted view of women was in progress at the time of the Peloponnesian war, and even earlier. Many Athenian women were dissatisfied with 'the trivial round, the common task'; and wanted to become of more account in public life and even in politics. At the head of this movement were two remarkable women, Elpinice and Aspasia. They were of very different rank. Elpinice, daughter of Miltiades and sister of Cimon, belonged to one of the highest families. But she chose to disregard the conventions of propriety, was a close friend of Pericles, and though married to a distinguished citizen, Callias, did many things which at the time caused scandal. The character of Aspasia has been in modern times the subject of much controversy. In origin she was a Milesian: probably her family had been sold into slavery on the failure of the Ionian Revolt. She had become, probably without any option, a *hetæra*, and drifting to Athens became the mistress of Pericles, who divorced his legal wife and openly lived with her. That she was clever and highly accomplished we are assured. She seems to have held a kind of *salon* to which the friends of Pericles resorted, and even in some cases took their wives. Socrates was among her admirers; and she was even credited—by the credulous—with the composition of the speeches of Pericles. After the death of Pericles, she took up with Lyxicles, a dealer in cattle, and caused him to become an orator. Evidently she was in an eminent degree unconventional. But some modern admirers who try to represent her as not only brilliant but of high character, go beyond the mark. We need not accept all the many scandalous tales told about her at Athens, for we know that scandal was as rife in ancient as it is in modern Athens. But we make a mistake when we try to transplant into the glowing air of ancient Athens modern English notions. The class to which Aspasia belonged was held in no high esteem at Athens; and though she had exceptional talent, she was not generally regarded as above corrupt influences and debased means of acquiring wealth.

These two women, Elpinice and Aspasia, are perhaps the only two women of Athens in the middle of the fifth century likely to have had their effigies put up in a public place. And it is curious that we have just two Athenian portraits of women at the period.<sup>44</sup> One is closely wrapped in a cloak, with a veil on the back of the head, a figure equally charming and modest (Fig. 7), which has been reconstituted by Amelung,<sup>45</sup> from a veiled head of fifth century type at Berlin and a body of later date, which certainly belonged to the same type. That the head had been called a head of Aspasia need not influence us, for the attribution rested on no evidence whatever. It

<sup>44</sup> The *Hestia Giustiniani* may perhaps be a third, but her place of origin is uncertain.

<sup>45</sup> Published by Amelung in *Bon. Mus.* xv.

represents a dignified Athenian matron, certainly not Aspasia, but very possibly Elpinice. If a statue of Elpinice were put up, it would have been of this type.



FIG. 7.—STATUE OF AN ATHENIAN MATRON.

I am tempted to venture somewhat further in the explanation of Dr. Amelung's charming statue in connexion with our own. The question naturally suggests itself and is discussed by Amelung,<sup>46</sup> whether it can be

<sup>46</sup> *Röm. Mit.* xx. p. 191.



a copy of one of the most celebrated statues of antiquity, the *Sosandra* of Calamis, which has always been something of a puzzle. This statue was set up at the entrance to the Acropolis of Athens. Whether it was identical with a statue of Aphrodite by Calamis seen near the same spot by Pausanias<sup>47</sup> has been disputed, but this seems by far the most probable view. But it does not at all follow that Pausanias is right when he called the figure Aphrodite; he may have judged quite hastily. He says it was a dedication by the Athenian Callias, who was the husband of Elpinice.

I cannot here discuss at length all the views which have been put forth as regards the statue of *Sosandra*. This task has been very satisfactorily carried out by Studniczka.<sup>48</sup> I quite agree with this writer that *Sosandra*, the saviour of a man or men, is a singularly inept epithet for Aphrodite, who was regarded as misleading men rather than saving them. Nor does it occur anywhere else as an epithet of Aphrodite or other deities. Another explanation must be sought for.

On the Acropolis there has been found an inscription reading<sup>49</sup> ΚΑΛΛΙΑΣ ΗΙΠΠΟΝΙΚΟ ΑΝΕΘΕΚΕΝ on a base on which once stood a bronze statue. At first of course one would suppose that this must have been the basis of the *Sosandra* statue. But this turns out to be a false light. For on the basis are the marks on which stood two naked feet which supported the lost statue. It could not have been a draped female figure, but it must have been a male statue—very probably an Apollo. Callias, indeed, being wealthy, may have made many dedications. However, our concern is not with the various dedications of Callias, but only with the *Sosandra*.

Lucian, in an often-cited passage calls the statue made by Calamis *Sosandra* merely, and his description of her is noteworthy. In his *Imagines*<sup>50</sup> he speaks of the figure as notable for modesty (*αἰδώς*), for a staid and unconscious smile (*μειδίαν σκυρὸν καὶ λεληθὸς*), for the trim and orderly folds of her cloak,<sup>51</sup> and for the veiled head. Lucian is the only ancient critic of art who has to be considered with respect; in his youth he had been a sculptor, and he knew what he was talking about. His words bring up to our minds just such a figure as that of Amelung, and it belongs to the period and probably to the style of Calamis. Archaeologists have been disposed, in the absence of clear light as to the style of this sculptor, to regard him as working in the style of the latest of the archaic dedicated figures of the Athenian Acropolis, late examples of the old Ionian art, wearing the fine chiton, and an over-garment over one shoulder or both. And certainly the terms delicacy and charm (*λεπτότης καὶ χάρις*) applied to his statues by Dionysius of Halicarnassus<sup>52</sup> would apply to these statues. But they apply quite equally well to the veiled lady under consideration. And in fact, we

<sup>47</sup> I. 23, 2.

<sup>48</sup> *Kalamis*, 1907.

<sup>49</sup> Studniczka, *Kalamis*, p. 56.

<sup>50</sup> Ch. 4.

<sup>51</sup> The word is *ἀμφηχὴ*, an outer garment; this excludes such figures as the *Hestia Quirina*.

<sup>52</sup> *De Imaginibus*, ch. 3.

can scarcely imagine that after the Persian wars, when Athens was boiling over with new ideas in art, a great sculptor like Calamis would keep up a merely traditional type. He probably retained the Ionic dress but used it with freer hand and greater artistic effect, leading art in the way in which Praxiteles afterwards developed it.

Amelung finds a difficulty about identifying his statue with the Sosandra in another passage of Lucian<sup>52</sup> in which, as he thinks, the ankles of the Sosandra are praised, and so must have been shown. The passage is ambiguous: but I cannot find in it more than a general assertion that the Sosandra was universally appreciated and warmly praised.<sup>53</sup> In fact it is unlikely that a draped figure of the period, notable for dignity and modesty, wearing a cloak, would show her ankles. I think that we may set this passage aside, as giving no clear evidence.

But if Callias dedicated a statue called Sosandra, the saviour of a man, it is easy to find an occasion when he might have done so. In B.C. 463 Elpinice, his wife, by pleading with Pericles, the accuser, saved her brother Cimon from being condemned to death for treason. On such an occasion it would be very natural for Callias, who was much in love with his wife, to set up her statue in the guise of Sosandra.<sup>54</sup> To her the matronly veil would be as suitable as it would be unsuitable to a figure of Aspasia.

The other portrait of a fifth century Athenian woman is that represented by our Ashmolean statue: as well as by the statue at Florence. It is curious that Bernoulli<sup>55</sup> should have remarked 'We might be disposed to search for the portrait (of Aspasia) among those heads of Aphrodite-like type, with beautiful head-covering, which we have been accustomed to call Sappho, some of which in style go back to the fifth century.' With this suggestion I am in agreement. If a statue of Aspasia were set up, it would probably represent her not as a matron, but partly as a woman and partly as a goddess.

Our statue is not a mere portrait, but a portrait of a woman in the guise of a deity. It was not without some justification that so able judges as Fortwängler and Reinach saw in the group of heads to which ours belongs representations of Aphrodite. In fact, women in Greece were seldom honoured with a statue, unless they were more or less deified: and this applies to the fifth century. Of Sappho there was a temple and a cultus at Mytilene. Leona, the friend of the tyrant-slayer Aristogeiton, was honoured at Athens as a heroine after her death. To Phila the wife of Demetrius Poliorcetes the Athenians erected a temple, identifying her with Aphrodite. Amastris figures as a goddess on the coins of the city which bore her name. It is not at all rare to find erected on Greek tombs statues of the deceased in the guise of Hermes or even Asklepios. How easy the process of deification was among the Greeks, if any of their friends had

<sup>52</sup> *Diad. Meretr.* iii. 2.

<sup>53</sup> Fortwängler takes this view: *Sitzungsber. der Bayer. Akademie*, 1907, part ii. p. 168.

<sup>54</sup> The assignment of a fresh name to those who were heroized was an ordinary custom.

<sup>55</sup> *Griech. Monogr.* i. p. 115.



money to make an endowment, is shown by the celebrated document known as the will of Epicteta.

Perhaps the closest parallel to a deification of Aspasia as Aphrodite may be found in the similar deification of Lamia. Lamia was an Athenian hetæra who captivated Demetrius Poliorcetes, who abandoned for her his noble wife Phila. The Athenians and the Thebans both erected temples in which Lamia was adored under the name of Aphrodite. And the people of Lamia in Thessaly put on their coins a striking head of Lamia-Aphrodite.<sup>37</sup> The hair in this portrait hangs loose about her ears in a fashion unknown in portraits of matrons.

That Calamis should make a statue for Callias and Cimon, and Pheidias one for Pericles and Aspasia quite accords with what we know of the political relations of the two schools: Calamis was connected with the Athenian conservatives, Pheidias with the popular party of Pericles. The Aspasia-Aphrodite of Pheidias might well be a reply to the Elpinice-Sassandra of Calamis.

I must try to determine at what periods the portraits of Elpinice and Aspasia would be likely to be made. Elpinice was no longer very young when she interceded with Pericles on behalf of her brother Cimon, B.C. 463;<sup>38</sup> she may then have been approaching thirty, since Miltiades died in 489, and probably Elpinice was born shortly before that year.<sup>39</sup> Aspasia was decidedly younger. Judeich, in a careful paper in Wissowa's *Encyclopædie*, after examining the evidence, decides that Pericles' son by Aspasia must have been born in B.C. 449-440.

Amelung's statue above mentioned, with veiled head, is given by the general voice of archaeologists to about B.C. 460: Calamis flourished B.C. 480-440.<sup>40</sup> The Ashmolean statue I have already assigned to B.C. 460-440, which corresponds with the active period of Pheidias. There is then no reason arising out of chronology why these two statues should not respectively represent Elpinice and Aspasia, and come from the workshops of the great sculptors whom I have mentioned.

Of course, if our portrait is really of Aspasia, that would decidedly be a reason why the great master himself, as a personal friend of Pericles and Aspasia, should have made it. And he did work in marble. But the question whether a statue merely comes from the workshop of a great sculptor, or whether he himself made it, is much more important in reference to modern than in reference to ancient sculpture. The modern artist is anxious that all his work should bear his personal imprint; this search for originality did not sway an ancient artist, who was content to reproduce traditional types only improving upon them in detail, or distinguishing them by fine execution. It is probable, for the reason which I have given above, their employment on the great temples at Athens, that the pupils of Pheidias, Alcamenes, and

<sup>37</sup> *Rev. Mus. Græc.*, Thessaly, Pl. IV. 1, 2.

<sup>38</sup> Plutarch's *Pericles*, ch. 5. Pericles, rather curiously, tells Elpinice that she is too old for the business.

<sup>39</sup> Possibly the name Elpinice, 'Hope of victory,' may have had to do with Marathon.

<sup>40</sup> These are the dates arrived at by Studnicka, *Kalamis*, p. 81.



Agocerotus excelled their master in the production of works in marble, though they never had an opportunity of surpassing him in the great religious line of art. Lysippus was credited with the authorship of 1,500 statues; many of them of colossal size; and it is clear that he can have been only the head of a factory, though no doubt he may have impressed something of his style on all works which came out of his factory. I am quite content to say that our statue came from the workshop of Pheidias, without affirming his personal relation to it. There was shown at Olympia a workshop of Pheidias; and no doubt many years before he began the great statue of Zeus he had a workshop at Athens, alike for works in gold and ivory and in marble. Judging by what we really know as to the Pheidian treatment of drapery, we are quite justified in saying that our Ashmolean statue is just what we should expect from this workshop about the middle of the fifth century.

Supposing our head to be meant for a portrait of Aspasia as Aphrodite, it may serve to account for the accusation of impiety which we know to have been brought against her. Pheidias, as Plutarch tells us,<sup>51</sup> was accused of impiety because he introduced portraits of himself and Pericles into the relief representing a battle with Amazons which adorned the shield of the great Parthenos statue. Surely it would be still worse impiety, if either Pericles or Aspasia set up a portrait of a concubine in guise of a goddess. The enemies of Pericles, not daring to attack himself, brought actions against his special friends, Anaxagoras, Pheidias, Aspasia, and in each case on religious grounds.

Of course it may be said that we have no direct ancient authority for these suggestions; that they rest only on an ingenious collocation of possibilities; but they certainly well fit the facts so far as they are known; and do not go beyond the limits of permissible theory. It is quite legitimate, and indeed necessary, in history to go beyond our documents by conjecture: what is wrong is to give out conjectures as facts, or to build conjecture on conjecture until the whole edifice becomes top-heavy.

Possibly a somewhat different view may commend itself to some readers. They may take their start from the curls on the cheek, exact correspondence with which is only found on the bronze coins of Mytilene, and the statues which I have allowed to represent Sappho. Why, they may say, should not our statue represent Sappho, or if Aspasia, Aspasia in the guise of Sappho? This view is plausible, but it seems less acceptable than that which I have set forth. Greek portraits in many cases represent historic persons in the guise of deities. But I do not know of one which represents one historic person in the guise of another. Alexander the Great is represented as Hercules, and as Castor,<sup>52</sup> but not as Miltiades. An Athenian lady might appear as Aphrodite, or as a Muse, but not as a poetess whose works were well known. And that our statue is not a mere embodiment of someone's notion of Sappho seems to be proved both by its individual character, and by its simplicity and

<sup>51</sup> Plutarch's *Pericles*, ch. xxxi.

<sup>52</sup> In the remarkable statue lately discovered at Cyrene.

freedom from the imaginative element. Moreover, a statue of Sappho would scarcely represent her as clad in the Dorian dress.

Perhaps other objections to the identification of our figure as Aspasia may be suggested. The head is scarcely ideally beautiful in form. But the women who have affected history by their attractions have seldom been ideally beautiful; rather bright and witty, able to amuse and to charm. Also



FIG. 8.—SUSSENER PORTRAIT OF ASPASIA IN THE VATICAN.

there is about the head a certain innocence and simplicity. Some of this may be due to the style of sculpture.

I must not, however, pass by in silence a head extant and published, which has some claim to be regarded as a portrait of Aspasia, and which differs notably from the Ashmolean statue (Fig. 8). It is a herm surmounted

by a bust of a woman, the back of whose head is covered by a veil, and whose hair is arranged in wave-like tresses like a melon running from the forehead to the back parallel to one another.<sup>22</sup> On the base of this herm is inscribed in letters, not cut with a chisel but merely scratched, ΑΣΠΑCΙΑ. This inscription has been discussed by several writers, and presents a difficult problem. On the one hand the inscription seems to have already been on the herm when it was discovered near Civitavecchia. On the other hand the letters are suspicious in form, and not put in the ordinary place. But all the writers are agreed that it is very difficult to believe that we can really have Aspasia in this woman, of most common-place type, and wearing the veil, the mark of the Athenian matron. I think that the inscription is not trustworthy, though without seeing it I cannot decide when it was cut. It would take a great deal of evidence to persuade us that Aspasia could have been represented as an ordinary matron. This head cannot in any case claim to represent a contemporary portrait, as the fashion of hair does not occur in Greek sculpture before the time of Praxiteles. If, therefore, it was intended for Aspasia, it may be a mere fancy portrait of later time.

With our Ashmolean portrait we naturally compare the only portrait by a contemporary of Pheidias which has come down to us (only alas! in Roman copies), the herm surmounted by a portrait of Pericles, a copy of a work of Cresilas of Cydonia. In our copies much of the character is lost. But enough remains to show us how artists of the great Periclean group conceived a portrait. They did not try accurately to copy details of less importance. The hair and beard they treated almost in a conventional way. Nor did they lay emphasis on the time of life; we only feel that Pericles was at the zenith of his powers. But the portrait impresses on us the calm and dignity of the statesman, with something in the face, especially the upper lip, which belonged to the actual man. Such a generic and idealized portrait I think we have in the Ashmolean statue.

Let me sum up, proceeding from the more to the less certain. We may confidently assign our statue to the middle of the fifth century, to Athens, and to the school of Pheidias. That it represents a woman in the guise of a deity or a heroine is also fairly certain. Of which woman it is a portrait is of course not so clear. But no one seems so suitable as Aspasia: we may fairly accept this identification until a better is suggested.

PERCY GARDNER.

<sup>22</sup> See Bernoulli, *Griech. Iconogr.* p. 113. It is in the Sala delle Muse in the Vatican.



## SEVEN VASES FROM THE HOPE COLLECTION.<sup>1</sup>

### [PLATE IV.]

It is by publication that a private collection can best apologise for its existence, and for the following vases which passed from the Hope Collection to mine this apology is due:—

*B.-F. Lekythos* (Figs. 1, 2). Overbeck, *Die Bildwerke zum Thebischen und Troischen Heldenkreis*, Pl. XIX, 7, p. 455; Raoul Rochette, *Mon. In.* xviii. 2; Hope Sale Catalogue, No. 19. Hs. 312 m. The body is wide in order to accommodate the subject, the neck short, the foot low and spreading. The back of the vase has been restored. Below the neck are rays, on the shoulder palmettes, above the design a pattern of dots between lines, below a line and a broad band of black edged with purple.

The subject represented is Achilles dragging the body of Hektor round Patroklos' tomb. The chariot, drawn by four horses galloping to the right, is driven by a bearded and helmeted warrior in a leather jacket. To the chariot is bound the body of Hektor, bearded, with eyes closed. The *eidolon* of Patroklos flies in the same direction, winged, armed, and with a single spear. Beyond the chariot is an armed warrior running, and another is trampled beneath the horses' feet. The background is filled by the white grave mound of Patroklos on the left, by conventional vine sprays on the right.

Illustrations of this scene have been collected and discussed by various writers,<sup>2</sup> most exhaustively by Schneider.<sup>3</sup> Two main types are recognised: in the first the chariot is in motion and an armed warrior runs beside it; in the second it is at rest and Achilles stands behind it, bending to contemplate his dead enemy. The problems of Type I. are the invariable presence of the running warrior, and the long white chiton frequently worn by the driver; they have induced all authorities with the exception of Overbeck to interpret the former as Achilles and the latter as Automedon. This interpretation involves fresh difficulties; firstly, that on the *lekythos* formerly in the

<sup>1</sup> I should like to express my thanks to Mr. Beazley for various kind suggestions, and to Miss Hutton for criticisms and corrections.

<sup>2</sup> The references are given in Pauly-Wissowa, vol. vii. p. 2817.

<sup>3</sup> *Pro. Sagenkreis*, p. 25.

Cabinet Durand<sup>4</sup> the armed warrior beside the chariot is duplicated by a second warrior, who stands next to the charioteer; secondly, that on the amphora Berlin, No. 1867,<sup>5</sup> he runs in the direction contrary to the chariot. These difficulties are considered to be due to misunderstanding of the type.



FIG. 1.—H. F. LEKYTHOS, A.

The more natural view is to regard Achilles himself as the driver. This would account for both the Durand lekythos and the Berlin amphora; it is supported by the fact that in the earliest representation of the scene, on a

<sup>4</sup> R. Roehette, *Mon. In.* xviii. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Gerhard, *A. F.* cxviii.

fragment from Klazomenae,<sup>6</sup> the driver can be none other than Achilles. The white chiton, the running warrior, are easily accounted for by confusion with other types; an examination of the various combat scenes where chariots occur<sup>7</sup> shews that it was almost *de rigueur* to put a running figure



FIG. 2.—B. F. LEKYTHOS, B.

beside the team, while the popularity of racing chariot scenes would account for the hero adopting a charioteer's dress. It is to be remarked that a large proportion of these combat and racing scenes come from the necks of

<sup>6</sup> Zahn, *A.A. Mitt.* cxiii, Pl. VI.

<sup>7</sup> *E.g.* B.M. Vases B 264, 317, 321, etc.



amphorae and hydriae; oddly enough, the above-mentioned fragment from Klazomenai, as has been pretty conclusively shewn, comes likewise from the shoulder of a hydria. It may be fanciful to press this point too far, but it seems possible that in Attic vases also the scene may have occupied that place to which indeed it is very suitable, and that there the confusion of types may have been effected.

When used for the main picture of a vase, Type I. presented a difficulty which was perhaps responsible for the evolution of Type II. The body behind the chariot complicated the picture by lengthening the space to be filled. Various solutions were attempted: in the Hope lekythos it is relegated to the unoccupied field at the back of his vase; in the lekythos, Naples, 2746,<sup>8</sup> the space round it is filled with radiating sprays; in the amphora, Berlin, 1867,<sup>9</sup> it is simply omitted. By this time the type had become so common that it had almost lost its meaning, and the production is a senseless compromise between it and the racing type.

Meanwhile the creator of the original of the Durand lekythos had thought of filling the space behind the body by the white grave mound, which previously had been placed beyond the chariot, and a painter with still more ingenuity and some dramatic instinct created Schneider's Type II. His great contribution was that, in shifting the centre of interest from the chariot to the space behind it, the difficulties of composition have been more than solved.

The vases illustrating this incident do not, therefore, reflect a common original, but are a series of experiments in the best way of fitting a given subject into a given space.

*B-F. Lekythos on a cream ground.* Hope Sale Catalogue, No. 32. Height, 385 m. Foot in one degree. On the shoulder, palmettes on red ground; above the design, *maeander*. Accessories purple.

Harnessing of a quadriga: the chariot stands to r. with two of the horses already harnessed; on the l. a man in a himation, whip in hand, leads up a trace horse. Another man, dressed in a white chiton, stands at the far side of the chariot; a third, wearing a himation, stands at the horses' heads. The owner is in the act of mounting. All four men are bearded and wear wreaths. The group is a common one, forming part of the B-F. painter's stock-in-trade: the relative positions of the figures remain much the same in the various examples, while they themselves appear in various guises.<sup>10</sup>

*R-F. Kotyle.* Pl. IV. Hope Sale Catalogue, No. 93. The height is 083 m., the diameter 15 m. One handle is vertical, the other, probably horizontal, has been broken off and the lip restored without it.

On the one side (A) is a dancing satyr, his left hand extended, his right on his hip, the head being in profile to l., while the shoulders are full-face.

<sup>8</sup> R. Rochette, *Mon. In.* xvii. Overbeck, *Die Bildwerke zum Tachycheus und Troischen Heldenkreis*, xix. 6.

<sup>9</sup> Gerhard, *op. cit.* ccxviii.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. B.M. Vases B 203-5, etc.

On the other (*B*) is a satyr bending his right hand stretched towards a rhyton on the ground, his body being in three-quarter position.

Relief lines are used for the collar-bone, breast, nipples, hip, ankles, toes, and fingers; occasionally on the outline, chiefly when bordering a somewhat enclosed space, but nowhere on the profile. A reserved line surrounds the hair. Interior markings are in faint brown; of special interest are the two short lines beneath the collar-bone, where it joins the median breast-line, and the two parallel to each other below the knees on *A*.

With regard to the heads: the profile on *A* is drawn with square lines similar to those of 'Styon' and 'Hydris' on the Brygion kylix, B.M. E 65. The head on *B* almost gives the impression of a three-quarter position, recalling such deviations from the true profile as occur in the case of the satyr with the double flutes and the satyr with the lyre on the kylix in the Cabinet des Médailles.<sup>11</sup> It is a pity that vase painters did not achieve their three-quarter effects by drawing a head such as this turned a degree more towards the front, instead of drawing a frontal head turned towards the side, as they usually did (e.g. the Centaureomachy Psykter in the Villa Giulia<sup>12</sup>). At any rate, they were wise enough to experiment chiefly with beings who had irregular features to begin with, such as centaurs and silenoi.

The evidence of style generally points to the Brygion painter. The vase may therefore be added to the series of satyr-vases already attributed to his hand, a series of which kotylai have been represented hitherto only by the example from Rhitsona published in *B.S.A.* xiv.<sup>13</sup> The two kotylai are closely related, being of the same shape, and both decorated with a pair of figures, one at each side; in size that from Rhitsona is slightly the larger, and in style the more mannered of the two.

*R.-F. Kotyle* (Figs. 3, 4). Hope Sale Catalogue, No. 93. Height, .08 m. Diameter, .15 m. Two handles, one vertical, one horizontal.

On *A*, an Eros flying to r., with a floral ornament in the field before him.

On *B*, an athlete with his right hand stretched out over a square altar, and behind him a pillar.

Relief lines are used for the outline, but not for the pupil of the eye; for the contours of the figure, except at the ends of the wings, and for such markings as the hip (which on *A* is a simple curve, convex to the body). A wash of thinned varnish covers the upper part of the wings. No trace of brown interior markings is visible.<sup>14</sup>

The custom of athletes taking an oath before entering the games is attested by Pausanias' description of the oath at Olympia. That it was widespread is shown by numerous vase paintings, on a large proportion of which the oath is taken with hand uplifted, not, as here, extended.<sup>15</sup> The

<sup>11</sup> Hartwig, *Meisterschalen*, Pl. XXXII.

<sup>12</sup> Fortwangler-Reichhold, Pl. XV.

<sup>13</sup> Hartwig, *op. cit.* p. 309-318, Pls. XXXII, XXXIII. *B.S.A.* xiv, p. 302, Pl. XIV.

<sup>14</sup> The marks which appear in Fig. 3, e.g. on the arm, are incised sketch lines.

<sup>15</sup> E.g. B.M. Vases E 114, and cf. note to E 63.



former practice seems common to many peoples upon oath-taking, the raising of the hand being the natural gesture of one compelling attention either of



FIGS. 3 AND 4.—R.F. KYLIX, A AND B.

god or man. The extended hand is natural when the presence of a sacred object is involved, as here the altar.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Cf. the oath of an ephēbos in *Ann. d. I.* 1868, PL. I.



*R. F. Coleman Krater* (Figs. 5, 6). Tischbein i. Pl. XIV. Hope Sale Catalogue, No. 53. Height, 315 m. From Capua.

Round the lip is a frieze of boars and lions confronted, in silhouette. On the neck, side A, are linked lotus buds; the designs are framed with tongue pattern above, ivy wreath to the sides.



FIG. 5.—R. F. COLEMAN KRATER, A.

On the obverse is the popular scene of a woman giving a drink to a young soldier. He wears the uniform of an ephebe: petasos, phlamys, boots, and carries two spears in his right hand. The woman's dress consists of a himation and a spotted Ionic chiton.<sup>12</sup> Behind her is a bearded man,

<sup>12</sup> The drawing of this detail is incorrect in Tischbein's plate. He calls the scene an illustration of *Odyssey*, iv, 219, which is, of course, fanciful. In Fig. 5 the lines have been thickened through reproduction.

leaning on a stick, behind the youth a woman in chiton, himation, and sakkos.

On the reverse are three draped athletes conversing.

The style is that of the Polygnotan circle.



FIG. 6.—R. F. COLUMN KNAYEN, *B.*

*Kylix* (Fig. 7). Hope Sale Catalogue, No. 93. Height, .05 m. Diameter, .16 m. With low foot and interior design only. Shape as in *Et. Cér.* Pl. D 101.

Youth with *ἀκρόστιον*. On the pillar are two faint brown streaks, which do not appear in the photograph. It is uncertain what they represent; possibly a fillet. There are also brown markings on the body. The *kylix* E 114 in the British Museum<sup>10</sup> is very similar in style.

<sup>10</sup> Mr. Beazley informs me that the following appears to be by the same hand: a *kylix* in the Lansingh Schenckler collection,

No. 424. Illustrated Catalogue, Pl. XLIV; this has a mark on the pillar resembling the one noted above.



FIG. 7.—R. F. KYLIX.



FIG. 8.—R. F. KYLIX.



*Kylix* (Fig. 8). Hope Sale Catalogue, No. 93. Height and shape as above.

Youth with strigil. The position of the body may be reminiscent of a statue; that of the head, though common on vases, would not be used for a statue at so early a date. Altogether, the rather *poseé* young athlete, leaning on a pillar and gazing at the stars, foreshadows the daintiness and sentimentality of a later period.

WINIFRED LAMB.

### GREEK LION MONUMENTS.

THERE is in the British Museum a colossal marble lion which was found near Cnidos by Sir Charles Newton (*Cat. of Sculpt.* ii. p. 214, No. 1350). It is recumbent and sculptured out of one block, the underside being hollowed out to diminish the weight. Its length is 9 feet 7 inches. (Fig. 1.) In the *Guide to Greek and Roman Antiquities* (1908) the sculpture is thus described and discussed:—

A colossal lion which was found lying overturned on a lofty promontory about three miles to the east of Cnidos. On the site where it was lying were the remains of a great tomb, which consisted of a square basement surrounded by engaged columns of the Doric order and surmounted by a



FIG. 1.—LION OF CNIDOS.

pyramid. It was evident from the position in which the lion was found that it had once surmounted the pyramid, whence it had been thrown down, probably by an earthquake. The position of the monument on a promontory was thought by Sir C. Newton to indicate that it was connected with a naval victory, and he suggested a victory gained off Cnidos by the Athenian admiral Conon over the Lacedaemonians in 394 B.C. as that commemorated. It is evident, however, that both suggestions are very conjectural. The style of sculpture in this lion is large and simple and well suited for its original position on a monument forty feet high overlooking a headland with a sheer

depth of 200 feet and with a wild rocky landscape round it. The eyes, now wanting, were probably of glass or perhaps of precious stones; Pliny (*N.H.* xxx. 6) tells of a marble lion on the tomb of a prince of Cyprus, with emerald eyes so bright that the fish were terrified until the stones were changed.

Notwithstanding the scepticism expressed here as to the origin of the monument, the theory is widely accepted. Although there is always a step from the best hypothesis to a proof, it is a pity, especially in popular hand-books, to give doubt too great prominence. Collignon in his account of the monument writes thus. 'Already in the archaic epoch the type of the lion was adopted for the decoration of tombs. That of Menekrates at Corfu is an instance (Fig. 104, vol. i.). They were also frequent on Attic steles. It is most natural that the type should be selected in preference to any other for those *polyandria* where the State gave common sepulchre to the soldiers who had died before the enemy. Without doubt we possess, thanks to Newton's discovery at Cnidus, the crowning sculpture from such a public tomb. According to a likely hypothesis it had rested on a *polyandrium* raised in honour of the Athenians killed in 394. Perhaps the lion taken from the Piræus by the Venetians and placed at their Arsenal had been erected in Attica as a memorial of the same action. The Lion of Cnidus is the most beautiful of such lions, but that of Chaeronea must also be mentioned. No inscription was engraved on the former, says Pausanias, but all would comprehend the eloquence of such a symbol.'

Sir C. Newton was not so sure that eyeballs had been inserted in the lion's head. 'I should mention (he says) that he has no eyeballs, only deeply cut sockets, of which the solemn chiar-oscuro, contrasting with the broad sunlight around, produces the effect of real eyes so completely as to suggest the notion that the artist, here as in so many instances in ancient sculpture, preferred representation by equivalents to the more direct imitation of nature. But on the other hand we have abundant evidence to show that coloured eyes composed of vitreous pastes were sometimes combined with marble in ancient statuary. There is a curious anecdote in Pliny of a lion with emerald eyes which surmounted the tomb of a certain petty prince in Cyprus. . . . The contemplation of the Cnidian lion in the bright and delicate atmosphere for which he was originally designed, taught me much as to the causes why modern artists fail so generally when they attempt public monuments on a colossal scale. . . . When I stood very near the lion many things in the treatment seemed harsh and singular; but on retiring to the distance of about thirty yards, all that seemed exaggerated blended into one harmonious whole, which lit up by an Asiatic sun, exhibited a breadth of light and shade such as I have never seen in sculpture; nor was the effect of this colossal production of human genius at all impaired by the bold forms and desolate grandeur of the surrounding landscape. The lion seemed made for the scenery and the scenery for the lion. The genial climate in which the Greek artists lived must have



enabled them to finish their colossal sculptures in the open air, and on the very site for which they were designed: hence the perfect harmony between man's work and nature which is so characteristic of Greek art in its best time.

This seems excessive praise of a work which is not seen to advantage in the Museum: it might be worth while some day to repeat the lion out of doors and lifted high above the ground. The cost would not be great in stone and it might be contracted for by ordinary monumental masons who can do pointed work with fair accuracy.

This lion seems much larger than the dimension given above suggests, and its size may serve as a standard for imagining the scale of the other lions to be described further on. I doubt if the eye sockets were ever filled; the deep sharp darks are wonderfully effective in a photograph and the forms do not look as if eyeballs had been fitted in.

The architect G. L. Taylor, travelling in 1818 with Edward Cressy (with whom he afterwards produced a well known book on Rome), John Sanders (once a pupil of Soane), and William Parser (a painter), made an excursion to Chaeronea and discovered some fragments which they 'suspected to be parts of the famous Theban lion mentioned by Pausanias to have been placed over the tomb of those heroes who fell here opposing Philip' (B.C. 338). 'My horse (says Taylor) made a stumble over a stone and on looking back I was struck with the appearance of sculpture. . . . We engaged some peasants and did not leave the spot until we had dug up the colossal head of the lion and some of his limbs. . . . From the nose to the top of the head it measured four feet six inches. . . . A part of one of the hind [front] legs two feet two inches. Arranging these masses we decided that the attitude had resembled the one on Northumberland House. . . . We carefully buried the masses and left them.'<sup>1</sup> Taylor illustrates his account with a copy of the restoration made by Siegel in 1856,<sup>2</sup> which shows the lion crouching on its hind quarters on a tall pedestal.

In the Spiers collection recently given to the Victoria and Albert Museum is Taylor's note book, used on this tour, containing his sketch of the head and fragment of the leg. With these is a note copied out of some other book, possibly the diary of one of his companions: 'Wednesday, 3rd June, 1818. Made an excursion to Chaeronea, distant two hours from Lebadia. Our first discovery was the fragment of the famed Theban lion about a quarter of a mile before we entered the town; it had lain close by the side of the road and exhibited only a part of the right cheek and a little of the mane; we dug round and found the head complete and a leg of enormous dimensions (see sketches, etc.). The execution is bold, the marble very white and remarkable for its fine grain (see Pausanias)'. Fig. 2 is taken from one of these sketches.

<sup>1</sup> *Autobiography of an Architect*, 1870. The attitude suggested was standing.

<sup>2</sup> For this and other references see B.M. *Catalogue of Sculpture* iii. No. 2598, p. 443.

The fragments thus reburied by Taylor must soon have been exposed again, and Wolfe, another English architect, who was travelling in Greece in 1820, examined them carefully so that he was able to make a correct restoration of the pose in a little sketch now in the Library of the Royal Institute of Architects. A second sketch shows the head with the teeth perfect but only cavities for the eyes. Others show mouldings from the pedestal agreeing with Siegel's restoration.



FIG. 2.—HEAD OF LION  
OF CHAERONEA. FROM  
TAYLOR'S SKETCH-BOOK.

In the accompanying notes Wolfe says: 'Left Athens 9th April, 1820, sailed for Piræus about midnight, arrived next morning on the coast of Ægina . . . 12, set off for Epidaurus but driven by contrary winds to a rocky part of the shore where we anchored for the night. Picturesque scenery, crocus and pink drop-flowers, juniper, etc., on the rocks [page missing]. Kaprena 3, Daulis 3]'

Fragments of lion at Kaprena. The expression of the face of the lion by no means noble; the mouth too wide: not so good a face as that of the Parthenon. Nothing mannered about the head except the eyes, which do not appear at all natural—the eyeballs are sunk out. The muscles and bones like that of the Parthenon except that on the latter there is a greater sinking at the temples. The mane easy and flowing; ear scarcely visible. The attitude was evidently that of sitting or squatting on the haunches. The head was in a single piece dished out in the inside to lighten the weight as are the other pieces forming the body. The mouldings of the pedestal do not appear in Fig. 3. The eyes are eighteen inches from centre to centre, and from the sketch it appears that a large circle is sunk in each eyeball almost filling its surface. A description of Chaeronea with its towered walls and small theatre follows. Ægina, Epidaurus, Argos, Tiryns, Mycenæ, Nemea, and Cleonæ are also described.

Wolfe must thus be credited with the correct restoration of the monument. This lion is of special importance to us in comparison with the great lion of Cnidos, the head of which is superior and the style of the hair less flowing and advanced. The Cnidian lion might well be fifty years earlier than the other, and like it, it was doubtless a war-monument.

I take from Baedeker's *Greece* the following details of the more recent history of the lion of Chaeronea. Excavations carried on since 1879 revealed that the lion stood on the edge of a quadrangular enclosure within which the bones of the slain Thebans were deposited. In the course of centuries the monument sank almost into the earth, but it was broken to pieces only in the last War of Independence. In 1902 the ground was properly excavated with the result that traces were found of a vast pyre mingled with bones. The fragments of the lion, nearly all of which existed, were also pieced together and the whole was re-erected on a pedestal about 10 feet high, the lion itself being 12½ feet high. The lion as re-erected is shown in Fig. 3.

from a print lent to me by Mr. Arthur Smith. The pedestal seems to be restored without authority.



FIG. 3.—LION OF CHAERONEA.

In an excellent book on Persia, published in 1906 by Prof. A. V. Williams Jackson of Columbia University, a description of a colossal lion is given with two photographic illustrations. This lion, which lies outside the city of Hamadan, is so strikingly like the lion of Chaeronea that it



is very probable that they were executed for similar purposes at about the same date. There cannot be a doubt that this great fragment is a fine Hellenistic sculpture of much the same class as the two lions already described. The front legs are broken away and it rests now in a lying attitude partly buried in the ground. However, the attachments of the front legs show that it sat up. Prof. Williams Jackson describes it thus: 'The famous but battered stone lion, the only monument that has lasted through the long ages of Hamadan, now lies near the foot of the Masallah, not far from the road leading to Isfahan. It is one of the landmarks of Hamadan, and is regarded as a guardian genius of the town. Even a thousand years ago it was spoken of by Masudi<sup>2</sup> as very ancient, and he describes it as standing by the Lion Gate on a low hill overlooking the road to Rei and Khorasan. He speaks of its lifelike appearance and compares it to some great bull or crouching camel, adding that it was carved after Alexander's return from Khorasan (as native tradition ascribes the founding of Hamadan to Alexander) and set up as a talisman to protect the walls of the city. . . . The overthrow of the lion was accomplished, he tells us about his own time. . . . A legend almost as old, recorded by Yakut (about 1220) says the image was set up by Belinas as a talisman (Belinas is commonly explained as a corrupt Oriental form for Plinius, Pliny). Popular belief has certainly surrounded the sculptured stone with a deep veneration. . . . The lion is rather effective in the distance, as the mutilation of the stone does not then show, and I was impressed by the life-like appearance of the image as I first rode towards it, an effect which is enhanced by the yellowish sandstone out of which the figure is carved. The head is massive, and the heavy waves of the mane are realistic in appearance, but it is difficult to catch the exact expression of the face in its present prone position, although the chin is well marked and the jaws are partly open. . . . Although the legs of the creature are broken off at the shoulders and thighs the body is entire. A careful examination of the sculpture shows that the lion originally sat in an upright posture with the forelegs straight and without any curve from the shoulders except the natural rounding of the haunches. In other words it was a lion *sejant* not *couchant*. The right hip is lower than the left, and the tail, though missing, curved round the left flank, as is shown by a perceptible groove in the stone at that point. From head to tail the image measures between eleven and twelve feet (3.40 m.), the head itself being nearly forty inches in diameter (1 m.). The present position of the lion, about an eighth of a mile from the foot of the Masallah, and facing south, is probably due to chance. Both Masudi and Yakut speak of the sculpture as being near a gate of the city, and judging from a modern mud tower which guards the road at this point, it is possible that there once was a gate near by, or that the lion possibly guarded an entrance to the citadel at this spot. Concerning the age of the statue, we can only make

<sup>2</sup> Died 951.

guesses, reckoning back from the time when Masudi spoke of it a thousand years ago. On the whole I agree with those who attribute a great antiquity to the sculpture, assigning it even to the times of the ancient Median Kingdom, when it may have anticipated the lion of the royal Persian emblem.

The whole type of the beast is not Median but Alexandrine, and this lion may very well be an important memorial of Alexander himself. Prof. Jackson has no doubt that Hamadan is the ancient Ecbatana—I have spoken of Alexander the Great in connection with Hamadan, and we know from history that he twice visited this ancient capital of Media, once when pursuing the vanquished Darius Codomannus, and afterwards when returning from Bactria and India. His name is still well known among the people as Iskandar, and various legends about him are preserved to the present

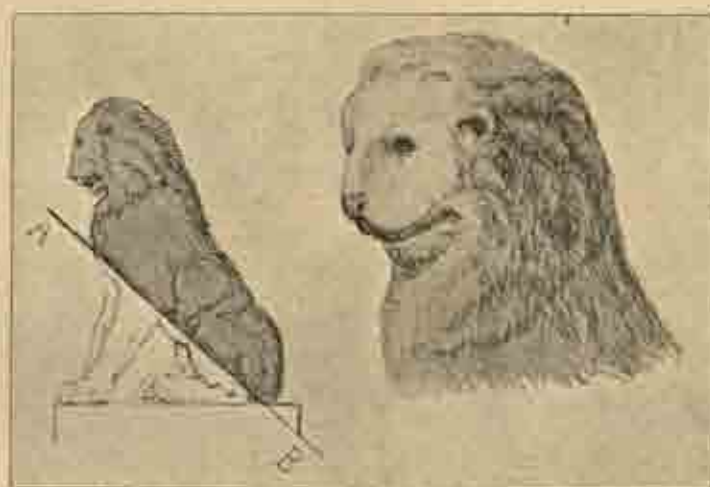


FIG. 4.—LION OF HAMADAN.  
(The line *AB* is that of the present ground level.)

time. The identification of Ecbatana is generally accepted, and I see in the Lion of Hamadan a memorial to be associated with Alexander himself. Fig. 4 gives a rough restoration.

There is a grace in the setting on of the head, and the curve of the back, as shown in the photograph, which mark out the sculpture as a fine Hellenistic work. The head closely resembles the heads of the lions of the Mausoleum, who are clearly related beasts. Apparently the eye sockets are empty. Prof. Jackson's description of 'the heavy waves of the mane, realistic in appearance,' agrees closely with Wolfe's phrase about the lion of Chaeronea—the mane easy and flowing. The pose must have been very like that of the Lion of Chaeronea, the 'life-like appearance, well marked chin and jaws partly open, the tail curving round the left flank,' and the

scale, are closely alike in both cases, and it may hardly be doubted that both were monuments of the same type and age. The pose is repeated in many other works.<sup>4</sup> Later the lions of Donatello and Alfred Stevens descended from the same stock (probably through the Greek lion at Venice) and the latter would make a noble monument twenty or thirty feet high.

W. R. LETHBRIDGE

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the lion-statuettes in the British Museum (*Cat. of Sculpt.* No. 2127). On a late coin of Corinth a lion in a similar attitude appears which is supposed to represent a fountain, and it has been thought that the Venetian lion may have been a fountain as the mouth is pierced. The monument of Laïs, which is

also represented on a coin of Corinth, may also be mentioned (Imhof-Schlumberger, *Nomism. Græc.* Pl. E lxxiv). Mr. Arthur Smith informs me that there are remains of a lion monument at Amphipolis, which tradition associates with the monument of Brasidas.



## LYCIAN AND PHRYGIAN NAMES.

ACCORDING to a theory which has been very commonly accepted by archaeologists in this country, the local names of Greece prove that a single language was once spoken there and in Asia Minor which was totally different from Greek, Thracian, Illyrian, or Phrygian. It was neither Aryan nor Semitic, and resembled that of the Lycian inscriptions. At a later date, whether before or after the arrival of the Greeks, certain Thracian and Illyrian elements were added, but they contributed little to the sum of geographical names.<sup>1</sup>

This belief is founded on the occurrence in Greece of local terminations in  $-\sigma\sigma-$  and especially in  $-\rho\delta-$ , which are considered to be foreign, and on their identification with the suffixes  $-\sigma\sigma-$  and  $-\rho\delta-$ , which are well known in Lycia, as well as in other districts of Asia Minor, and are derived from the native Lycian language.<sup>2</sup> It is supported by the collection of a long list of geographical names from the islands and the mainland of Greece which are not recognisably of Greek origin, and show resemblances, so close and numerous that they can hardly be accidental, to names of places in Asia Minor.

The case as stated by Pauli, Kretschmer, and Fick has a very convincing appearance. But the facts on which it is based seem to be in general inconclusive and in part erroneous. In the case of  $-\sigma\sigma-$ , the doubling of the  $\sigma$ , which is the most important point in common between the suffixes found in Greece and Asia Minor, is not present in the original Lycian.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, the same suffix occurs in several European countries: as in

<sup>1</sup> See especially Kretschmer, *Einleitung*, etc. (here cited as Kretschmer); Fick, *Vergleichende Ortsnamen* (cited as Fick) and *Hattulan und Dausbier*, etc.; and Pauli, *Altitalische Forschungen*, vol. ii. parts 1 and 2, *Eine Vergleichen Schrift*, etc. (cited as Pauli, ii. 1 or 2). Vol. iii. of the same work, *Die Feaster*, etc., is cited as Pauli, iii. Names from Asia Minor quoted without a reference will be found in the index to Sandwall, *Die einheimischen Namen der Lybier*, and from Thracian in Tomaschek, *Die alten Theater*, ii. 2. Other geographical names without reference are to be found in Pauly-Wissowa.

<sup>2</sup> If Lycian were an Indo-European lan-

guage, related to the Phrygian, there would be no need to go to Asia Minor for the origin of any of these suffixes. The argument must proceed on the assumption that it is not. The differences are in fact, in my opinion, fundamental and irreconcilable. The resemblances hitherto verified are not beyond the range of coincidence. But Professor Kalinka's belief (*T.A.M.* i. p. 10) that it is a mixed language may prove to be correct. It is probable at least that the vocabulary has been deeply affected by one or more Indo-European languages, and the same may be the case with the grammar to some extent.

<sup>3</sup> See below, p. 53.

Thrace, where it is common;<sup>4</sup> in Illyria, as *Ὀρρησός*; and the Illyrian region of Italy, as *Τολησός*. In the last instance, at least, the double *s* is native, as the Messapian inscriptions shew.<sup>5</sup> In the case of *-rs-* the Greek suffix is not identical with the Asiatic, and if, as Kretschmer supposes,<sup>6</sup> the Lycian *-rs-* represents an earlier *ut*, no sufficient reason is given why the Greeks should have regularly altered this *ut*, which was a common suffix in their own tongue, into a *-rs-* which was *ex hypothesi* foreign to it. But in Illyrian the actual suffix *-rs-* is found in local names, and is formed in accordance with known laws of the language.<sup>7</sup> It is also found not uncommonly in Thrace.<sup>8</sup> Moreover, at least one of the Greek names in *-rs-*, Mount *Βερίανθος* in Crete,<sup>9</sup> is unquestionably derived from the Phrygian, a dialect which was closely connected with the Thracian on one side and the Illyrian on the other.<sup>10</sup> The object of this article is not however to discuss the forms which appear in Greece, but the argument based on their resemblance to names found in Asia Minor.

The fact that the same stems occur in both countries is in itself of no value as evidence that a language of the Lycian type was ever spoken in Greece. For it is not disputed that Asia Minor was inhabited by two distinct races, one (allied to the Lycians) of native descent, the other (allied to the Phrygians) of European origin.<sup>11</sup> Unless the names quoted can be proved to belong to the older population, their evidence may tell indifferently on either side. But it is almost always extremely difficult, and very often quite

<sup>4</sup> Kretschmer, p. 405, only mentions five instances, but he might have added at least ten more.

<sup>5</sup> *s*, like other consonants, is doubled before *t*, which itself disappears, as *Ariseia* for *\*Ariseita*, etc.

<sup>6</sup> P. 206. It is certain that *ut* is always written in Lycian with a *t*, and that the sound almost always arises out of a *t* preceded by a nasal. That *-rs-* in this particular suffix so arises is not proved, but it is highly probable.

<sup>7</sup> As in Cocynthus, *Ἀγίστη* and *Ἀσίστη*, in the Illyrian region of South Italy, which regularly represent names with the common Illyrian suffix *-stis* (also *-stom*, etc.). For in Messapian *t* before *i* turns to *s*, and the *i* is usually dropped. The word *istis* occurs in Messapian.

<sup>8</sup> See Kretschmer, p. 402.

<sup>9</sup> This name (Theodoros v. 64), which is omitted by Pauli and Kretschmer, is certainly connected with that of the Phrygian tribe of the Berecynthæ. The existence of a *Βερεκύνθια* *ἡσ* in Phrygia is denied in Pauli-Wissowa (s.v. Berecynthæ), but without any assigned or discoverable reason.

<sup>10</sup> See Conway, *B.S.A.* viii. p. 154, who himself has overlooked the name *Βερίανθος*,

which would have considerably helped his argument. His contention that the language of the Eteocretan inscriptions is Indo-European and allied to the Venetic-Illyrian is highly probable. It seems to me to have no kind of resemblance to Lycian. It will be seen that I accept his conclusions in general in respect of local names in Greece, though on grounds which are only partly the same as his.

<sup>11</sup> The question has not been simplified by the discovery, by American excavators, of Lydian inscriptions written in a language strikingly unlike either Lycian or Phrygian. The greater part of the proper names contained both in these and in the Greek inscriptions of the country seem to be Phrygian, and probably belong to the Maconians, who preceded the Lydians. A few are akin to the Lycian, and may be assigned to a yet older population. The true Lydians seem to have been a race of comparatively late intruders, after the time of Homer. If so, the common worship, on which was based the belief in their blood-brotherhood with the Carians and Mysians, was taken over from the Maconians as part of their title to the soil. See below, p. 72.



impossible, to decide to which stratum any particular local name belongs. The structure, in the case of towns, is generally the same in both languages. They are usually derived from a personal name followed by a suffix; and most of these suffixes are of an ordinary type, which is found in various countries.<sup>12</sup> Some of them are certainly common to the two groups. Even the *-rē-*, which is rightly considered not to be Phrygian but distinctively Lycian, is sometimes attached to a Phrygian stem: as in *Βαγανῶς*,<sup>13</sup> a town in the Ormelian district, which is evidently derived from the Paphlagonian proper name *Βάγας*, and connected with the Phrygian Zeus *Βαγαῖος*.<sup>14</sup> As for *-σσ-*, there are, as will be seen, stronger reasons for supposing it native to Phrygia than to Lycia.<sup>15</sup> On the other hand, *-ειν*, *-εια*, as in *Γερδέειον*, *Νακόλεια*, etc. (as well as *-ιον* and *-αιον*, etc.), are peculiarly Phrygian,<sup>16</sup> but *Μολύνδεια* is claimed (though I believe erroneously) as genuinely Lycian.<sup>17</sup>

The affinities of local names in Asia Minor cannot necessarily be inferred from their geographical position any more than from their structure. For though a comparison both of them, and of personal names, shews convincingly enough that a language allied to the Lycian was once spoken over the whole of the southern and western part of the peninsula, it does not prove that no other language was ever spoken there. On the contrary, there appear to be indications of subsequent occupation or penetration by Phrygians or kindred tribes in every country of Asia Minor west of the Halys, except in the small district of Lycia proper.<sup>18</sup>

The limits of the Lycian people and their language in the fourth century B.C., shortly before the hellenisation of the country, are proved by the area within which the native inscriptions are found. This coincides very exactly with the national frontiers as defined by Greek authors except towards the east, where the boundaries are rather vague. There can, however, be little doubt that Strabo is following an older authority in those passages in which

<sup>12</sup> In Lycia the commonest suffixes *-s*, and *-σ-*, are *δα*, *λα*, *πα*, *μα*, *σα*. These all have parallels in Phrygia, as in *Σάνδα*, *Μάνδα*, *Λάσσα*, *Δαδαιον*, *Μίσσινον*. They are also to be found in Thrace and Illyria, and other European countries. By no means all such words are formed from proper names in the manner usual in Asia Minor, but there is no general test by which they can be distinguished from the Lycian.

<sup>13</sup> Probably for *Βαγαντα*, with the Phrygian *-ειν*, as in *Υχαιτα*, *Πισαχαιτα*, *Βαυτα*, *Πισαχαιτα*, *Γερδέειον*. The Lycian, Cilician, and Pisidian change of *ei* to *ed* spread to the Greek dialect of Pamphylia (Kretschmer, p. 300), and may easily have affected the Greek or the original Phrygian forms in this mixed region (see Baumeister, *Cities and Districts*, i. p. 286). *Κολανδεια*: *Κολαεττιος* in Carya (Kretschmer, p. 201) may be explained in the same way.

<sup>14</sup> See below, p. 62.

<sup>15</sup> See p. 32.

<sup>16</sup> Kretschmer, pp. 182 and 194. Mostly they represent *-ειν*.

<sup>17</sup> See below, p. 60, note 118.

<sup>18</sup> It is necessary to observe that the name Lycia is used both by Kretschmer and Sandwall in a very wide sense, so as to include districts which were not Lycian until Roman or even Byzantine times. Therefore many names will be found in their works which appear to be exceptions to general statements made in this article. It is impossible in every case to enter into explanations, but on verifying the references it will, I believe, be found that such discrepancies are due to this difference of definition. A good many names are quoted in Sandwall's book from unpublished inscriptions simply as Lycian without mention of the place of discovery. Such names are quite as likely as not to come from places outside Lycia in the sense in which the word is here used.



he describes the Chelidonian islands as the beginning of Pamphylia.<sup>19</sup> Beyond this point no Lycian inscriptions or tombs are found, and the name of Olympus cannot be Lycian.<sup>20</sup> Westward of this frontier, Lycia runs in a narrow semi-circular strip, only from twelve to twenty miles wide, between the sea and the mountains which bound the tablelands of inner Asia Minor. The high uplands thus surrounded belonged to Milyas, which was ethnically as well as geographically an extension of the Phrygian plateau, and was only politically united to Lycia by the Persian government.<sup>21</sup> It included Nisa (Ptolemy v. 3), and even Arycauda (Pliny v. 27), on the south side of the main chain. Here again archaeological evidence confirms that of the geographers, and leads to the further conclusion that Acalissus, Idebessus, and Cornus lay outside the boundaries of Lycia when it was a distinct native state. Even of the Xanthus valley only the lower part was included, from the point where the river breaks through the mountains about eighteen miles from the nearest coast. North of this lay Cabalia, which had no connexion with Lycia until Roman times.<sup>22</sup> On the west, the Carian frontier lay only a few miles beyond Telmessus.<sup>23</sup>

Within the district thus defined the Lycian language is known to have been directly superseded by Greek without any considerable change of population. Therefore, though Greek and afterwards Latin names were commonly adopted, a large proportion of native names survived. These were sometimes completely and occasionally imperfectly hellenised, but in general they were transliterated as faithfully as the Greek alphabet allowed.<sup>24</sup> For

<sup>19</sup> Strabo, p. 529 (probably from Eratosthenes), and p. 654. See Kalinka's remarks, *Jahreshefte*, xiii. Beiblatt, p. 42.

<sup>20</sup> In Lycian  $\mu\epsilon$  always turns to  $\mu\theta$ . Kretschmer (p. 301) takes the word rightly in my opinion to be Phrygian.

<sup>21</sup> *Tiracum suboles Milyas* (Pliny, v. 27) means no doubt that they were Phrygians; Herodotus called them *θῆες Φρυγίας*, iv. 196. The words of Arrian about Milyas, *ἡ δὲ γὰρ οὐκ ἐστὶν περὶ τὴν Φρυγίαν, ἀλλ' ἐστὶν ἡ τοῦ Ἀνδίου νότος ὁὐκ ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ Φρυγίᾳ*, i. 24, mean that it was geographically and probably racially part of Phrygia, not that in his own day it was administratively joined to it instead of Lycia, for that was not the case. Alexander entered Milyas from the Xanthus valley, no doubt over the main pass north of Ak Dagh, and went on to Phaselis. This confirms Ptolemy's account of the Lycian part of Milyas (v. 3), which Sir W. Ramsay unnecessarily doubts (*Cities and Bishoprics*, i. 217). The country extended also far to the north (*ibid.*), and included the country of the *Ὀψαπεῖς* (*ibid.*, p. 280), but it was all counted as part of Phrygia in the time of Alexander, who is described as leaving Pisidia and entering Phrygia near the Ascanden (i.e. the Phrygian) lake, (Arrian, i. 29). The country of

the *Ὀψαπεῖς*, which was certainly in Milyas, is proved to be Phrygian by the proper names found there (see p. 69), and is probably the Cilician plain of which the population was a mixture of Phrygian with a certain amount of Pisidian, Strabo, p. 628. See Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics*, i. p. 278.

<sup>22</sup> The Cabalian towns of Babon, Balhara, and Oenunda were only taken from Cibra, and added to Lycia by Marcus about B.C. 81. Four languages were spoken in the district (Strabo, p. 631) but Lycian was not one. In philological discussions Cabalian names should not be quoted as Lycian, as is commonly done.

<sup>23</sup> *J.H.S.* xv, p. 95.

<sup>24</sup> This is less true of local than of personal names, which, no doubt, were put into Greek letters originally by the bearers of them, in most cases. Names of places on the contrary were adapted, not by Lycians, but by Greeks before the hellenization of the country. In many instances this is known to have been the case, and it was probably so in all. For the proximity of every part to the sea and the nearness of Greek colonies, especially Megara on its very shore, made the whole country familiar to the Greeks at an early date.

this reason they remained subject to most of the strict and peculiar phonetic laws which were characteristic of the native speech. It will be shewn that all certain exceptions to these transmitted rules are probably and almost all unquestionably either hellenised or borrowed from some other region.<sup>20</sup>

In all the other countries of the peninsula in which names of the Lycian type are found, the proportion of exceptions is much higher. Dialectic difference may, as far as the vowels are concerned, possibly account for some of these divergent forms. But in respect of the consonants at least, they may, so far as they really belong to Asia Minor, be apparently divided into two classes. Some of them are purely Phrygian. Others are originally Lycian, but have undergone changes which are not in accordance with the laws of the Lycian but of the Phrygian language.

Of vowels Lycian possessed *η*, *ῆ* (generally written as *ε*),<sup>21</sup> *ι*, and *α*.<sup>22</sup> Phrygian had all the Indo-European vowels, and in this respect Lydian agreed with it. The same may safely be said of Carian also.<sup>23</sup> In the other provinces no inscriptions in a native alphabet are preserved, and the evidence is therefore insufficient.

The subject of the long vowels *ῆ* and *ῃ* in Asia Minor is rather obscure. It seems certain that Lycian had no equivalent for *η*. In two of the three cases where a Greek word containing *η* is rendered into the native alphabet it is represented by *α*, and in the third by *ῃ*.<sup>24</sup> Moreover, *η* is not used in Greek transliterations of Lycian names except in three ways.<sup>25</sup> It may stand for *ε*, as in Σηο for *seio* in a bilingual inscription.<sup>26</sup> It is not uncommonly used as an equivalent for the native *ε* before *ν* and *ν*, as in *ηννις* for *ēni*. In both these cases the lengthening is in compensation, and originates in the Greek transcription. The third case is when *ε* is lengthened before a double *α*. But it seems almost certain that this is not native. For among personal names, which give the most reliable evidence,<sup>27</sup> there is no certain and only one possible instance.<sup>28</sup> Among local names in Lycia proper,<sup>29</sup> there are

<sup>20</sup> Names were borrowed from Greek, Persian, and Phrygian before the Greek period, as *περικει*, *ακτινισπαια*, *νιδα*. Some were so entirely naturalised as to form part of native compounds, as the Phrygian *Κασος* (Kretschmer, p. 188) and *Κερας* (Toussaint, ii. 2, p. 50) in *επι-Κερας* and *Κασο-Κερας*. But these were subject to the phonetic laws of the native language.

<sup>21</sup> In this respect I shall follow the practice of *Treaty of Asia Minor* in employing *ε*, which though less accurate is more convenient.

<sup>22</sup> It had also the nasalised vowels *ῃ* and *ῃ* (which appear in Lydian likewise), and the sonant liquids *ν* and *ν*. These are not found in Phrygian, nor so far as is known in Carian, where the *α* is apparently syllabic with a suppressed vowel, not itself a vowel.

<sup>23</sup> Though the Carian alphabet is very obscure, the great number of different vowels would almost be enough to prove that *α* and *α* were distinguished.

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<sup>24</sup> *Jahrbuch*, ii. p. 55.

<sup>25</sup> Apparent exceptions are *Κρασπερας* (*J.H.S.* cv. p. 112) and *Σαπριον*. The first, however, is hellenised so as to resemble the Greek names beginning with *Κρα*-. The second has a termination *-ων* which is quite alien to Lycia, and markedly Indo-European; it is therefore probably a foreign name.

<sup>26</sup> The *ε* in *Σηο* is due to the same cause. *Κεδαβας* (Sundwall, p. 52), in an unpublished inscription, may not be from Lycia proper, as the place of origin is not mentioned (see note 18). But in any case it probably stands for *Κεδαβας*, from *Κεδα* (for *Κεδαβας*) or *Κεδαβας*, found in Pisidia, Pamphylia and Cilicia.

<sup>27</sup> See p. 48, note 24.

<sup>28</sup> *Σαπριον* may perhaps be for *\*Σαπριον*. But it is at least equally probable that it stands for *\*Σαπριον*.

<sup>29</sup> *Βερενδ* does not apparently properly belong to Lycia (see p. 48).



only three,<sup>35</sup> and two of these come from literary sources, which on this point are not reliable.<sup>36</sup> The only example attested by the evidence of inscriptions or coins is that of *Τελημσός*, or *Τελημσός*, and here the forms are variable, since *Τελημσός* is not uncommon, and *Τελεμσός* is also found. The last comes nearest to the original *Telebehi* for *\*Telebēsi*. The name was known to the Greeks before the hellenisation of the country, and the transliteration is due to them, not to the Lycians, a fact which accounts for its want of exactness. It is most probable that they simply assimilated it to that of the far more famous *Τελημσός* in Caria,<sup>37</sup> where both the lengthening of the vowel and the doubling of the consonant seem to be regular. It appears certain, at any rate, that in Lycia the long *ε* in the suffix *-ησός*, as in other cases, is not native, but is due to the Greek transcription. Indeed, since the doubling of the *σ* is not found in the Lycian, there can be no reason for the lengthening of the vowel.

The Lycian language had no equivalent for *ω*. The vowel *υ*, which was the sound nearest to the Greek *ο*, was apparently always short. It is always rendered by *ο* or *υ* in proper names, never by *ω* except in one instance.<sup>38</sup> Otherwise, in all Lycian names written in Greek letters, *ω* represents an original *υω*, not *υ*.<sup>39</sup> The Greek *ω* was evidently impossible to reproduce in Lycian, since *Ἀπολλωνίδης* is rendered by *μυλωνίδης*, *Πεζώδαρος* by *μικώτερ*, and *Ἰωνίος* by *ἰώνιος*. Moreover, in Greek transliterations of native names *ω* is almost entirely absent, and, in the two certain instances where it is native, it represents *υω* and *υωα*.<sup>40</sup> It never stands for a naturally long vowel, nor, except possibly in one doubtful instance,<sup>41</sup> for the lengthening of a vowel before a double consonant. The same rule holds good in Cilicia Tracheia, with few possible exceptions.

Proper names in *-ωρ* and local names in *-ων* and *-ωρη* are, as might be expected, foreign to Lycia. They are either Phrygian, as *Βαλλων* (p. 56), or hellenised, as *Ὀπλων*, *Στομῶν*, *Καλιβρόν*.<sup>42</sup> An apparent exception is *Κονδίων*, but this occurs at Idebessus, which does not seem to have been

<sup>35</sup> *Τελημσός*, *Καμολήσος* (only in Strabo, p. 665) and *Αρριωνέος* (only in Stephanus Byzantinus). *Καβρόν* in Lycia is a misquotation; the form cited from Hellanicus is *Καβρόν* (St. Byz. s.v.). The name occurs in connexion with Homeric commentary, which makes it rather suspicious. *Σαβρόν* (St. Byz.) 'near Lyrnessus' must even if the text is correct have been in Pamphylia.

<sup>36</sup> For instance, Stephanus gives *Ἀαχωνί*, though the correct form is certainly *Ἀαχωνία*. There is great uncertainty among Greek authors in general about these terminations, both in respect of the vowel and the doubling of the *σ*.

<sup>37</sup> Herodotus, I. 78, 84.

<sup>38</sup> *Κωνδίων* (gen.) though ungrammatical seems certain (Hecm. II. 71. *Ἰωνίον* is for the Lycian *ἰώνιος*, but the transliteration of local

names is not always exact (see p. 48, note 24).

<sup>39</sup> An apparent exception, *Ουλλων*, compared with the Cilician *Ουλλι*, Sandwall, p. 227) is not so in reality, as the man or his father is described as *Καλὸς παῖς* (Hecm. II. 107), probably from Cappadocia. There was no *Ουλλων* in Lycia.

<sup>40</sup> *Παμωρ* (O.T.O. 4303c) for *\*Παμωωρ* and *Ταῶν* for *ῥαω*.

<sup>41</sup> *Η Δεσση* (gen., O.T.O. 4300d) is connected with the Carian *Οεσσι*, it is probably a Carian name. There is no certain instance of a Lycian name in *-αα*, or *-αα*. But *α* may represent *υω*, a common element in proper names. *Κολων* (quoted by Sandwall) should represent *Κολυων* (*\*Κολυωω*), unless it is meant for a Latin *Quadrionius*, like *Κολων* for *Quadratus*.

<sup>42</sup> For *Καλλι* as often in inscriptions.



a Lycian town in the exact sense (see p. 48).<sup>43</sup> In Cilicia Tracheia the very rare names in -ωρ, when they are not Greek, appear to be Phrygian.<sup>44</sup> In Phrygia itself the termination is common, as in *Κυρων*, *Κρυσιων* (Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics*, i. 142), *Δρακων*, *Βιρων*, *Δαρων* (*Ibid.* 314), etc., etc. As ω generally turned into ου (Kretschmer, p. 224), -ωρ may represent a native -οωρ, as in the Isaurian *Μαθων*. So the local names *Κασωνια*, *Μικκωνια*, and *Τιστωνια* appear side by side with *Αλγουνια*.<sup>45</sup> Proper names in -ωρ are not uncommon in Caria, but a good many are hellenised. Of the remainder, at least half seem certainly to be Phrygian,<sup>46</sup> and it is very doubtful if any have any connexion with Lycian words.

In the matter of long vowels Lycian names contrast most strikingly with the Carian, in which they are remarkably common.<sup>47</sup> The chief cause is the rule by which ε and ο are lengthened before certain consonants when they are either doubled or followed by another consonant. Before liquids this lengthening is common, especially in the case of ο before -λλ- and -λδ-.<sup>48</sup> It also takes place before σ. This is shown by a comparison of the local name *Θυσσός* with *Θεισσός* in Lydia, and of the ethnics *Λοσσει* and *Λοσσει* which indicate an intermediate \**Λοσσει*. Before -στ- it is found in *Καστοβαλον*, as compared with *Καστωλλιος*. Altogether it occurs before σ in nearly twenty names, personal as well as local. Clear instances of lengthening before other consonants are not found, but it probably takes place in the case of gutturals in the proper name *Πελδεκος*, possibly for *Πελδεκος*, as compared with Artemis *Πελδεκατις* in *Κωκος* (which is also Phrygian), as compared with the Pisidian *Κοκαλος*, and in the name of the Carian *Ζευς Σπαλαξος* or *Σπαλαξος*, from which an intermediate \**Σπαλαξος* might be inferred.

Examples of a similar lengthening are found in Lydia in the local names *Κορησσος*, *Καστωλλος*, etc. But these appear to have been inherited from their predecessors the Maeonians, one of whose chiefs is described in the *Iliad* as the son of *Βόρος*.<sup>49</sup> This is certainly connected with the Phrygian *Βορας*<sup>50</sup> and *Βορισκες*,<sup>51</sup> the Thracian *Βυρας* (*Βουρος*), and the Illyrian *Βορις*, *Βυρις*, *Βυρας*, etc.<sup>52</sup> If so, it should represent \**Βόρος*. Since the Maeonians are generally supposed to have been of Phrygian race, and the Phrygian origin of this name is evident, the question arises whether the lengthening of the vowel of which it is an example originates in the Phrygian language. Instances are certainly to be found there, and it is significant that parallel cases appear in Europe in

<sup>43</sup> *Δημοκρατ Τάρατος Αίονος*, Dittusberger *Syll.* 183 (later found at Samos), may also have been Lycian in the wider sense only.

<sup>44</sup> *Κουας* (Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics*, i. 327), *Μαριος* (*Studies in History*, etc., p. 326) are Phrygian; *Ναρριος* is Isaurian, and probably Phrygian in origin; *Μάριος* is Thracian.

<sup>45</sup> Ramsay, *Studies*, pp. 363, 365, and 371.

<sup>46</sup> *Βερας*, *Βουβας*, *Βερας*, *Βατιον*, probably *Βατιον*, see below p. 60. Also *Κορδατος*

(Phrygian and Thracian *Κόρι*, Tomaschek, *U. Z.* p. 30), *Μανίος* (see the last note), *Νοριος* (Bithynian *Μορις*, Tomaschek, *op. cit.* p. 24).

<sup>47</sup> Kretschmer, p. 364.

<sup>48</sup> Kretschmer, p. 364.

<sup>49</sup> *Iliad*, v. 44.

<sup>50</sup> Ramsay, *Studies*, etc., p. 322.

<sup>51</sup> Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics*, i. p. 288.

<sup>52</sup> See index to *C.I.L.* III.

the districts from which the Phrygians migrated to Asia, in Paenonia, Mygdonia, and Macedonia.

For instance, the Carian proper name Βωλιων is no doubt connected with the ethnic Βωλλι-ων and the Lydian Βωλεας. But it is derived from the Phrygian Βωλας, which itself is identical with the Illyrian \*Bollēs and *Bulus*, and the Paenonian \*Βολας in Βολα-ζωρα.<sup>22</sup> Here the lengthening of *o* before a doubled liquid is evidently Phrygian. So also the Phrygian town of Νωριολα derives its name from *Norras*, *Novveros*, etc. The native Phrygian Ηλιος,<sup>24</sup> connected with the Ηλιος of inscriptions written in Greek, cannot easily be separated from the Ελας and Ελιας found in Isauria and Pisidia: it implies a form \*Ελλιος. Local names in -ησσος, -ησος, and -ωσσος are not uncommon in Phrygia and the Troad, of which the population in historic times was Phrygian,<sup>25</sup> but they are claimed as survivals from an older race. This explanation is improbable in the case of *Πειρωσσός*, at least. For, as this does not appear in the Homeric enumeration of places in the Troad, there is a certain presumption that the name is of later origin, and it is obviously derived from that of the Thracian chief Πείροος,<sup>26</sup> and connected with that of the Illyrian tribe of Πειροῦσται. Among proper names *Μαρησος*, from which the Phrygian town of *Μαρήσιον* is probably derived in the regular way (p. 47) though found in Pisidia, is certainly Phrygian (Kretschmer, p. 200). Lengthening before a double guttural probably occurs, as has been already stated (p. 51) in *Κωκος* for \*Κοκκος, a genuine Phrygian name which is also found in the European Dardania and Illyria.<sup>27</sup> Before a double dental it takes place in the local name *Τωτωνία*, undoubtedly derived from *Τοττης*, *Τοττης*, etc.

Examples of a similar lengthening among the kindred European tribes are found before liquids in *Πωλα*, from Paenonia,<sup>28</sup> compared with the Odontantian (Paenonian)<sup>29</sup> *Πόλλης* (Thucyd. v. 6), and the Dacian *Ρώλης* compared with *Ρόλλι-γεραι* (Tomasechek, ii. 2, 29). The probably Paenonian *Ὀρησκον*, *Ὀρησκιαι*, or *Ὀρρεσκιαι* may afford another instance of this, as well as of lengthening before *σ* followed by another consonant. The *η* in the neighbouring towns of *Γάρησκος* and *Δράβησκος* no doubt arises in the same way. There is no good reason to doubt the Thracian origin of the local names *Ὀδησσός*, *Ἀγησσός*, and *Σαλμυδησσός*.<sup>30</sup> The name of the Bisaltian king *Μωσσης* or *Μοσσης*<sup>31</sup> is another example. The Thracian *Κωτης* and *Κοττης* for *Κότης* shew a lengthening before a double dental.

This very imperfect list of examples from the allied European dialects is sufficient to make it appear highly improbable that the lengthening of vowels before a double consonant arose among the Phrygians after their

<sup>22</sup> See p. 20.

<sup>23</sup> *Gallus, J.H.S.* xxvi. pp. 188, 190.

<sup>24</sup> Kretschmer, pp. 186, 188.

<sup>25</sup> *Iliad*, ii. 844.

<sup>26</sup> Dardanian Cosinus (Neissus, *Jahresheft*, iii. Beiblatt 121); Dalmatian Cosus, Pauli, iii. p. 303.

<sup>27</sup> *Jahresheft*, vi. Beiblatt, p. 3.

<sup>28</sup> Herodotus, v. 16. The tribes round Mount Pangaeum (of whom the Orestes were probably one) were Paenonian.

<sup>29</sup> Kretschmer, p. 465.

<sup>30</sup> Only known from coins.



migration to Asia. If, as seems likely, it was native to their language, it does not necessarily follow that the Carians, who in this respect agreed with them and differed from the Lycians, either spoke their tongue or learnt the usage from them. But the fact becomes important as part of a cumulative argument if the native names found in these countries respectively shew a similar agreement and a similar difference with regard to other phonetic peculiarities.

In a previous paper,<sup>40</sup> I have shown that *Τελμησσός*, *Τορμισσός* (therefore presumably also *Ἀρτυμησσός*), and probably *Τεβερισός* (or *-σσός*), all ended in *-ehi*, for an earlier *-esi*; the same may by analogy be safely assumed about *Καρμυλησσός*. These are the only authentic local names in *-σσος* (*-σος*) found in Lycia proper.

There is nothing at all in the original Lycian corresponding to the double *σ*. For though *-σσ-* is sometimes found in other words, in every case it represents an original *-z-*, not *-s-*.<sup>41</sup> But *z* had the sound of *sh*,<sup>42</sup> and in these instances *σσ* is merely an attempt to express in the Greek alphabet a sound for which it had no equivalent letter. In the case of *s* no such reason existed, and though the *-ss-* suffix is remarkably common in personal names, the doubling never took place among them, but is confined to the local names just mentioned. It seems therefore that the *-σσ-* is entirely due to the Greek transcription. The most probable explanation of it is that the early colonists on the mainland of Asia settled among Carians and Maeonians with whom the *ss* was native and very common. It thus became so familiar to them that they sometimes introduced it by analogy into names which were not entitled to it. That the *-σσ-* in Caria was a double letter, not a *sh* as in Lycia, seems proved by the lengthening of the vowels which took place before it in the same way as before other double consonants.

In Greek renderings of Lycian words, *-μμ-* and *-μμ-* represent an original *-mm-* and *-mm-*, where a nasal is preceded by a sonant nasal. It does not seem that *l* could be doubled between vowels except in crases and contractions, for otherwise *ll* only appears in the late bilingual inscription T.A.M.6, which was evidently engraved by a Greek.<sup>43</sup> It is therefore doubtful if any of the few names in the later Greek inscriptions which contain *-xx-* are really native.<sup>44</sup> In the other countries of Asia Minor intervocalic *ll* is often found. It is rather common both in Caria and in Phrygia.

<sup>40</sup> *J.H.S.* xix, pp. 102, 103.

<sup>41</sup> The proper name *Ουσσος* is certainly for \**ussus* as in *σπ-ουσσ*, and *Ερυσσος* for \**erussos* as in *Λαμ-δυσ*. *Ορυσσος* is probably for \**orus*, as in *σπ-ορ* (*Orus*); compare the Carian *flac-εδδυσ*. *Λεσσος* is probably foreign, see p. 50, note 41. Other crases are outside the boundaries of Lycia.

<sup>42</sup> See *Zakrocheste*, II, p. 68. It corresponds to a Persian *sh* and to an Aramaic *shw*.

<sup>43</sup> In the name *μυλλισσος* (gen.) = *Μυλλισσος*. The engraver has twice written a Greek *l* by mistake for a Lycian *l*.

<sup>44</sup> *Δαλλα* is not uncommon, but may like some other names be borrowed from Phrygia (*Δαλα* from Galatia, *C.I.G.* 4123, also Thracian, Kretschmer, p. 352). *Βιλλαίος* is certainly Phrygian (p. 56). *Μακρολλας* is Carian, *Σαλλας* and the Isaurian-Cilician *Σαλλας* are probably Phrygian (compare Thracian *Σολ* and *Σολν*; Illyrian \**solus*, Messapian, *Solus*, Venetian, Paul, III, p. 328, *Solia*, Noricum, *ibid.* p. 376). *Μαλλας*, mentioned above, is also Phrygian in origin; compare *Μαλα* from the Phrygian region of the *Ἰο-αλλας* (Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics*, I,



If there is an uncertainty about *-ll-*, there is none about *-rr-*, which is entirely foreign both to the native Lycian, and to the Greek versions of Lycian names. But examples are found in Phrygia, and in all the countries of southern and western Asia Minor, including Cilicia, where it is not uncommon. The doubling of *r*, as well as *l*, is found both in Thrace and in Illyria.

In Lycian neither gutturals nor labials are ever doubled between vowels, and the rule is observed in Greek transcriptions. In the case of gutturals the only exception is *Λααα*, which is a Phrygian name, evidently borrowed.<sup>67</sup> In Phrygia *-xx-* is not uncommon, and is found in the late native inscriptions.<sup>68</sup> It occurs also in Lycaonian and Isaurian names which are certainly of Phrygian origin, as *Μαακος* (compare the town of *Μαακονια* in Phrygian Pisidia, and the Illyrian proper name *Μιαν*, *C.I.L.* iii. 4459), *Δουααα* (compare the Messapian *\*Dokies*); also in Pisidia, as *Καακος* (compare the Venetic *Cliea*; Pauli, iii. 359), *Καακαλος* (compare the Illyrian *Coceus*, *ibid.* p. 365; *Coceus*, *ibid.* p. 371, etc.), and in Milyas, as *Παααα* (*J.H.S.* xv. p. 121; compare the Illyrian *Pocca*, Pauli, *op. cit.* p. 377, and *Poccia*, p. 380).

The doubling of a labial is only found in Lycia in *Πάπας*, *Πάππας*, and *Πάππιος*,<sup>69</sup> and in *Ἀππίος* and *Ἀππαδης*. Each of these occurs once only, and they are, I believe, certainly either Greek or borrowed from Phrygia. For except the names mentioned and *Πάπας* (genitive probably of *Πάπας*, Kretschmer, p. 345), which is once met with, the whole class of names formed from *Παπ-* is absent in Lycia. *Πάπας*, *Πάππας*, *Πάππιος*, and *Πάππιος*, which are so extraordinarily common in Phrygia and Lycaonia, are here not to be found. Such names are also uncommon in Cilicia and southern Pisidia. But they occur in the northern parts of Phrygia as well as the southern, and are evidently connected with the Bithynian *Ζεὺς Πάπας* or *Πάππιος*, who is admittedly a European god.<sup>70</sup> They are likewise found in Thrace.<sup>71</sup> Similarly names formed from *Απ-* are rare in Lycia, for besides the two mentioned we only find *Ἀππίος* twice, *Ἀππίος* once, and *Ἀππαρῶν* once. But these forms are entirely foreign to Lycia, for the letter *φ* is not found in any other word. In fact, *Απφ-* and *Αφφ-* are especially characteristic

p. 314), the Macedonian *Μάμαρ* (Hoffmann, *Die Makedonen*, p. 211) and *Μάμαρ* (*ibid.* p. 228), also found in Caria, *C.I.G.* 2748. Compare the Illyrian *Mollus*, Pauli, iii. p. 362, and the Venetic *\*molo*, *molo*, *Mollo*, *Mollonius*, etc., *ibid.* p. 328. In Lycia proper, the only other related name is *μαβι*, *Μαβας*, in an inscription in which Carian names are mixed with Lycian (*T.A.M.* 32). *Μαβας*, *Μαβας*, etc., quoted as Lycian are really Calabrian, Milyan, Pamphylian, and Pisidian. The reading *Μάμαρ* (*Herren*, ii. 136) is uncertain; *Μάμαρ* is perhaps more probable. *Μάμαρ* and *Μάμαρ* are also quoted in Sandwall's work. The last, at least, if rightly restored is foreign to Lycia, in which the ending *-ας* does not

occur in native names, see note 41.

<sup>67</sup> E.g. *J.H.S.* xxxi. p. 182, in an inscription partly written in Phrygian; cf. Kretschmer, p. 331.

<sup>68</sup> As in *J.H.S.* xxxi. p. 181.

<sup>69</sup> *Πάππας* occurs also once at Olympus. Otherwise the form does not belong to Asia Minor, but is simply a not uncommon Greek name. As such only it was introduced into Lycia; *Πάπας* is a variant. The derivatives *Πάππας* and *Πάππιος* are Greek in form, and foreign to Asia Minor, especially to Lycia, where names in *-ας* cannot be native; see p. 59.

<sup>70</sup> Kretschmer, pp. 199 and 241.

<sup>71</sup> Kretschmer, p. 345.

of Bithynia, as well as Phrygia (compare Kretschmer, pp. 346 and 347, with p. 223),<sup>72</sup> but seem to be absent in Cilicia and southern Pisidia, and all names of this class are rare on the southern side of Mount Taurus.

In Greek transcriptions of Phrygian words ζ is often found. It arises in two ways, from a guttural and from a δ.<sup>73</sup> In Lycian the sound is not native, for the letter which is transcribed by ζ corresponds to α not ζ in Greek. Ζεφταννδία is the only certain example of a name containing ζ, and this is probably Milyan, as it is found at Arycanda as well as once at Myra. Ζεφτ- here represents a native Lycian Δεφτ- as in Ουρ-δεφτα and Ζεφτ-δεφτα, but has undergone the same Phrygian change as Ζαππος, which occurs in Phrygia itself (C.I.G. 4001). The Cilician Ια-ζαππας, Ρω-ζαππας, and Τροκο-ζαππας are also examples of the alteration of δ to ζ which appears in several other names from the same province. It may be taken as evidence of the Phrygian influence of which other traces are found.

It has long been observed that no Lycian word begins with *h*, and the rule holds good of native names, both personal and local, written in Greek letters. There is only one apparent exception in an inscription at Limyra, which reads, according to Loew's copy, Βιαιναρις Αβασος Ιυμρε κατε-σχευ[ασ]ε το μνημα ταυτη, κ.τ.λ.<sup>74</sup> The second and third words are meaningless as they stand, and assuming the first to be correct, we must certainly read Βιαιναρις Αβασ[ι]ος [Τ]υμυρε.<sup>75</sup> The woman was therefore a foreigner from Τύμυρος in Caria,<sup>76</sup> and this is one of the exceptions which prove the rule. All other instances are evidently foreign, and most of them are not really found in Lycia at all.

Βειβυς (Reisen, ii 83) is a very common name in Thrace,<sup>77</sup> but is also Phrygian (C.I.G. 3837, addenda). From Phrygia it passed into Lycia and into Cilicia (Βιβυς, J.H.S. xii 27, 26). Βερος at Pergamum has the same

<sup>72</sup> It seems to me certain, however, that the forms in Aeg- from which Aeg- and Ag- are formed, are hellenised on the model of the Greek ἀγός. Ἀγδάνος, Ναυδάνος, and Τεριδάνος seem to be Greek in form, as Μανδάνος certainly is (Kretschmer, p. 220), and with these must be classed Ἀγπαδία, Ἀγπαδία and Τερπαδία, with the common late Greek feminine suffix -ία. Except in obviously hellenised or Latin or Persian names, α is generally of the rarest occurrence in Asia Minor. Neither in words allied to the Lycian nor the Phrygian does it seem to be native. Its extreme frequency in this one class of names at a late date can hardly be explained except as the result of Greek influence. Of the two other names beginning with 'Aeg-', already mentioned, Ἀγδία seems foreign to Asia Minor.

<sup>73</sup> Kretschmer, pp. 120 and 190.

<sup>74</sup> C.I.G. iii. addenda 4315d. That Loew was not infallible as a copyist may be seen on

the same page, by comparing 4315 and 4315b with T.A.M. i. 130 and 152.

<sup>75</sup> It is not improbable that the first word should also be corrected to \*Βιαιναρις on the analogy of Βιαιναρις etc. But I do not think that the initial β can actually represent a native initial *p* as Sundwall suggests (p. 181). No instance of such a transposition appears to be well established, except the change of an initial *ph*, unpronounceable in Greek, to β in the Pisidian βήσων, which is not analogous. The change of *ph* to *ph* took place within the Lycian language. On the contrary a native *h* was often altered into a Greek α: see below, p. 62, note 132.

<sup>76</sup> St. Byz. κ.τ. He gives the ethnic as Τύμυρος, but the typical Carian and Lycian ethnic was -εύς (ibid. κ.τ. Ζεφτα, Ἀγδία, etc.), which commonly has the feminine in -ία.

<sup>77</sup> Also from Upper Moesia (Dardanian and Mysian); Ζαβρεχίτη, cf. Beshliatt, pp. 85, 86.



form as *Bitus*, which is found among the Paconian Dentholetae. The feminine *Βιττώ* is Carian.<sup>78</sup>

*Βηρηαις*, at Olympus, which is not properly to be counted as a Lycian town, is Greek, the feminine of *Βηρηάς*,<sup>79</sup> a well-known epithet of Dionysus, which properly belongs to Lesbos.<sup>80</sup> *Βαλλος* does not occur in Lycia but at Calenderis in Cilicia,<sup>81</sup> and *Βατάκης* is a Phrygian name from Cabalia.<sup>82</sup> *Βαλλίων*,<sup>83</sup> which is quoted as Lycian, is certainly of Phrygian origin,<sup>84</sup> connected with *Βαλῆς* or *Βαλλῆς*, *king*, from an Indo-European root meaning 'power'.<sup>85</sup> The Isaurian feminine *Βαλαθθίς* is formed according to Phrygian rules from *Βαλατ*, and recalls the numerous Illyrian names in *-atus* and *-atius*, as well as the Messapian-Illyrian *Baleties* (genitive *Baletthi*).<sup>86</sup> Names in *-atos* are also Phrygian.<sup>87</sup> The stem appears in the Isaurian *Βαλιος*, the Pamphylian *Βαλος*, and the Lycionian *Βαλαβιος*. From the last is formed the Lycionian *Βαλβιος* (feminine *Βαλβία*) for *Βαλαβίως*, which has no resemblance to any native personal name in Asia Minor but shows an evident connexion with that of the Phrygian district *Βάλαβιδον* and the Cabalian (not Lycian) town of *Βάλαβυρα*.

This, like most local names, is no doubt formed from a personal name (*Βαλβος*, probably for *Βαλαβος*). The ending is not to be classed with the *-ρα* of the Lycian *Αμύρα*, but with the *-ουρα* of the Phrygian *Κάραυρα*, which is also found in *Γαρσάουρα* in Lycania,<sup>88</sup> *Γαζιούρα* in Pontus, *Κόλ-ουρα* in Ionia, *Τοβαλμουρα* and *Αλμουρα*<sup>89</sup> in Lydia, and possibly *Μάσουρα* in Pamphylia. It appears also in the Dardanian (Illyrian) *Βρίττουρα*, and with a slight change in the Thracian *Βέλλουρος*; and in two places *Βόλουρος*, one in Epirus, the other a town of the Tralles in Illyria. It is very probable that *-ουρα* in *Βρίττουρα* represents the *-ουα* in *Ολευα*, also in Upper Moesia, and corresponds to the Greek *φόρος*, a word which was certainly represented in closely allied languages. It appears in the Phrygian *ορου*, *ἀρου* (Kretschmer, p. 235), and in the names of the Epirotic *Ὀρέστα*,

<sup>78</sup> Kretschmer, p. 318.

<sup>79</sup> See Boeckh's note on *C.I.G.* 2042.

<sup>80</sup> Cf. Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. The Carian *Βηρηαις* is similarly derived. Names beginning with *Βα* akin to Lycian are hellenised forms of originals in *Με*, just as *Μαυαίης* was changed by the Greeks to *Βαυαίης*. Thus the Carian *Βηρηαις* corresponds to a Lycian *μερηαις* (to be so read in *T.A.M.* i. 55, 4), compare *με-αυαις*: as the Cilician *Βαυαίης* is for *μερηίης* (like *μικρηίης*, compare *μικροίς*). There is no question in such cases of any exchange of consonants in the native languages, but only of the substitution of a possible for an impossible combination in the Greek transcription. Names in *Βε* and *Βι* may therefore be left out of consideration.

<sup>81</sup> See below, p. 62.

<sup>82</sup> See below, p. 59.

<sup>83</sup> Sandwall, p. 283. As the locality is not mentioned, it may not be Lycian in the strict

sense.

<sup>84</sup> *Βαλς* is found at Thessalonica, in the native land of the Phrygian Mygdonians.

<sup>85</sup> Kretschmer, p. 242; Tomaszek, ii. 2, pp. 11, 12. The Dardanian *Βαλαστρα* may be for *Βαλλερ-στρα*, 'stronghold of the king', see Tomaszek, ii. 2, p. 81. The root appears also in the name of the Dacian king *Δαξέ-βαλς* (cf. Dacian *Βαλς*, *C.I.L.* iii. 1629, 3) and the Illyrian king *Βαλαμάρ*: probably also in the Bithynian Zeus *Βάλας*, and perhaps in the Thracian *Βαλέρ* (Thunberg).

<sup>86</sup> Possibly the Lydian *Βαλστρα* is from the same stem; see *American Journal of Archaeology*, xvi, p. 28.

<sup>87</sup> Kretschmer, p. 292.

<sup>88</sup> Also *Γαρσούρα*, which makes it probable that *Γουρα* represents *Γε-ουρα*.

<sup>89</sup> The root *Αμ* is Illyrian and Paenonian; see *Am. Journal of Archaeology*, xvi, p. 51.



the mountaineers, and of the probably Paeanian *Ορηστικοί* or *Ωρηστικοί*, a tribe of Mount Pangaeum. It is also very probable that the *-ωπος*, so remarkably common in all districts which were or had been Paeanian,<sup>60</sup> is connected with *ῥῶπος*, and means a fortified height or burgh. It was carried by Phrygian tribes into Asia Minor where the Bottianai founded *Ἀγκώρη* near the Ascanian lake, similar in termination to their native *Ἀλωπος*, and in stem to the Illyrian *Ancus*<sup>61</sup> and the two Phrygian cities of *Λεύκη*. *Κορώπη* in Pontus is undoubtedly formed from the proper name *Κόρυς*, which is Phrygian, and Illyrian as well as Thracian; *Ἰβόρα* is found in the same region. The Paphlagonian *Κύτωπος* seems to be derived from a probably related proper name, Thracian *Cuto*, *Cutia*, etc., Illyrian *Cutia* (Pannonia, *C.I.L.* iii. 4083). It may be concluded that *-ωπος* is certainly, and *-ουπος* almost certainly, of European origin, and that *Βάλβουρα* is a Phrygian, not a Lycian, word meaning probably the borough of *Βάλβος*.<sup>62</sup>

The name of the second Cabalian town, *Βουβόν*, seems to be Phrygian also, in spite of its Greek appearance. The suffix is Phrygian, not Lycian.<sup>63</sup> It is evidently derived from the name *Βουβας*, found in Bithynia (*C.I.G.* 3795), which stands in the same relation to the Phrygian *Βαβη* as *Δουδας* to *Δαδαν* and *Ναυας* to *Ναυας*. It must be remembered that the genuine Phrygian origin of the class of names derived from baby-language which are so common in the province is not disputed. It is merely denied that they are exclusively due to immigration from Europe.<sup>64</sup> It follows that the origin of each particular name of this type must be determined separately, partly from its geographical distribution and partly from a comparison of similar names in other districts. Judged by these tests, *Ba*,<sup>65</sup> *Βαβα*, and a whole group of connected names are certainly Phrygian. They are entirely unknown in Lycia, and of the extremest rarity south of Mount Taurus and in the south-west.<sup>66</sup> They are found in the northern part of Phrygia,<sup>67</sup> where survivals of the older population are at least exceedingly uncommon, as well

<sup>60</sup> *Ἀλωπος*, *Ἀλωπος*, *Γάλωπος*, *Θέρωπος*, *Μιλωπος*, *Πάλωπος*, *Τέρωπος*.

<sup>61</sup> Paddy-Wisconsin, s.v.

<sup>62</sup> *Βάβας* in Caria, a presumably older name of *Herakleia* (St. Byz. s.v.) does not seem related to *Βάβη*, but rather to the town and lake *Βάβη* in Mysia, whence one of the Phrygian tribes migrated. If Tomaschek's derivation (ii. 2, p. 94) is correct, from the root *bab*, Armenian *bab*, 'to swell, to be round,' the Greek *Βάβας* would seem to be borrowed from a dialect akin to the Phrygian. The islands *Bolbasae* (Pliny, v. 137, which should be emended to *Bolbasae*) off the Italian coast derived their name from the Greek word. But the district *Babdasae* in Cilicia Tracheia (Ramsay, *Hist. Geog.* p. 371) no doubt had a native name.

<sup>63</sup> See p. 50.

<sup>64</sup> Kretschmer (p. 336) states this most

distinctly. It appears to me that all the names he collects (pp. 334, seq.) are genuinely Phrygian, but that he overestimates the number of those which are also Lycian.

<sup>65</sup> In *C.I.G.* 4000, *b*, probably *Δαδαν* *Δαδαν* *οὐρ* and *Ναυας* *Ναυας* *οὐρ* and *Βαβ*, *Βαβ* *Ναυας*, should be read instead of *Βαβη*. The Phrygian local name *Βαβη* (p. 58) is probably a contraction of *Βαβη*, and akin to *Βαβη* in Cilicia (Ramsay, *Hist. Geog.* p. 371).

<sup>66</sup> *Ba* appears once in Cilicia at *Dalisanium*. The Pamphylian *Βαβη* seems, like most Pamphylian names (see p. 68), to be unrelated to the Lycian. Otherwise no names are compounded with *bab* in the second part. No related names seem to be found in Caria, unless the Milesian *Βαβη* be reckoned, as it probably may, as Carian.

<sup>67</sup> *E.g.* at Cotiaeum, Kretschmer, p. 223.

as in the ancient native inscriptions in the heart of the country.<sup>107</sup> Bās is known as the name of a Bithynian king, and Βάβαγ as that of a Thracian general (Pauly-Wissowa, *sub* *vv.*). There can hardly be a doubt that Βουβας, like Βάβαγ, is one of the names which are common to the Phrygians and the Thracians, and consequently that Βουβών is of Phrygian origin. The town of Βυβασσός or *Bubassus* (\*Βουβασσός) in Caria is also to be derived from Βουβας, and has a Phrygian name. The termination, as has been already shown, is not necessarily Lycian (p. 53).

A parallel case is found in Βάργασα, also in Caria. This cannot be separated from the Carian Βαργυλία, which shows marked Paenonian and Illyrian affinities, both in stem and suffix. It is identical in name with *Bargillum* in Illyria and with Βρίγγιλος near the Strymon.<sup>108</sup> The same stem is found in Βάργαλα in Pelagonia.<sup>109</sup> The termination of Βαργυλία is found exactly in Σερμυλία in Chalcidice and Μι. Κερδύλιον at the mouth of the Strymon, and almost exactly in Τέρπελλος and Μόρφυλλος in Mygdonia, whence the Phrygian tribe of Mygdomans migrated to Asia Minor.

As a man's name, Βαργος at Cyziens recalls on the one hand the Bithynian Βεργαίος,<sup>110</sup> and on the other the Cilician Βαργαίος. Side by side with this is found Βαργαθός, a name which is shown to be of Phrygian origin not only by the initial Β but also by the presence of θ, which is as foreign to Cilicia as it is to Lycia (see p. 67).

Another Carian town, Βρίσυλα,<sup>111</sup> has a Phrygian name. It has the same suffix as the Phrygian Ατζουλα, Βανβουλα, and Ναζουλα,<sup>112</sup> as well as the Dardanian \*Αμουλες, and the Thracian Βεργουλή, Ρακούλη, and Γίνουλα. The stem is Phrygian, as well as Thracian, Paenonian, and Dardanian.<sup>113</sup>

Other Carian names with initial Β are evidently Phrygian, not Lycian, in affinity. The proper name Βάλαγρος is not only Macedonian but also Illyrian, as is shown by the Messapian *Balukrah-nāhi*.

The Carian Βοριών is identical with the Illyrian *Boto*, *Buto*, *Butto*.<sup>114</sup>

<sup>107</sup> Old Phrygian *Bala*, Kretschmer, p. 336.

<sup>108</sup> The neighbourhood of this place to Partholopolis confirms its relationship to *Bargillum*, among the Parthini, Tomaschek, ii, p. 62.

<sup>109</sup> Hierocles, 641. This cannot possibly be the same as *Bargillum*, as suggested in Pauly-Wissowa, *sub* *vv.* It was in Macedonia, probably Pelagonia, while the other was near the Illyrian coast among the Parthini.

<sup>110</sup> This may however be derived from the town of Βίργα.

<sup>111</sup> The north side of the Meander valley was Carian in Homer's time as far as Mycale (*Iliad* ii. 809), and was still so reckoned by Ephorus (*see* frags. 27 and 86). Later it was generally called Lydian. The population was mixed in Strabo's day (p. 648), but the Lydians were probably immigrants. Native Carian (not Lydian) inscriptions have been found at

Tralles (Sayce, *Proceedings of S.B.A.*, xxvii, Nos. 8 and 9).

<sup>112</sup> These two places (Bamsay, *Studies* etc., pp. 361, 371), together with almost all those named in the group of inscriptions in which they are mentioned, must be reckoned to Phrygia *parva*, to which Apollonia and Antiochia are distinctly assigned by Strabo (*see* Bamsay, *Hist. Geog.* p. 397, and *Cities and Bishoprics*, i, p. 316). Late Phrygian inscriptions are found in this district (Bamsay, *Inscriptions*, etc. viii, Beiblatt, p. 85). The names, local and personal, which occur there, are almost exclusively Phrygian, and I shall quote them as such. It was only under the Roman empire that this part of Phrygia was included in Phœlia.

<sup>113</sup> *See* Tomaschek, ii, 2, p. 63.

<sup>114</sup> Paull, iii, pp. 374, 366.



The related Phrygian \**Borios* (in *Borion*) is the Illyrian *Bottius*, *Batties*.<sup>108</sup> The Lycian *Bortas* is found again exactly in Paconia.<sup>107</sup> The Bithynian *Boteiras* represents the Illyrian *Boutorius*,<sup>109</sup> whence the Thracian place *Bouteries*. Nothing similar occurs in Lycia or in compounds of the Lycian type.

The Carian *Batw* is also one of the most characteristic of Illyrian names, which occurs in Dalmatia and Upper and Lower Pannonia. It is likewise found in Dardania.<sup>109</sup> The Phrygian feminine *Batta*, and *Baθθις* from Isauria, are from \**Battos*, whence also the Pannonian<sup>110</sup> and Peucecian gentile *Battius*.<sup>111</sup> From the same stem are derived the Cilician *Batw*, the Pisidian *Batacis*, and the Phrygian *Battakēs* and *Batākēn*, which is also found in Galatia and has been incorrectly classed as Lycian.<sup>112</sup> It has no Lycian analogies, and is not found in any compound proper name.<sup>112</sup>

The Carian *Bollw* is derived from the Phrygian *Bollas*, whence *Bollaros*. By a change common in Asia Minor,<sup>114</sup> though not Lycian, *Bollas* would stand for \**Bollaz*. From the same stem is derived the Lydian *Bollas*, and probably the Carian ethnic *Bollu-en*. The same name appears as *Bolles* in Messapian, and as \**Bolos* in *Bolauri*, a town of the Tralles, an Illyrian tribe, the legendary founders of the Carian Tralles.<sup>115</sup> It is also found as *Bulus* in Pannonia and \**Bulas* in the Paconian town of

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 371, 377.

<sup>109</sup> Hoffmann, *Die Makedonen*, p. 224. It is also Thracian, *Tamnoch*, II. 2, p. 10. The Phrygian \**Bottis* in *Bottia* is a form of *Bottas*, like the Illyrian *Asko* *Asko* (*Kretschmer*, p. 247), *Mēdas* *Mēdas* (*Ibid.*, p. 257). The Thracian *Bottis* is for *Bottas* as *Asko* for *Asko*; it is identical with *Bottis* from Pergamon. The Phrygian town of *Botta* is probably from the same stem, if it really existed (see P. W. *s.v.* *Bottas*). See *Kretschmer*, p. 199. By a slip in Sandwall, p. 176, *Botta* is confused with *Botta* in Cappadocia.

<sup>110</sup> *C.I.L.* III. 4944.

<sup>111</sup> *Kretschmer*, p. 245.

<sup>112</sup> *Pauli*, III. p. 370; also *Battus*, p. 369. *Battus* and *Battus* are found in Noricum. *Ibid.* p. 373.

<sup>113</sup> *Conway*, *Italic Dialects*, index.

<sup>114</sup> The Ionian or Cilician *Balla* is probably for \**Battas*, as *Battas* for *Battas* (note 107). With it is connected the Cappadocian feminine name *Balla*, and the town of *Balla*, in the same way as *Bottas* with *Battus*. The dative *Balla* in *Hobentley-Kaliska*, p. 7, from *Milyas*, is probably from *Balla*, genitive *Ballēs*, as *Barēti*, *Barēti*.

<sup>115</sup> *Kaliskis* found in Caria is certainly a Greek word 'hard', a known form of *kallos* *kallos*. Thence, I believe, is derived the

Lydia place *Kaliskaria*, a corruption arising from the fact that the Lycians could not pronounce the Greek *κ* (see p. 90). Most places on the coast had Greek names. The river *Kaliskaria* is not likely to be a compound, as local names are almost always formed with a suffix. It is probably from the same stem as the neighbouring town of *Kaliskia*. That district, afterwards reckoned Pisidian, was originally part of Phrygia.

<sup>116</sup> See p. 51. The name does not, I believe, occur in any compound proper name of the Lycian type. Even for one of these, the supposed Galatian *Makēthēkaliskaria* (you would be too long. It is certainly a double name, *Makēthē* *kaliskaria*, such as are common enough in Asia Minor (see Sandwall, p. 265). In an inscription of the same family we find *Makēthē* *kaliskaria* (*Heberdey-Kaliska*, p. 47).

<sup>117</sup> Through Strabo, p. 649, and Herodotus call them Thracians, *Strophomen* *Strophomen*, in describing them as Illyrian (see *iv*. 720, *iv*. 721, and *iv*. 722), under the better authority of Thucydides, and Livy (no doubt following Polybius) expressly mentions several times that they were Illyrians (*xxvii*. 32; *xxxi*. 35; *xxxi*. 4). They were much used in the armies of the Macedonian kings, who are more likely to be the *Strophomen* referred to by Herodotus than the kings of Pergamon. See Ramsay, *Hist. Geog.* p. 112.



*Βυλάζωρα*.<sup>118</sup> The Carian *Βοσθων* corresponds to the *hantes* of the Dacian *Bucolantes*, and the *hanta* of the Moesian *-obnista* (Tomasschek, ii. 2, p. 15); it is found also in the Dardanian *Διτύβωτος* (*ibid.* p. 33) and the Pannonian *Bustavo* (C.I.L. iii. dxxxix). By a change very characteristic of Thracian, it probably appears in that language as *Μόστις*, whence the Lydian ethnic *Μοστήρια*. *Βοσθων* has no resemblance to any proper name in Asia Minor.

It should be observed that the Carian *Βαβίων*, *Βοτων*, *Βατων*, *Βωλιών*, and *Βοσθών*, which are so markedly Phrygian, Illyrian, or Thracian in the stem, have also the suffix *-ων* which is very characteristic of Phrygian and Illyrian but as wholly foreign to Lycian as the initial B (see p. 50). These instances justify the presumption that the few remaining Carian names with initial B are likely also to be Phrygian, not Lycian, in affinity.<sup>117</sup>

The Carian place *Βερραβλασιον* is certainly for *Βερραβλασιον*, which seems clearly to have the suffix *-σιον*, remarkably characteristic of Phrygian local names,<sup>118</sup> but probably unknown in Lycian.<sup>119</sup> It should by analogy be derived from a proper name *\*Βερραβλος*, or more probably *\*Βερραβάλος*, like the Dacian *Δεκέβαλος*, from the Phrygian root *bal-*, power, already mentioned; if so, it would be equivalent to the Greek *Φερεκράτης*. The first part appears in *Βέρροια* or *Βέρροια* in the traditional Macedonian home of the Phrygians of which the typical Phrygian suffix (see Kretschmer, p. 203) appears still more distinctly in the form *Βερόεια*, carried with them by the settlers in the Syrian town.<sup>120</sup> The name was derived from a traditional founder *Φερων*, but is Phrygian not Greek.<sup>121</sup> There seems to have been another *Βερόια* on the west coast of Chalcidice in territory that was probably once Phrygian (Mygdonian),<sup>122</sup> as well as *Βερώη* or *Βερε* in Thrace and *Βερε* in Moesia. From the same root may be derived the proper name *Βερλας* from Cilicia, for *\*Βερελας* with the diminutive suffix so common in Phrygia (Kretschmer, p. 201), which may be connected with the Pisidian *Μερλας* and *Μερλατος*.<sup>123</sup>

It is also probable that the Carian feminine name *Βερθας* may be derived from the same root. It does not seem to be connected with the Lycian

<sup>118</sup> Also in the Illyrian tribe of Balini and the dialect of Bullia or Bualia.

<sup>119</sup> *Berra* (p. 56), *Baldan* (note 92), *Baldanér* (p. 58), *Bérayee* (*ibid.*), *Baryolia* (*ibid.*), *Bárika* (*ibid.*), and *Bálayros* (*ibid.*) have been already discussed.

<sup>120</sup> See p. 47.

<sup>121</sup> It is very likely that *Μολοβία*, quoted from Alexander Polyhistor (St. Byz. s.v.), may be formed in the Phrygian way from a proper name *\*Μολοβας*. But, if so, it was probably in Milyia (see p. 48), which in Alexander's time was part of Lycia, and where names in *Μολ* are remarkably common; in Lycia they are almost unknown and probably foreign, see note 66. The termination *-ας* is also especially Milyian. The only Lycian place

in *-ας*, *Καλαθας*, is probably meant for Greek, see note 113. The suggestion (Sandwall, p. 175) that *Βερραβλασιον* is derived from a possible Lycian *\*parr-plawa* with a suffix *-ia* is not therefore convincing enough in itself to give any support to the view that a Lycian *p* may be rendered by *β*.

<sup>122</sup> St. Byz. s.v. *Βερόια*.

<sup>123</sup> Tomasschek's derivation (ii. 2, 38) from the root *bal-*, in the sense of fertile, is particularly suitable to the garden of Midas, Herod. xiii. 138.

<sup>124</sup> Grote's argument is very convincing and has other support, Pauly-Wissowa, p. 306 (2).

<sup>125</sup> The change of *h* to *m* is Thracian, Kretschmer, p. 236.

*part-*, *part-*, in *part-ina*, *dalava-partu*, *partula*, and *Haprasis*. For *Παρδαλις*, which evidently corresponds to *partula*, and is no doubt connected with *πάρδαλις*, or *πάρδος*, a leopard, occurs not only in Lycia and Lydia but also in Caria. There is abundant evidence that a Lycian *p* is represented by *π* in Caria, and a Lycian *-rt-* may correspond to a Carian *-rd-*.<sup>122</sup> It is not probable that the same stem should appear in the same language both as *Παρδ-* and *Βερδ-*, and still less that the change should be produced by its conversion into Greek, in which the word was already naturalised as *πάρδος*. It will also be shown that the letter *θ* is not Lycian but Phrygian (see p. 67).

The Carian *Βοιωμος* is probably for *Βοφι-*, and connected with the Phrygian *\*Βοαλος* in *Βοαλια*<sup>123</sup> for *Βοφιαλος* and the Paphlagonian *Bou-*.<sup>124</sup> It may be compared with the Illyrian *Boviuola* (Pauli, iii. p. 360), *Boitius* (C.I.L. iii. 1934),<sup>125</sup> and probably with *Bovierius* from Noricum (*ibid.* 6513). The Dalmatian feminine *Buo* (Pauli, iii. p. 365) for *Bayo* is certainly Illyrian, but *Buio* (masculine), common in Pannonia, may be Gaulish, like *Boius*. In this case the connexion which has been suggested with the Carian *Ποις*,<sup>126</sup> the Lycian *Ποαλα* (*\*puiwala*), etc., would perhaps in itself be preferable to the Phrygian and Illyrian derivation, if there were any clear cases of the change of a Lycian *p* to *β*, and if convincing Lycian analogies could be found for the other Carian words with initial *B*. These conditions however do not seem to be fulfilled, and the whole class may probably be considered as Phrygian in origin. The same may be said with confidence of the few remaining examples from southern and western Asia Minor.

The Phrygian, Thracian, and Illyrian connexions of the ancient Maeonian *Βήρος* have been already mentioned.<sup>127</sup> It is not related to any Lycian word.<sup>128</sup> The name of another Maeonian chief in the *Iliad*, *Μεσθλῆγ*, is almost identical with the Dardanian *Mestula* (*Jahreshefte*, iv. Beiblatt, p. 85) and akin to the Thracian *Mestis*, and *Μεστρος* at Thasos (*J.H.S.* xxix. p. 100). Other related names are collected by Perdrizet (*Corolla Numismatica*, pp. 217-223) who shows that *Μέστρος* is a native name of the river *Νέστρος*. If it is the more ancient form, the Maeonians may once have dwelt in that region. The Maeonian god *Κανδαλῆς* had an Indo-European name (Kretschmer, p. 388) and the possibly Maeonian king *\*Αγριος* (*ibid.* p. 389) had a later

<sup>122</sup> As Carian *Αρ-δερσις* compared with Lycian *Ταδερσις* in *Ταδερσις* and *Βερσις-Ταδερσις*.

<sup>123</sup> In the region of Antiochia Pisidia, which was certainly really Phrygian (see p. 58, note 102). The proper name *Βοιθῆλας* occurring in the same district is a Greek word 'antelope', but is almost certainly borrowed from *Βοφιαλος* for *Ιακόν*'s sake, as often happened.

<sup>124</sup> *F.H.G.* iv. p. 355.

<sup>125</sup> *Boitius* also occurs as a gentile name in Italy, but only in the Illyrian *Dauia* (Conway, *The Italic Dialects*, ii. index).

<sup>126</sup> The Venetic *poñios* (= *bellios*) is taken by Pauli (*ibid.* p. 356) for Gaulish, but it might be Illyrian for *Bonios*, as *uolios* for *uonios*, *ibid.* p. 382.

<sup>127</sup> This however may very easily represent *\*Beros*, as there is ample precedent for the conversion of a native *ε* into *α*, though not for the reverse change.

<sup>128</sup> P. 51.

<sup>129</sup> The Lycian *Κιρ-αῖρος* (*Kir-airis*) is compounded with the word *airis* (*T.A.M.* 55. 2), whence also by a common change of vowel *Κιρ-αῖρος* (*Kir-airis*).



namesake who was king of Illyria (Polybius, ii. 2. 4). The name *Μαίονες* may well be identical with that of the European *Μαίονες*, from a common original \**Βαίονες*.<sup>121</sup> This is the more probable since their neighbours the Phrygians, Mysians, and Trojans (Dardanians), were all considered to be related to the Paeonians, and lived near them in their European homes.<sup>122</sup>

*Βάγεις*, a town in Lydia, may be connected with the Paphlagonian proper name *Βάγας*,<sup>123</sup> the probably Phrygian town of *Βαγάρδα*, and the Phrygian Zeus *Βαγαῖος*.<sup>124</sup> It may also be compared with *Βήγης*, a town of the Illyrian *Τράλλοι* (p. 59).

The native Lydian *Βακίνας* is translated by *Δαυσιεὶκλῆς* in a bilingual inscription.<sup>125</sup> This points to an alternative form *Βακος* by the side of *Βάκχος*, which probably appears in the Isaurian feminine name *Βακόν*.<sup>126</sup> Such a form is also indicated by the Greek word *Βακίδες*, inspired prophets, and perhaps by the name *Βακόν* (C.I.G. 165), as well as the Illyrian *Baccius*, *Baculus*, and *Bacurusus*. *Βεραν* (compare *Βιρριος*, J.H.S. viii. p. 251) is a Phrygian (Milyan) name from the Ormelian district, with no Lycian affinities, but no doubt connected with the probably Macedonian *Βιρρον*.<sup>127</sup>

Another name from the same region, *Βάλλιος*,<sup>128</sup> is rightly claimed as Phrygian by Sir William Ramsay. It is from the same stem as the Paphlagonian *Βάλλαρως* at Sinope (Strabo, p. 546), which is connected by Tomaschek, ii. 2, p. 94, with the Paphlagonian river *Βάλλαϊδος* and the proper names *Βάλληρος* and *Βάλληρη*. *Βάλλιε* is also found in Cilicia, as well as

<sup>121</sup> The change of *b* to *m* in Thracian, especially where an *a* follows, is well-established (Kretschmer, p. 230). The substitution of a Greek *β* for a foreign *B* is not uncommon in regions bordering on Paenonia. The people of *Βαυρεσι* in Thracia were also called *Πριανταί*; the Macedonian *Πέρραι* is almost certainly by *Πέρρ*; *Πάλλης* represents a Macedonian *Βάλλης* (L. & S. 231). Mt. *Βίλως* on the Epirotic frontier is also called *Βίλως*. On the Asiatic side we find *Βαρεσι* for *Βαρινταί* in a Lydian bilingual at Pergamum, *Πάργα* for *Πάργατα*, *Πρίολε* for *Πρίολε*, and other instances.

<sup>122</sup> Some held that the Paeonians were a colony from Phrygia, others that the Phrygians were a colony from Paenonia (Strabo, p. 331). The Mygdonians, from whom a Phrygian tribe were descended, were a people of Paenonia (Ptolemy iv. 10). Herodotus believed that the Paeonians were descended from Trojans, by which he meant Trojans (Dardanians), as appears from ii. 114 and 118; from a comparison of vii. 20 with v. 13 it is to be inferred that Mysians were mixed with these Trojans. Hellanicus (fr. 46) says that in the time of Macestion, son of Aeolus, the Mysians were the only inhabitants of the country besides the Macedonians. The true country of the

European Mysians or Moesians was the district about Ratiaria. There they bordered on the Dardani, whom they probably accompanied or followed in their migrations. The neighbours of the Dardanians on the south and south-east were Paeonians.

<sup>123</sup> Strabo, p. 553. The derivation of *Βαγαια* in Cappadocia is obscure.

<sup>124</sup> On this disputed name, see Kretschmer, p. 198. Torp's objection to the derivation from *βαίω*, on account of the suffix, does not seem to me so irresistible as to Kretschmer. For several parallel cases are found in Asia Minor, as Zeus *Βαρεσις* by the side of *Βάρας* (*ibid.* p. 190), the goddess *Ἀμασία* by the side of *Ἀμα* (Emily-Wisniewa, s.v. *Ἀμασία*), and possibly *Σαβήρις* by the side of *Σάβας* (Kretschmer, p. 196), and *Κασαβός* by the side of *Κασαβός* (*ibid.* p. 331).

<sup>125</sup> Lüttmann, in *Sardis*, vol. vi, pt. i, p. 39.

<sup>126</sup> It is uncertain if the Cilician local name *Βάας* (Ramsay, *Hist. Geog.* p. 386) has any connexion with this.

<sup>127</sup> Hoffmann, *Die Makedonen*, p. 53. The name occurs at Pharsalus, but the bearers were not natives.

<sup>128</sup> Genitive of *ΒΑΛΛΙΣ*, according to Sandwall, p. 61.



Βάλλος, which is incorrectly described as Lycian.<sup>140</sup> The last form occurs in the epitaph of a little boy, whose parents had given him the name of Συνέγδομος, but everyone else called him Βάλλος. The word was evidently significant, and might easily be taken to mean 'darling,' connected with φίλος.<sup>141</sup>

The town of Βάρις in Pisidia bore a Phrygian name, which is found also in Hellespontine Phrygia, quite outside the region of Lycian affinities. It is also Illyrian, for it was the older name of the Messapian Veretum, and appears in the Peucetian *Barium*, and possibly in the Dalmatian *Bariducum*. From the same stem is probably derived the Lycanian *Barata*, *Baratta*, or *Bareta*, and the Lydian *Bareta*, which again resemble the Italian-Illyrian *Barietum*; compare also the Phrygian *Βαρνελία*.

The Pisidian Βογος seems to have no affinities in southern or south-western Asia Minor, nor apparently in Phrygia. It closely resembles the Venetic *φoγxos* (*Bogoss*) and *φoλkno[s]*<sup>142</sup> (*Boknos*, cf. Kretschmer, p. 269). If these are really Celtic names, as Pauli infers from the comparison of *Bogiunius* (iii. 350), it is possible that Βογος may be borrowed from Galatia. But it is not at all certain that *Bugius*, *Bucius*, *Buctor*, *Bucio*, *Buccio*, and other names from *Buc-* common in Pannonia and Noricum,<sup>143</sup> are not genuinely Illyrian, as *Bucio* appears more than once in Dalmatia.

There remain a few names in which an initial B arises out of an original *F(w)*. Such a change is quite unknown in Lycia, but in Phrygia it is both well-established and ancient.<sup>144</sup> It is not due to Greek transliteration, for in that case it would equally affect the rendering of the Lycian *w*. It occurs also in Thracian, where *-δava* often turns into *-δαβα*. The towns of *Berbi* or *Verbi*<sup>145</sup> and *Binda* or *Vinda*<sup>146</sup> were both within the old boundaries of Phrygia. The Isaurian *Βαβαλις*, for the commoner *Ουαβαλις*, has no resemblance to anything in Lycia, and little to anything in southern or western Asia Minor.<sup>147</sup> It may be connected with Illyrian names, *Varus*, *Vannius*, and *Vannivus*, to which the Venetic *vautes* is apparently related (Pauli, iii. p. 308). The Isaurian or Cilician *Βαερν* may be compared with

<sup>140</sup> C.I.G. 4322; see also Addenda. Müller, who found the inscription among Beaufort's papers, evidently mistook Chelidrehi, by which Beaufort meant Celenderis (Karamanir, p. 201) for Chelidreus. No ancient remains seem to have been found by Beaufort or those Isaurian rocks (p. 35), but he noted inscriptions at Celenderis (p. 201). This particular one seems to have been copied at Celenderis by those other travellers (C.I.G. iii. p. 1122).

<sup>141</sup> It may be borrowed from the Greek, like the Macedonian Βιάρρας for Βιάρτος. Such a change could not take place in Lycian, which had no initial *B*, and would tend to prove that Phrygian was spoken at Celenderis. But it is more probable that a Macedonian colony was at some period settled there, and retained traces of its original

dialect in colloquial phrases. If so, ΒΑΛΛος has no direct connexion with the Phrygian ΒΑΛΛη, which in that case may be better compared with the Illyrian, Venetic *gila* (*hila*), Pannonian *Rilse*, Messapian *lillas*, *hilaros*, etc. (Pauli, iii. 344).

<sup>142</sup> Pauli, iii. p. 344.

<sup>143</sup> See the index to C.I.L. iii.

<sup>144</sup> As in *Σαβήφις* for *Σαβήφης* (Kretschmer, p. 195).

<sup>145</sup> Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics*, i. p. 324.

<sup>146</sup> Ramsay, *op. cit.* p. 325.

<sup>147</sup> The Isaurian or Cilician *Βαερν* may be for *Vanis*, but in a native Pisidian inscription (Ramsay, *Revue des Universités de Méis*, i. p. 260, No. 10) *Οα Νι Βαβν[ς]* should probably be read, not *Οαβν*.

the Messapian \**vaśura* and probably with the Venetic \**vaśures* (*ibid.*)<sup>141</sup> The Carian proper name *Boṣarδeus* is evidently identical with the Lycian *Oṣarδeus*, which also appears in Lycania as *Oṣarδeus*, and in Isauria as *Oṣarδus*, *Ἰσαρδus*, and *Oṣarδavos*. These are all originally ethnics, meaning 'a man of the tribe of the *'Oṣarδus*,' on the borders of Lycania and Pisidia,<sup>142</sup> and the variant forms make it clear that they represent a common *ṣarδ-* or *ṣarδ-*. It seems almost certain that this mountain-tribe must derive its name from *ṣar-*, mountain, which was a Phrygian word (p. 56), in the same way as the Epirotic *'Oṣarai*, and the Orescii of the Paconian Mt. Pangium.<sup>143</sup>

It has seemed desirable to examine every example of initial B quoted from the area in which languages akin to the Lycian are supposed to have been spoken when these names were in use in their native form. They offer a convenient test, as in this case the distinction between Lycian and Phrygian is particularly clear. The result seems to me to be that they are all shewn to be Phrygian. Their distribution therefore gives valuable evidence about the relative extension of the two languages at the time when they were superseded by Greek in the several provinces.

Taking the index to Sandwall's book as a basis,<sup>144</sup> it is necessary to strike out various names which are Greek or completely hellenised, and others which do not belong to Asia Minor. Names beginning with BA-, Bp- and Bδ- must also be omitted,<sup>145</sup> in which the B sometimes certainly is, and always may be, due to the Greek transliteration. Three quoted from Cappadocia must not be counted, as no attempt is made to give a full list in the case of that country. There remain seventy-seven names with initial B. Of these, nineteen are either described as Phrygian or come from the Phrygian part of Milyas, west of the Ascanian lake, or from Phrygia *Ἰαπόρειος*:<sup>146</sup> both districts are reckoned to Pisidia, according to the late Roman usage. Of the rest, sixteen belong to Caria, fourteen to Lycania and Isauria,<sup>147</sup> ten to Cilicia, six to Lydia, five to Pisidia, three to Calabria, two to Pamphylia, and two to Lycia. If the commonness of particular names and their relative number in proportion to the known total is considered, the figure in the case of Lycania and Isauria must be considerably raised, on account of the frequent occurrence of Ba and Baṣas.

<sup>141</sup> On p. 330, Pauli says that the Venetic name is Gaulish, on account of its resemblance to Celtic names formed with *vas-*. But the Messapian form cannot be explained in that way, and there are many resemblances between Celtic and Illyrian names which are due to relationship, not to borrowing (*ibid.*).

<sup>142</sup> See Ramsay, *Hist. Geog.* p. 328. There is no sufficient reason to suppose that *'Oṣarδus* (Hall, *Classical Review*, xii, p. 276) is synonymous with *'Oṣarδus*. The supposed assimilation of δ (Kretschmer, p. 307) depends on a mistaken identification of *ṣarδus* near

Myra in Lycia with *ṣarδus* in Pamphylia. The two places had the stem in common, but not the suffix.

<sup>143</sup> P. 57.

<sup>144</sup> P. 35, note 1.

<sup>145</sup> P. 56, note 80.

<sup>146</sup> The number of examples in Phrygia is of course far greater. The author's object was only to include such names from Phrygia as he believed to be of Lycian or kindred origin. For the districts mentioned, see pp. 48, and 58, note 103.

<sup>147</sup> Names from Isauria proper are indistinguishable from those of Lycania.



Lycian possessed no aspirated consonants.<sup>155</sup> Except in hellenised names,  $\chi$  is almost entirely absent in southern and western Asia Minor, and  $\phi$  is exceedingly rare. There is no good evidence that either of these sounds existed in Phrygian any more than in Lyrian. But it is clear that Phrygian had a  $\theta$ , arising out of a  $\tau$  followed by a consonant  $i$  (Latin  $j$ ), which is also found in some dialects at least of Thracian and Illyrian. In Messapian  $t$  before  $i$  regularly turns to  $\theta$ , and the  $i$ , when followed by another vowel, disappears, as in *Balethas* on coins of Balemum, *Avidos*<sup>156</sup> (compare the Peugestian gens *Avittia*); the  $t$  is often doubled, as in *Blatthi*, genitive of *\*Blatthes*, in Latin letters *Blattius*. In transcriptions into Latin this  $\theta$  is rendered by  $h$ , but in Greek it is sometimes preserved. It is also found before  $e$ , as in *Θeotorres*, but here also the  $e$  may disappear, as in *Θotocia*, and in the Latin form *Tutorius*,<sup>157</sup> as well as in the Noric *Tutor* and *Tutunia*, the Venetic *Tutiscanus*, and the Pannonian *Tutio*.<sup>158</sup> — *Tutius* occurs also among the Paeonian *Dentheletae*.<sup>159</sup> But in the Illyrian *Teura* the  $e$  remains. In Thrace *Tioōra* is found for *Toōra*. Similar forms appear in Phrygia and on its borders. The word *teutous* or *teuteus* in the late native inscriptions seems to be connected on the one hand with the Phrygian proper name *Θιουθιους*, the Isaurian *Θουθου*, and the Lycian *Θουθους*, and on the other with the Isaurian *Toutrys*. In the same way the Phrygian town of *Torra* is written also as *Teura*.

The form *θιαρις*, which appears in Lycia,<sup>160</sup> but is evidently foreign, with the Isaurian *Θαλας* and *Θαλας*, cannot be separated from the common Phrygian names in *Tar-*. It has an exact parallel in the Thracian *Θαδιοις*, which itself is formed from the Dacian *Tatius*,<sup>161</sup> but the feminine *Tara* is also found in Thrace as well as *Taras* and *Tatira*.<sup>162</sup> *Tattus* and *Tutira* occur in Dalmatia, *Tatula* in Pannonia, and *Tatus* and *Tutucus* in Noricum.<sup>163</sup>

<sup>155</sup> In *J.H.S.* xxxv, p. 100, I have shown that the supposed  $\theta$  in Lycian is a sibilant.

<sup>156</sup> For the Messapian names see Decker, *Epigraphica Messapica*, xxvii., where many other examples are given. For the Latin equivalents, see the index to Conway, *The Latin Dialects*, vol. ii. The same change in Thracian is proved by the names *Bile*, *Bile*, *Bile*; *centus*, *centus*, *centus*; *Ceto*, *Ceto*, *Ceto*; *Kentus*; and other examples.

<sup>157</sup> In some cases the Messapian  $\theta$  certainly represents  $\tau$ , which is otherwise wanting in the inscriptions, and it may be questioned whether it does not always do so, as an original  $\tau$  regularly turns to  $\theta$ ; Kretschmer, p. 263, holds that  $\theta$  stands for  $\tau$  in some instances.

<sup>158</sup> Pauli, iii., pp. 374, 377, 353, and 368.

<sup>159</sup> Tomasek, ii. 2, p. 28.

<sup>160</sup> All names in Lycia containing  $\tau$  are either hellenised or unquestionably foreign, except *θιαρις*. This should very probably

be divided into *θια θιαρις*, in which case the woman, who may have been descended from Phrygian immigrants, bore a Lycian as well as a Phrygian name. *Tarus* and all the related names seem to be of Phrygian origin, as they are common in all parts of that country, but are of the greatest rarity in Lycia and Cilicia. None of the examples quoted by Kretschmer and Sundwall, where the place of discovery is given, are found in Lycia proper except *Tarus*, which in form is Greek (see p. 53, note 72), and *Tarus*, of which the termination at least is hellenised. The native name *τεταρ* is correctly divided by Sundwall (p. 210) as *τεταρ*, and probably has no connexion with *Tarus*.

<sup>161</sup> Tomasek, ii. 2, p. 26.

<sup>162</sup> *Tatta*, from Servia (Kretschmer, p. 348) — that is, Upper Moesia, is probably Illyrian.

<sup>163</sup> Pauli, iii., pp. 360, 370, 372, 374, 376.



But the Messapian *Qator*, for \**Plator* or \**Tentor*, resembles the Phrygian forms.

In these names the *i* appears to be an inserted letter, the stem being originally *Tat-*. This raises the question whether the same insertion has taken place in the case of *Tut-* in the similar names already mentioned. The derivation of *Qetorres* from \**teutā*, people, is made questionable, not only by the analogy of *Qator* but by the occurrence in Messapian of the name *Tautinahiaki* (for *Taut-*), which cannot well be separated from the Dacian *Tautomedes*.<sup>164</sup> This comparison makes it probable that in Illyrian and in Thracian *teut-* turned into *tent-*. It is perhaps better to class the names *Tut-*, *Tut-*, *Tent-*, and *Qet-*.<sup>165</sup> with the Illyrian *Totto*, *Tottia*, and *Tottulo*, and derive them all from the baby-name *Tortys*, *Tortys*, and similar forms, just as *Tut-*, *Tiat-*, and *Qiat-* are related to *Tartys* and its variants, which are to *Tortys* and *Tartys* as *Narvas* to *Narvas* and *Nourvas*, and *Δαδας* to *Δαδα* and *Δουδας*.<sup>166</sup> The Paphlagonian *Qes* may be derived through \**Tes* from an unduplicated form of the same name, like *Bay* for *Basas* and *Tav* for *Taras*. With this the Phrygian local name *Qiovra* may be connected.

The Phrygian local name *Terda* or *Qerda*, for *Tertia*, the town of *Tertys*, shows that *τ* may turn into *θ* before *ε* as well as *ι*; as in Illyrian. The termination is formed as in the Messapian *Blatthi* already mentioned. The Lycæonian town of *Bāparda* or *Bāpara* with the same suffix shows Illyrian affinities in the stem also.<sup>167</sup>

The Isaurian proper name *Qes* is probably for \**Tes* and allied to the Phrygian *Tie[a]* for \**Tia*.<sup>168</sup> The Paphlagonian town of *Tisior* (for \**Tisior*) seems to be connected with the proper name *Tisios* (for \**Tisios*) very common in that country.<sup>169</sup>

<sup>164</sup> The derivation of this name from *teut* (Tomasehek, II. 2) is considered certain by Kretschmer, p. 228. Compare the Lithuanian *teutis*, country. Philippon, *Les Berces*, p. 25, besides several names formed from *teut-* in Spain, quotes the Armenian proper name *Tautišes*, which may be taken as evidence with regard to the Phrygian form, if the relationship between these two languages is real (Kretschmer, p. 208).

<sup>165</sup> In that case the Isaurian *Qes* and *Qes* for *Tes* and *Tar* would be analogous to the European-Dardanian *Thiti* (nom. masc. *Jahreshefte*, 4, Beilicht, p. 83), as compared with the Lycæonian *Tertia* (Kretschmer, p. 240), Illyrian *Titia*, etc.; see O.L.L. III. index. Cf. also the Thracian *Teut-arra* (Tomasehek, II. 2, p. 48) and *Thi-teut* (ibid. p. 37) with *Tithites* and *Nusa-tita*.

<sup>166</sup> The Phrygian 'youths,' *Tertys* and *Qes*, who brought the mysterious god of the Caliri to Amesos in a chest and introduced their worship into Miletos, were evidently the two male Caliri themselves, the son and

father, *F.H.G.* III. 388. *Qes*, *Narvas*, and *Naras* are the masculine forms of \**Qes*, *Narva*, and *Nara*, variant-names derived from the mother-goddess, \**Qes* *Nara* (Kretschmer, p. 335). *Qes* was her son, the father-god. *Tertys*, like *Tartys*, is a variant of the name of her son, \**Tertys*, who is identical with \**Artes*.

The words *arres ar ar* or *ar ar* *arres arres* in a late Phrygian epitaph (*J.H.S.* xxi. p. 181; cf. p. 182) do not seem to be connected with the curse which precedes them. For *arres arres* should represent the Greek *αἰσχρονομία*, and if so, *arres* probably refers to the dead man, and the phrase either commends him to the favour, or describes him as the favourite, of some god. *Tertys* in that case would be the son-god *Tertys*.

<sup>167</sup> See p. 67.

<sup>168</sup> *J.H.S.* xlii. p. 118. The name may more probably be *Tis*, dative feminine from \**Tia*.

<sup>169</sup> Strabo, p. 304.





certain that a Phrygian dialect was spoken in Lycæonia and Isauria. The conclusion is confirmed by the prevalence of names like *Ba*, *Baβeis*, and *Mavgs*, and by the occurrence with the same extraordinary frequency as in Phrygia itself of *Πατίας*, *Ἀπτία*, and similar forms which do not belong to Lycia. If frequency of repetition is reckoned as well as the number of distinct names, the nomenclature is Phrygian in a large majority of instances, and even if this be disregarded, the cases of Phrygian affinity are still in excess.<sup>179</sup> This is true of local as well as personal names.<sup>180</sup>

In Cilicia, on the contrary, the great majority of names of both classes are manifestly Lycian. But it is very doubtful if only Lycian was spoken there at the time when Greek superseded the native dialects. Not only is the number of Phrygian names far greater than in Lycia, but those of native origin often shew signs of Phrygian influence in the lengthening of *e*, the doubling of *r*, and the change of *d* into *ζ*.<sup>181</sup> Some local names are not Lycian, but Phrygian.<sup>182</sup> It is probable that, besides numerous immigrants, there were settlements or colonies where Phrygian was spoken, but there is no evidence that the native language was entirely displaced by it.

In Pisidia the population was probably mixed. Names of the Lycian type seem to predominate in the southern part of the country, but even there they are mingled with others like *Mavgs*, *Maveis*, and *Mavγρος*, *Κοττης* and *Κοτταίς*, *Δαος*, etc., which are certainly Phrygian. The same may be said of the local names *Βάρις*,<sup>183</sup> *Πάννα*,<sup>184</sup> *Μιόβειν*,<sup>185</sup> and *Ἀνά-Βούρα*.<sup>186</sup> The native inscriptions<sup>187</sup> are too brief to give any certain information, but in the two grammatical points which seem fairly clear, the language apparently agrees with Lycian.

In Pamphylia, though some of the inscriptions in the local Greek dialect contain names which are not Greek, hardly any of these are akin to the Lycian, and the Lycian type is generally rare. There are about an equal number of Phrygian proper names. Among local names *Πέρρη* is probably

<sup>179</sup> As a test I have taken at random fifty names from *J.H.S.* xix., xxii., xxiv., and xxv., and *B.C.H.* x., which happened to be at hand. Of these seventeen are certainly or probably allied to the Lycian and twenty three to the Phrygian: ten are doubtful.

<sup>180</sup> *Ασέρρα*, *Κόβερρα*, and *Ἰανέρρα* have the same ending as *Ασέρρα* and *Πλοπέρρα* in the region of the Phrygian Antiochia, *Σοδρα* and *Κισνέρρα* in Thracia, *Βαλλανέρρα* in Upper Moesia or Dardania, and *Ἀσέρρα* in Illyria. *Δέρρα* is synonymous with *Derba* in Dalmatia, and probably with the Thracian *Ζαββα* and Zervic. *Βάρρα* has also an Illyrian name (p. 63). No local name has any special Lycian affinities, unless it be *Καποναράς*.

<sup>181</sup> See pp. 54 and 55.

<sup>182</sup> As *Βαββα* (note 93), *Βαββειν* (note 92), and possibly *Βαα* (note 137). *Ἀνα-Βούρα*

seems to be compounded from the Thracian *Ζαββα* with the preposition *ἀνα*. The older name *Κλόβα* is Lycian.

<sup>183</sup> P. 63.

<sup>184</sup> P. 54.

<sup>185</sup> The name is probably formed in the Phrygian way (p. 47) from a proper name *Μαέρρι* or *Μερίρι* (p. 61), slightly hollowed.

<sup>186</sup> Probably from *ἀνα* and *Βούρα*, 'house'; see Fick, p. 95.

<sup>187</sup> Ramsay, *Revue des Universités du Midi*, i. p. 256. Sundwall is, I believe, right in stating (p. 235) that the nominative both in masculine and feminine names ends in a vowel, and that the genitive ends in *-α* in both genders. In both these points Pisidian agrees with Lycian, for the Lycian 'genitive' in *-α* represents an earlier *-α* (*J.H.S.* xxxv. p. 106). If there is no grammatical gender, the agreement is more significant.



Phrygian,<sup>128</sup> and Ὀλυμπος (p. 48) should be included in Pamphylia. The historical evidence that Milyas was a Phrygian district (p. 48) is entirely confirmed by the proper names found in the territory of the Ὀρμηλῆς, which was certainly in Milyas.<sup>129</sup>

The names of the cities Βουβίον and Βάλβουρα are sufficient evidence of a Phrygian population in Cabalia (pp. 56 and 57).

The evident relationship to the Lycian of a great proportion of Carian names, personal and local, has established a presumption that the languages were nearly connected. It might well be supposed that the existence of a large number of Carian inscriptions would determine this question beyond dispute. But it must be admitted that they cannot be satisfactorily deciphered. Even the intuition of Professor Sayce has only been able to determine the value of a few letters with real certainty. In other cases it has to be assumed that they have the same sound as those letters of the Greek alphabet which they most resemble. This method is always uncertain, and in this instance it leads to results which may fairly be called impossible. In the Carian alphabet there is no letter corresponding in shape to the Greek ι. Both κ and τ are so rare that their existence is doubtful, and the same may be said of both labials β and π.<sup>130</sup> All these sounds are abundantly present in the Carian proper names preserved in Greek inscriptions, whether of Lycian or Phrygian affinities, and they are common in both those languages themselves. The inference seems unavoidable that the Greek alphabet is not a reliable guide.<sup>131</sup> As in most cases we have no other, the value of the Carian letters remains too uncertain to allow the inscriptions to be used as positive evidence. A negative conclusion may possibly be drawn. If the proper names in which they chiefly consist corresponded to those of Lycian origin which abound in the Greek inscriptions of the province, or with the native Lycian, they could hardly fail to be recognisable, and the alphabet would then be decipherable without difficulty. But after every possible value for the many uncertain letters has been tried, no such correspondence appears, and it seems to me almost certain that the relationship does not exist in the great majority of examples.<sup>132</sup>

The only grammatical point known with any kind of certainty is that

<sup>128</sup> The derivation from *blaryā* is too intrinsically probable to be easily set aside; see p. 62, note 129.

<sup>129</sup> The list of nearly thirty names given by Boussy, *Cities and Bishoprics*, i., p. 314, contains six or seven which seem to be of Lycian origin. The remainder are, I believe, rightly claimed by him as Phrygian.

<sup>130</sup> In the inscriptions published by Sayce in *S. H. A. Transactions*, ix., and *Proceedings*, xvii., xviii., and xix., β only occurs in xix., No. vii. (if this is Carian). A letter β, which is taken to be β, is found twice, in i. 1. 1 and in ii. 8, but in the same name, in which elsewhere it is replaced by the vowel Ω (e.g. ix.

i. 7). Γ is found in ix. i. 7; xxvii. ii. (7); and xix. i. But in all cases the writing is so irregular that exceptional forms are suspicious.

<sup>131</sup> The Carian alphabet appears side by side with the Ionic at Abu Simbel, already fully developed and so unlike any Greek alphabet as to indicate a separate evolution of some duration. It must therefore be derived from a very primitive form of the Greek.

<sup>132</sup> The commonest name (occurring in various forms at least seven times), and one of the most legible, is *Me(s)ne* . . . which resembles the Venetic (Illyrian) *meene*, Pind., iii. p. 327.

the genitive of proper names generally ends in a vowel  $\Omega$ , which interchanges with  $\sigma$ , and is taken by Sayce to be a kind of  $\nu$ , and by Kretschmer to be a kind of  $\sigma$ .<sup>125</sup> The Lycian genitive (so-called) ends, on the contrary, in  $-h$  (also  $-hi$ , rarely  $-hi$ ) in proper names, which almost certainly represents an earlier  $-s$ ,  $-ss$ ,  $-ss$ .<sup>126</sup> The discrepancy is explained by Kretschmer on the hypothesis that the Carian  $\Omega$  is a form of the ending which is commonly rendered by  $-\Omega h$ , and sometimes appears in words which may be patronymics. He supposes an apocope of the  $-s$ , followed by a loss of the sound of  $-h$ . Apart from several difficulties in this theory,<sup>127</sup> it seems almost certain to me that the letter which is taken to be  $h$  is really  $t$ . For, since in the Greek renderings of names in Caria,  $\tau$  is one of the commonest consonants, it seems impossible to doubt that it was present in the native alphabet, and if so, it can only be represented by this supposed  $h$ ,<sup>128</sup> which commonly appears as  $\chi$ . In the inscriptions at Abu-Simbel, which are presumably the most archaic, this letter has the form  $\text{𐤏}$  and especially in No. 3 the lower limb is distinctly the longer. It is identical in shape with the  $\tau$  of the ancient Campanian-Etruscan and other Italic alphabets, which in this respect are more archaic than the Greek, and preserve the original Phoenician form nearly as in the Beal-Lebanon fragments. Signs of great archaism are naturally to be expected in the Carian letters. It is probable that the ending in question should be read as  $-ute$ , and compared with the demotic *Meceuryt* and the phyle of *Tappesuryat*. As these seem to be in form patronymics,<sup>129</sup> the native Carian words may be so also. It is also probable that the common genitive ends in  $-u$ ,<sup>130</sup> and has no connexion at all with the Lycian ending in  $-h$ .

If the Carian inscriptions differ so widely from the Lycian as they seem to do in their language and in the names which they contain, the question arises why so large a proportion of the proper names found in the Greek inscriptions of the country are of Lycian derivation. The explanation is that these happen to come chiefly from a district of which the population is said on good authority to have been distinctively Lycian. Apollodoros, accounting for the absence in Homer of some of the known names of races in Asia Minor,

<sup>125</sup> Kretschmer, p. 382. The theory of Sandwall that it is a guttural  $\sigma$ , in my opinion, untenable; *J.H.S.* xxv, p. 104.

<sup>126</sup> In this respect the Pisidian seems to agree with it (p. 68). The Lydian has a patronymic in  $-h$ , quite unlike the Carian, and unknown in Lycian. It has also, I believe, an ethnic in  $-ss$ , equally foreign to Lycian. But the subject of Lycian cannot at present be discussed, as the material is largely unpublished.

<sup>127</sup> If my contention is right that the Lycian  $\chi$  represents an earlier  $s$ , and that the change was still in progress about B.C. 300 (*J.H.S.* xxv, p. 104), it would be surprising that  $\chi$  should appear in Carian at Abu-Simbel about

300 years earlier. Another difficulty is the great frequency of  $s$  in the native and Greek inscriptions.

<sup>128</sup> The letter which has the shape of  $h$  is probably required for that sound, and in any case is not common enough for  $t$ , and the same may confidently be said of various consonants of unknown value.

<sup>129</sup> From proper names *Meceuryt* (\**mece-ur*), cf. *mece-ur* and *mece-ur* and *\*Tappesuryat* (\**tap-pe-suryat*, cf. *mece-ur* and Carian *\*Apheurt*). The names are Lycian, but the suffix *-uryat* is quite unknown in that language.

<sup>130</sup> The Carian letter  $\chi$  may not be  $\sigma$ . It might, for instance, be  $t$ .



maintains that some were omitted because they had not yet settled in the districts which they afterwards occupied, and others 'because they were comprised in other races, as the Ilirians and Termilae among the Carians, and the Doliones and Bebryces among the Phrygians.'<sup>198</sup> No one can suppose that that marvel of erudition<sup>199</sup> was ignorant of the identity of the Termilae with the Lycians, who were certainly not omitted by Homer. He undoubtedly refers to an *enclave* of Lycians in Carian territory, whose existence was so well known that their absence in the *Iliad* required explanation. Stephanus no doubt means the same settlement when he speaks of a *Τερμίλην* in Caria, which he takes to be identical with *Τέρμερα* (meaning *Τέρπερα*).<sup>201</sup> The near connexion of the Termerians with the Lycians is recorded in a mythic form by Philip of Theangela (a neighbouring town), in his book on the Carians and Leleges, who says that Termerus and Lycus were Leleges, and the first to practise piracy, not only on the coast of Caria but crossing over to Cos on rafts; Termerus founded the town of *Τέρμερον*.<sup>202</sup> The myth is purely local, and Lycus is probably the eponymus of local *Λύκιοι*, the Termilae of Apollodorus.<sup>203</sup> In using the term Leleges, Philip concurs with Strabo, when he talks of Leleges expelled by Achilles from the Troad, who founded eight towns near Halicarnassus.<sup>204</sup> It is more than doubtful if the name was in actual use in historic times, but there is no reason to question another statement of Philip that the Carians, both in antiquity and in his own day, used the Leleges as servants (*οἰκέται*), like the Helots in Laedæmon and the Panestæ in Thessaly.<sup>205</sup> He evidently refers to the same Lycian population as in the former passage, and

<sup>198</sup> Strabo, p. 678, ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπὶ τῶν γένεσιν παραλειπόμεναι, διὰ τὸ ὅτι οὐκ οὐκ καὶ Τερμίλαι. Καὶ οἱ Δολιῶναι οὐ καὶ Βεβρυκεῖς φησὶ.

<sup>199</sup> Ἀναλλοβήτοις ὁ ἐκαστοτέρων, St. Byz. l.c. *ῥαῖδα*. He appears to have been also one of the sanest and most scientific of ancient critics, as might be expected of the pupil of Aristarchus and follower of Eustathius.

<sup>200</sup> The *Τέρμερα* of Stephanus in Lycia is not an error, but a reference to Asclepiades of Myrlea (*F.H.G.* iii. p. 300), whom he quotes elsewhere (i.e. in *Μέγαρα* and *Μιναί*). The myth probably refers to the foundation of Patara (cf. St. Byz. s.v. *Ἀρροῦσι*).

<sup>201</sup> *F.H.G.* iv. p. 475.

<sup>202</sup> In *J.H.S.* xvi. p. 207, the *Τερμίλην* of Stephanus is identified with a fort at Tremil. It is very probable that his tentative identification with *Τέρμερα* is wrong, but possibly the name of the district rather than a town may have survived at Tremil. The archaeology of the region is discussed in two valuable articles by Paton and Myers in *J.H.S.* xvi.

<sup>203</sup> P. 611. In their earlier days they spread and multiplied greatly, *ἄρσπον δ' ἑταῖροις* Καίτοι ἀρπαγέλλουσιν καταρπαγόμενοι εἰς ἑτέρας

τὰς ἑαλῶναι καὶ ἀπαιεῖν τὸ γένος. He certainly means that this dispersal took place in prehistoric times. Therefore, when he goes on to say that six of the eight towns were joined to Halicarnassus by Mausolus, he cannot imply, as is sometimes supposed, that they were then inhabited by a people bearing the name of Leleges. The whole story, which is a continuous narrative, seems to come from the Homeric commentary of the notoriously untrustworthy Callisthenes (Strabo, pp. 680, 614, etc.), who told a similar legend about the expulsion of the Homeric Clices and their migration to Pamphylia (ibid. p. 667). Eustathius (Pluv. v. 20) described the Leleges as an extinct race, and it may be noted that Apollodorus does not mention them among the historical peoples of Asia Minor. If Herodotus had known of existing Leleges near his native town, distinct from the Carians, he could hardly have speculated on the relative accuracy of Cretan and Carian myths about their identity (I. 371). It is, in fact, evident that he considered them extinct as a people.

<sup>204</sup> *F.H.G.* iv. p. 475.



though the name by which he calls them is probably a piece of archaeology,<sup>206</sup> he must certainly have known the facts. The 'Ιδριεῖς of Apollodorus formed another *enclave* in Carian territory. They were the inhabitants of the 'Ιδριεὺς χώρα of Herodotus (v. 118), in the upper valley of the Marsyas, the territory of the later Stratonicea. According to Apollonius (a learned Greek from Egypt, who settled at Aphrodisias and wrote on the archaeology of Caria), 'Ιδριεὺς was a city founded by Lycians and originally named Χρυσαιοῖς.<sup>207</sup> Afterwards (as we are told unquestionably on the same authority)<sup>208</sup> it was named 'Ιδριεὺς, after Idrieus the son of Car, meaning that it came into the possession of the Carians. The relationship of the original population to the Lycians was recorded in the genealogy which made Chrysaor the brother of Bellerophon. He was also the father of Μύλασος, the founder of Mylasa,<sup>209</sup> which was apparently in tradition once a Lycian town.

It is evident that the 'Ιδριεῖς, as well as the Τερμιλῆαι, of Apollodorus were held to be of Lycian descent, and he especially records that they were a different race (ἕτερον γένος) from the Carians. To them, no doubt, Herodotus particularly refers (i. 171) when he says that all those who, though of another race, were speakers of the same language as the Carians were excluded from the temple of the Carian Zeus at Mylasa. If so, it would appear that, though they had lost their original language along with their independence, they were still a distinct people.

It so happens that our knowledge of Carian proper names was originally based and still largely depends on an inscription containing about eighty from the district of Halicarnassus,<sup>210</sup> and on others from the same region. Among these there is a small proportion (probably about 10 per cent.) related to the Phrygian, but the great majority are of Lycian origin as far as the stem is concerned. Phonetically, however, they show marked differences from the Lycian, and seem to approximate to the Phrygian. This is exactly what might be expected if a population which remained essentially Lycian (as this seems to have done) became politically subject to a race of Phrygian invaders and acquired their language.

The words of Herodotus may be taken in evidence against the relationship of the Carians to the Lycians. But the statement which he reports about the brotherhood of the Carians, Lydians, and Mysians is ambiguous,

<sup>206</sup> The story about Leleges and Minyae who were related as a degraded caste at Tralles (Plutarch, *Quaest. Gr.* 46) represents them as originally invaders. It is frankly archaeological, like the legends about the foundation of Aphrodisias by Leleges (St. Byz. c.v. Νιόβη and Μεγάλη πόλις), but may well contain elements of real tradition.

<sup>207</sup> St. Byz. c.v.

<sup>208</sup> *Ibid.* c.v. Ἰδριεῖς. The statements here given without the author's name are ascribed to Apollonius under Χρυσαιοῖς and Εἰρηναῖος.

<sup>209</sup> St. Byz. c.v. Μύλασα. The kinship with the Mylasians which was claimed by the Ptolemies of Termessus (Kretschmer, p. 397) was probably based on a similar genealogy. The name of Termessus seems to be connected with τέρμις, which is, I believe, the adjective corresponding to the substantive τέρμις, 'Lycian.'

<sup>210</sup> First published by M. Hammaillier, whose learning continues after the lapse of nearly forty years to throw light on these obscure studies.

since the Mysians were almost certainly of European origin;<sup>211</sup> but their language was a combination of Lydian and Phrygian,<sup>212</sup> while the Lydian cannot well be an Indo-European language, but seems to have some Indo-European admixture,<sup>213</sup> and the nomenclature is largely Phrygian. Since, however, Carian names also shew a Phrygian element, it is probably this which is common to the three.

In any case, it is quite unsafe to assume that Carian names as a class are allied to the Lycian. The relationship requires to be demonstrated in each individual case. Even in Cilicia and southern Pisidia it can, at most, only be presumed. In all other districts the presumption is the other way. As to any derivation of local names in Gressé and the islands from the original language of Asia Minor, if that language is really represented by Lycian nothing is proved by a comparison with any name from any other region, unless it can be shewn to be related to the Lycian. With regard to the suffixes which are held to be specially characteristic, *-rô-* is generally, though not invariably, a proof of Lycian origin; *-σ-* affords no evidence on either side; and *-σσ-* in local names is probably native to Phrygia, but not native to Lycia.

W. G. ARKWRIGHT.

<sup>211</sup> Kretschmer, p. 391.

<sup>212</sup> Xanthus Lydus, frag. 8.

<sup>213</sup> Littmann, in *Serres*, vol. vi, pt. i, p. 75.

## STUDIES IN THE TEXT OF THE NICOMACHEAN ETHICS.

## III.

MESSER GIANNOZZO MANETTI—if we may give credit to his enthusiastic biographer—was accustomed to say that there were three books which he had got by heart from long handling—Saint Paul's Epistles, Augustine's *De civitate Dei*, and (among the heathen) Aristotle's *Ethics*.<sup>1</sup> There may be some exaggeration here; but there is no doubt that Manetti, from the beginning to the end of his long literary career, was deeply interested in the moral writings of Aristotle. Vespasiano tells a story of him in the early period of his studies. He used to give a Latin *Ethics* to somebody, and taking the original himself, would reel it off so fast in Latin that his hearer was unable to follow him. I have seen him go through six books in this way, says Vespasiano.<sup>2</sup> During the last three years of his life, while he was in voluntary exile at Naples, he translated the *Nicomachean* and the *Eudemean Ethics* and the *Great Morals*.<sup>3</sup> Manetti, like many learned men of that

<sup>1</sup> 'Gruva dire, avere tre libri a mente, per lungo abito: l'uno era l'Epistole di Santo Paolo, l'altro era Agostino, *De civitate Dei*, e de' gentili l'*Etica* d'Aristotele.' Vespasiano da Bistiana, *Vita*, ed. Frati, ii. p. 33. Naldo Naldi ('Vita Jaunotii Manetti' in Muratori, *SS.* xx.) repeats the story, col. 332. In relating the *De civitate Dei* 'ita diligenter dedisse operam fertur, ut cum constanti fama esset ad verbum edidicisset, quocumque in illis voluminibus continerentur. . . Præterea quas Divus Paulus Epistolas scripserat, & Aristotelis *Ethica*, ad verbum edicens, memorias commendavit.' Naldi's life however is little more than a paraphrase of Vespasiano's and he cannot be treated as an independent authority.

<sup>2</sup> 'Faceva pigliare l'*Etica* d'Aristotele in latino, et egli pigliava la greca, e leggevaci sopra in latino tanto velocemente che volti che faceva in latino non poteva tenergli dietro. Vidine raccontare libri sei a questo modo' (*Vita*, ii. p. 88). Cp. Naldo Naldi in Muratori, *SS.* xx. col. 333.

<sup>3</sup> 'Tradusse i *Magis Morali* di Aristotele e la *dina Ethica*; l'una che non fu mai tradotta, che sono libri sei, che la *mano* ad Eudemo.

Tradusse la seconda *Etica* ad Nicomacum, la quale aveva tradotta messer Lionardo' (*Vita*, ii. p. 178. Cp. p. 79). Naldi simply paraphrases this (Muratori, *SS.* xx. col. 396). There is some discrepancy as to the number of the books in Manetti's translation of the *Eudemean Ethics*. Vespasiano, and after him Naldi, here make it six. In the list of Manetti's works which Vespasiano adds to his shorter life he mentions '*Ethicorum Aristotelis ad Eudemum libri vii*' (*Vita*, ii. p. 81). In the list which he adds to the longer life of Manetti, he mentions '*Ethicorum ad Eudemum lib. viii.*' (*Vita*, ii. p. 200) and in this he is followed by Naldi (Muratori, *SS.* xx. col. 607.)

Notice that Vespasiano says that the *Eudemean Ethics* had never been translated. He cannot have known of the translation by Gregory of Città di Castello which I spoke of in my first Study. Gregory dedicates this to Nicholas V. and says in his dedication that the translation was made by the Pope's order. It is earlier therefore than the translation by Manetti, who did not settle in Naples till after that Pope's death.



time, was a collector of books. 'He had always employed scribes, both in Greek and in Latin,' says Vespasiano, 'and had books written for him that he did not possess, and bought all that he could in every department. . . . His books were worth several thousand florins, and he was always buying others, because his intention was to make a library in Florence in the Convent of Santo Spirito. The site was above where the novitiate is. He had studied in that convent, and had a very great love for it. About this he had written before his death to Master Francis of Santo Spirito. And if he had not died he would certainly have done it, and it would have been a very worthy thing in his memory. . . . To all men time is lacking; they are anticipated by death, which they do not expect . . . and their successor is not of their mind nor their wish'.<sup>1</sup> Although Manetti's intentions were frustrated—perhaps, as Vespasiano suggests, by the indifference of his heirs—his library was not altogether scattered. A good many of his Greek books have found their way via Heidelberg to the Vatican.<sup>2</sup> It is to one of these that I venture to call the attention of the learned reader, as it partly supports and partly modifies the suggestions which I threw out in the first of these Studies as to the text of the three books which are common to the *Nicomachean* and the *Eudemian Ethics*.

I there described three manuscripts of the *Eudemian Ethics* which contain these books. I now have a fourth to add to the number.<sup>3</sup> Palatinus graecus 323, which I shall hereafter call D, is on ninety-four leaves of parchment, of which the first two are unnumbered. Of the ninety-two numbered leaves the last is blank. On the *recto* of the first unnumbered leaf is the following note: 'Ciceronis in p. de divinatione verba hec sunt.' [The passage quoted is in *De Divin.* I. xxv. 53]. On the *verso* of the second unnumbered leaf is: 'Jannoetii Manetti 91 Primus Liber I Secundus 9' and so on to 'Octavus 86'. The numbered leaves are occupied as follows: F. 1a ἀριστοτέλους ἠθικῶν εὐδημίῳ α' F. 9a ἠθικῶν εὐδημίῳ β' F. 24a ἠθικῶν εὐδημίῳ γ' F. 34b ἠθικῶν εὐδημίῳ δ' F. 47a ἠθικῶν εὐδημίῳ ε' F. 55b ἠθικῶν εὐδημίῳ ζ' F. 68b ἠθικῶν εὐδημίῳ η' F. 86a ἠθικῶν εὐδημίῳ θ' F. 91b τέλος. (The numbering of the books agrees with that in my B). The manuscript was written, according to the catalogue, by John Scoutariotes.<sup>4</sup> Now John Scoutariotes copied at Florence from 1442 to 1494,<sup>5</sup> and Giannozzo Manetti died on the 27th of October, 1459.<sup>6</sup> This manuscript therefore must have been written between 1442 and 1459. In

<sup>1</sup> *Vite*, II, pp. 187, 188. Nāifi—the favourite of Pico della Mirandola, as his friends called him—simply turns into elegant Latin the unstudied phrases of Vespasiano (Muratori, *SS.* xx, col. 901).

<sup>2</sup> Sabbadini, *Sequentes dei Codices*, I, p. 53.

<sup>3</sup> There are two manuscripts in the Vatican library which, according to the catalogues, contain an *Eudemian Ethics* in seven books—Reginensis Gr. 125 and Urbina Gr. 45—but, as Reginensis Gr. 125 is ascribed by the catalogue to the sixteenth and Urbina Gr. 45 to

the sixteenth or seventeenth century, I have not been at the pains to examine them.

<sup>4</sup> In the Vatican there is another manuscript of the *Eudemian Ethics* by the same scribe—Pal. Gr. 165. See Appendix C.

<sup>5</sup> Onofri, *Faccardis*, p. 12. Onofri's facsimile of his hand is dated 1480. He copied the *Politics* for Poliziano in 1404 (Summi, ed. *major of Politics*, p. xxvii).

<sup>6</sup> Vespasiano da Bisticci (*Vite*, II, p. 195; Voigt, *Widertelung*, I, p. 498, n.).

reporting the testimony of D, so far as I have examined it, I propose to deal, first, with its readings in the three common books and, secondly, with its readings in the exclusively Eudemean books.

As regards the common books, it may be said generally that where AB or ABC agree in a reading, D in its original form agrees with them, and that where A presents a peculiar reading of its own, D very frequently agrees with it as against B or BC or the whole body of manuscripts. It follows that a good many of the mistakes which in the first of these studies I rashly attributed to John Rhodus are really due to an earlier scribe. That Cretan priest has received less than justice at my hands.

Although, as I have said, D agrees almost always with AB or with ABC when they agree, this is to be understood of its original reading. D has suffered from considerable correction. Here are some cases where it originally agreed with AB or with ABC and has been corrected.

1129b 16 D in the text omits *ἡ κατὰ ἀρετὴν* in conformity with ABK<sup>b</sup> and adds it in the margin.

1130b 12 D in the text reads *δις μέρος πρὸς ὅλον, τὸ μὲν πλεον ἅπαν, ἄμισον τὸ δ' ἄμισον, οὐ πᾶν πλεον*. This agrees with AB. Then γάρ has been added above the line between *μὲν* and *πλεον*, bringing the text into agreement with K<sup>b</sup>L<sup>b</sup>, and after *ὅλον* there is a reference to the margin, which has *τὸ μὲν γάρ ἄμισον ἅπαν παράνομον τὸ δὲ παράνομον οὐχ ἅπαν ἄμισον*, thus bringing D into practical agreement with M<sup>b</sup>O<sup>b</sup>.

1134a 26 D reads in the text *καὶ τὸ πολιτικὸν δίκαιον, ἀλλὰ τὶ δίκαιον*. After *δίκαιον* there is a reference to the margin, which reads *τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ κοινοβίον πρὸς τὸ εἶναι αὐτάρκειαν, λευθέριον καὶ ἰσὺν, ἢ κατὰ ἀναλογίαν, ἢ κατὰ ἀριθμὸν, ὥστε ὅσοις μὴ ἐστὶ τοῦτοις πρὸς ἀλλήλους, τὸ πολιτικὸν δίκαιον*. This passage is omitted also in AB. Note that in its marginal addition D agrees with L<sup>b</sup> in omitting *ἐπὶ*. b 15 D has in the text *τοῦ ἀρχεῖν καὶ ἀρχεσθαι* but *τοῦ* and *ἐν* and *καὶ* are over erasures. It is evident that it originally agreed with AB which give *καὶ ἀρχὴ τοῦ ἀρχεσθαι*. 21 D has *οὕτως διαφέρει οἶον*, but all is over an erasure. ABC have *οἶον διαφέρει* and K<sup>b</sup> *διαφέρει οὕτως ἢ ἄλλως οἶον*.

1136a 16 D has *ἅπαν ἐκούσιον*, but *ε* is over an erasure and the breathing is soft. AC have *ἅπαν ἀκούσιον*; B has *ἐκούσιον* but *ε* is over an erasure. b 14 D has *ἐτι* but *ε* is over an erasure. Here D agrees with B, while AC have *ὅτι*.

1137b 5 Here Bekker and Susemihl read *ταῦτόν ἐστιν*. In K<sup>b</sup> *ταῦτόν* is inserted in and above the line by a later hand. ABC omit it, but in B the corrector has added it in the margin. In D *ταῦτόν ἐστι* is added in a small hand at the end of a line between *σπονδαῖα* and *ἡ μὲν*.

1138a 17 D has *κατὰ ταύτην ἀδικεῖ* but *τὰ ταῦ* and *εἰ* are over an erasure. A has *καθ' ἃ τῆς ἀδικίας* and BC *καθ' αὐτὴν ἀδικίαν*. K<sup>b</sup> has *κατὰ ταύτην ἀδικεῖ ἂν*.

1144b 12 D adds *ὅ* above the line; AB omit it.

1146a 2 τῷ Here ABK<sup>b</sup> have *τὸ*. D also has *τὸ* but with a dot over *ο* to call attention to the fact that it stands in need of correction.



The few cases in which the original text of D, so far as I have examined it, differs from AB or ABC are generally of slight importance. There are however, one or two which deserve mention.

114a 30 D has *δρματα*, which is apparently the reading of all Bekker's manuscripts. ABC have all originally *δρόματα*.

114b 12 *ὁ αἰνωμένος* is the reading of the editions and manuscripts, except A, which omits *ὁ*, and D, which both omits *ὁ* and reads *αἰνωμένους*.

1149a 9 For *ἀφρόνων*, the reading of the editions and most manuscripts, ABCK<sup>b</sup> read *ἀφροδισίων*, but C has in the margin *ἀφρόνων*. D has *ἀφροδίων*.

There is one correction in D, which does not appear to be supported by other manuscripts. 1134b 4 Between *αὐτῷ* and *εἰ μὴ* there is a reference to the margin, and in the margin *ἐλαττον δὲ τοῦ ἀπλῶς κακοῦ*.

I have examined D in every place in the three common books in which Appendix A to my first study reveals a difference between A and BC. Here are the results:—

First, as to omissions. Most of the longer passages which are omitted exclusively by A are found in D. For instance D has:

1129b 21 *καὶ τὰ τοῦ σώφρονος· οἷον, μὴ μοιχεύειν μηδὲ ὑβρίζειν.*

1132b 18 *ζημιοῦσθαι οὔτε κερδαίνειν, ὥστε κέρδους τινος καὶ.*

1134a 29 *ἀλλὰ τί δίκαιον, καθ' ὁμοιότητα· ἐστὶ γὰρ δίκαιον.* 34 *ἀγαθῶν, ἐλαττον δὲ τῶν ἀπλῶς κακῶν, διὰ.*

1142b 30 *τὸ ἀπλῶς κατορθοῦσα, ἢ τις δὲ ἢ πρὸς τι τέλος.* 33 *ἀληθῆς ἐπέληψαι ἐστίν. ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ ἡ σύνεσις.*

1144a 33 *καὶ γὰρ τὸν φρόνιμον δεῖ γινώσκειν αὐτὰ.* b 29 *οὐθέν τι εἴη χρησίμον· εἰ δ' οὐδὲ τοῖς μὴ ἔχουσιν.*

1154a 19 *τὴν ἐπερβολὴν φεύγει ἀλλ' ὅλως· οὐ γὰρ ἐστίν.*

D agrees with A in the following omissions:—

1131b 22 *ἐστὶ γὰρ τὸ ἐλαττον κακόν.*

1132a 16 *ἐναντίως τὸ μὲν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ πλεον τοῦ κακοῦ δὲ ἐλαττον.*

Here is a passage omitted by D which A does not omit.

1142b 5 *ἕτερον καὶ ἡ εὐβουλία· ἐστὶν δὲ εὐστοχία τις ἡ ἀγχινοία.*

On the other hand, so far as I have examined D, wherever AB or ABC omit a passage, it is also omitted by D. For instance, D omits:—

1134a 8 *τοῦ ὀφελίμου ἢ βλαβεροῦ παρὰ τὸ ἀνάλογον, διὸ ἐπερβολὴ καὶ ἄλλοις.* 26 *τοῦτο . . .* 29 *δίκαιον.*

1137b 8 *δίκαιον, καὶ οὐχ ὡς ἄλλο τι γένος ὅν βέλτιόν ἐστι.*

1149b 19 *ὁ δ' ὀργῇ ποιῶν πᾶς ποιεῖ λυπούμενος.*

Secondly, as to gaps, I have already pointed out in my first Study that Rhodus constantly leaves gaps at the beginning, middle, or end of a word. Very few of these gaps are recognised by D. Here is a list, the left hand reading being A's, and the right hand D's.

1132a 5 *χ . . . τα]* *χρηται.*

1133b 24 *εἰπὲρ . . . τ . . . ]* *εἰπέρτε.*

1134b 23 *ἀρμό . . . ει]* *ἀρμόσει.*



- 1136a 23 ὁ τ . . ἀδικον] ὁτ' ἀδικον.  
 1137a 6 τὸ δίκαι . . . ] τὸ, τὰ ἀδικον (ἀδικον is over an erasure). 22  
 δεῖ . . αἰνεῖν] δειλαίνειν  
 1138a 6 ἐαυτοκτ . . . ενέναι] ἐαυτοκτινείται. 30 ὕμειν . . . ] ὕμεινὸ.  
 b 28 πο . . εἰν] παρῆν.  
 1142b 5 ἀγχιν . . . α] ἀγχινοια. 27 π . . ] πω.  
 1144a 21 πέφυκ . . ] πέφυκε.  
 1146a 1 ἡρέμ . . . α] ἡρεμαία. 16 δόξ . . ] δόξα corr. from δόξη. 20 ὁ  
 οὐ . . ] ὁ οὐκ.  
 1147b 1 and 19 . . κρατενεσθαι] ἀκρατείνεσθαι. 4 οὐκ ἀκρατῇ om. but  
 leaves gap] οὐκ ἀκρατῇ.  
 1148a 20 νεαί . . . ] νεαική. 33 μύχοι . . . ] μάχοιτα. b 1 ἐπικ . . .  
 λούμενος] ἐπικολούμενος (διε). 32 οὐχ ὅπ . . ουσιν] οὐχ ὅπείουσιν. The first  
 v is over an erasure and a circumflex over oo has been struck out.  
 1149b 29 π . . ρώσεις] πηρώσεις.  
 1151a 3 οὐκ ἀπροβούλευτοι om. but leaves gap] οὐκ ἀπροβούλευτοι.  
 . . τεροι] ἄτεροι. 33 ὁ ὅποιο . . . ] ὁ ὅποι (letter erased) οὐν.  
 1154b 3 αὐτ . . . ] αὐτοί.

I have only noticed one gap in D. 1147a 23 D had originally ἐποκ . . .  
 μένουσ but ρι has been inserted in the vacant space.

Having regard to the testimony of D, I withdraw the view which I  
 expressed in my first Study, that these gaps were in the archetype originally.  
 It is more likely that the archetype became unreadable in the interval  
 between the transcription by Scourariotes and that by Rhesus.

Thirdly, these matters being out of the way, I now give D's testimony  
 in all other cases in which, in the common books, there is a difference  
 between A and BC. I give a few cases here which will not be found in  
 Appendix A. They are cases where A's reading was so palpably absurd that  
 it did not seem worth while to record it. In order, however, to make  
 complete reparation to John Rhesus, so far as I now can, I have included  
 these cases. Where D agrees with A, its reading is given without any note.  
 Where D differs from A, I give A's reading on the left, and D's on the right  
 hand.

- 1129a 5 δίκαιον. 8 ἀφ' οἷς. 33 καὶ om.] καί. b 10 τοῦτο γὰρ ἡ  
 παρανομία ἦτοι ἡ ἀνισότης περιέχει πᾶσαν ἀδικίαν καὶ κοινὸν ἐστὶ πάσης  
 ἀδικίας] τοῦτο γὰρ περιέχει καὶ κοινόν, καὶ παρανομίαν τοῦτο γὰρ, ἡ παρα-  
 νομία ἦτοι ἡ (above line) ἀνισότης, περιέχει πᾶσαν ἀδικίαν καὶ κοινὸν ἐστὶ  
 πάσης ἀδικίας. [Note that M<sup>b</sup> O<sup>b</sup> omit ἡ before ἀνισότης, while BCL<sup>b</sup> retain  
 it]. 20 λῆπειν. 23 κατηγορεῖν καὶ om. 26 οὐν καὶ ἡ. 28 ἕτερος] ἑσπερος  
 but σπ is perhaps over an erasure. 29 παραιμαζόμενα] παροιμαζόμενοι.  
 1130a 18 λειλίαν] δειλίαν. b 6 τίς δὲ καί] τίς καί. 25 νομοθέτηται]  
 νομοθετήται. 29 εἶναι om.

- 1131a 10 κατηγορία. 22 καὶ ἐκεῖνα. 29 ἀριστοκρατικοὶ ἐνάλογον]  
 ἀνάλογον. b 1 οἶνε om. 6 τὸ δ. 8 οἶν δ' μή] ἦν δ' μή. 17 τοῦτο παρὰ.  
 1132a 3 εἰ δ' εἰ. 4 πρό. 8 ἀποθάνει. 10 ἀφέρων. 20 ἵεται, τὸ ἵεναι.

26 ὡς περ γραμμοῖς γραμμῆς. 26 ταῦτ'. 32 δίκαιον διχαστήν om. b 9 τοῦ γδ] τῷ γδ. 10 ἐποιούντο. οἶον. 25 γε om. ῥαδαμάνθον. 27 εἰ καὶ κείσθῃ] κείθῃ. 29 ἄρχοντες] ἄρχοντα.

1133a 13 κρείττον om. θάτερον] θατέρου. 19 ἐφ' ὧν. 33 τοῦ σκυτ. b 7 κρεῖα] χρεῖα. 14 διὰ.

1134b 15 οἷας] οἷς. 20 οὕτω. 24 τὰ om.

1135a 4 πάντα. 12 D adds ὅτι ὅταν πραχθῇ ἀδίκημά ἐστιν. Probably this was in the archetype, as it is given also by BCK<sup>3</sup>L<sup>3</sup>O<sup>3</sup>. 18 ἄκρων] ἄκων. 27 τύπτει. b 14 ἐνήθη] ὠήθη.

1136a 3 τὸ δίκαιον. 10 διώρισθαι. 31 οὐδ' εἰδ'. b 8 δεῖ] δεῖν. 12 D has οὐκ in the line while in A it is above the line. 14 δ' ἐστιν. 19 ἔχων] ἐκῶν. 31 ἰκέτης. 32 κατὰ τὸν γ. 34 τὸν γ.

1137a 11 οὐχ ἁλεπὸν] οὐ χαλεπὸν. 35 ἐπανοῦμεν] ἐπαινούμεν.

1138a 9 δι om. 13 ζημοῖ. 14 πολὺαν] πόλιν ἄν. 19 πείσσειν. 21 ἀντιπῶν. 25 τοιχωρυγεί] τοιχωρυχεῖ. b 10 For δὴ of the other manuscripts, A has δεῖ. D has δὴ, but η is over an enasure. Note that the accent has not been altered. 20 διέλογεν. 35 δη om.

1139a 18 A has τούτω for ταύτων of the other manuscripts. D has τοντῶ. The dot over the last letter, to which another corresponds in the margin, calls attention to the fact that correction is required. b 4 ἡ προαίρεσις. 13 ἔξῃς] ἐξείς. 28 δη om. 32 προσδιορισόμεθα.

1140a 13 ἀρετῇ. 30 εὐλογίζονται. 35 ἔχει] ἔχειν. b 15 ἴας. 22 οὐ ἐστι.

1141a 4 ἄλλω. 11 πολυκλειτος. 20 ἔχουσαν. 26 φύσει. b 24 αὐτοῖς] αὐταῖς.

1142a 8 τῶσαντος] τὸ ταύτων. 33 εὐστοχία] εὐστοχία. b 2 εὐτυχία] εὐστοχία. 3 ταχύτητος εὐτυχία] εὐστοχία. 4 δεῖ βουλευσθέντα. 11 διώρισθαι. 29, 31 βουλευσθαι. 32 κατ' α] κατὰ.

1143a 6 ἀπορήσει. 15 D here has κακῶς with A but with a dot over the second κ and another in the margin. 17 αἰ εὐαίνεται. 27 ἡ δὲ. b 2 ἀκρινήτων. 11 προέχειν.

1144a 12 δι' αὐτὴν] διὰ τήν. 14 δικαίας] δικαίους. 24 ὑποθέντα. 26 ἐπαινετός] ἐπαινετή. b 8 ὑπάρχει] ὑπάρχειν. 19 ὥστ'] ὥστ'. 20 πάντας] πάσας. 33 ὥς.

1145a 2 ὑπάρχουσι. 8 ἄρα] ὅρα. 16 ὅθῃ ἢ ὅδῃ] εἰδῇ. 18 A has ἀρετῇ, D ἀρετῆν, but ν is added in a different ink. The original hand of D has, however, ἐγεράτιαν. 24 τῇ om. 25 ἀντιθεμένη] ἀντιθεμένην. 27 τὸν. b 17 οὔτε. 18 οὔτε] ὅτε. 24 περὶ. 30 παθεῖν.

1146a 1 ἀντιπαινούσαν. 4 ἀντιπαινούση. 7 ἔχοντα. 19 τις om. 26 οὐμπεραισθῆν] συμπεραισθῆν. b 26 δοξάτων διαστίζουσι. 31 A has ἐδιχῶς for ἐπεὶ διχῶς of the other manuscripts. D had ἐδιχῶς but πεῖ has been added above the line after ἐ.

1147a 7 D has ἀλλ' εἰ τότε τοιάνδε. 9 δοκεῖ. 11 ὑπάρχει. 15 ταῖς] ταῖς. b 3 διὰ om. 11 ἐπίσταται. 12 ὁ om. 23 καὶ οἱ μ.] καὶ μ. 31 τὰς] τοῖς.

1148a 17 D does not add περὶ ταῦτα. 20 προσγένειος ἐπιθυμίαν but



in D final  $\epsilon$  is erased. 23 εἰσι τῷ γένει καλῶν. b 6 ψευκτῶν] ψεκτῶν. D οὐδέ, but D omits the preceding οὐν. 10 ὁμοίως] ὁμοίαν.

1149a 20 οἶον ἦν. b 23 ὥσπερ] ὥς.

1150a 23 μέσον, ὁ 25 δι' ἡδονῶν. 29 εἰ (1st.)] om. b 10 ἀλώπη] ἀλώπη. 13 ἀντείνειν. 15 διὰ γένος. 23 προεγείραντες] προεγείραντες. 32 ἰατρός] ἰατὸς.

1151a 3 ἡτῶται. 8 τε] γε πράξιν δημοδόκων] δημοδόκον. 14 μετὰ πίστει] μετὰ πίστος. 22 λόγον om. 31 προαιρέσει μὲν ἐμμένων. b 1 αἰρεῖται] αἰρεῖται. 2 D has κατὰ. 13 ὁ ἀγροικοὶ] οἱ ἀγροικοὶ; D has καὶ αὐτὸ καὶ οἱ ἀμαθεῖς. 17 δοξάσασιν. 18 τοῦ Σοφ.] τῷ Σοφ.

1152a 1 καὶ σώφρων. 13 κατὰ om. 18 ἡ μὴ πόνητος] ἡμπόνητος. b 4 δι. 13 φύσιν καὶ. 21 αἰσχροὶ] αἰσχραί. 34 ἡδυναι.

1153a 4 καὶ om. b 2 τῇ. 24 καλεῖ. 27 φημί. 33 κληρονομίαν] κληρονομίαν. 35 γνωρισμοὺς.

1154a 5 φεύγει. 11 μοχθηρίαι] μοχθηραί. 13 τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ] τοῦ ἀγαθῶν. 14 ὑπερβολῆς. 18 ὕψεις] ὕψους. 28 οἱ] αἱ. b 1 τελιουμένων. 21 τὰ αὐτὸ.

The patient reader who casts an eye over this record will see that, though D is on the whole more carefully written than A—Rhesus is prone to omissions—it coincides with A in the majority of its peculiar readings, which we must therefore attribute to the archetype of the two manuscripts.

So much for the testimony of D as regards the common books. I now pass to the exclusively Eudemian books. I have collated D as far as 1217b 26 and examined it in a number of places and here are the results. So far as they go, D agrees very closely with A, as against all the other manuscripts. Where A and B agree as against the other manuscripts, it agrees with them. Where A and B differ, A agreeing with M<sup>b</sup> as against B P<sup>b</sup>, it agrees with A M<sup>b</sup> as against B P<sup>b</sup>. I here speak of its original reading; for in many cases where A gives an independent reading, the reading of D, which originally agreed with A, has been corrected.

Here are some cases where D agrees with A and has not been corrected.

1214a 7 συγχωροῦμεν. 30 δ'] om.

1215a 19 ἀ τοῖς αὐτοῖς. b 10 ἡ καὶ. 23 ἰπέμειναι. 24 τε] om.

1216a 5 ὁπασανῶν. 20 ἔλατο (A has ἐλλοιτο). 29 τῇ] om. 34 μὲν] om. 38 τε] om. 39 ἀλλης. b 18 τοῦθ'. 19 γινώσκων. 23 καὶ] om.

1217a 16 τῇ] om. 18 λέγομεν. b 1 τί] om. 9 λέγεται. 20 μὲν] om. 21 αὐτῶν. 21 ὅσοι.

Here are some cases where D originally agreed with A as against the other manuscripts and has been corrected.

1214a 1 A omits ἐν Δήλῳ. In D it is added above the line. 11 A omits καὶ. D adds it in the margin. 18 A omits τῇ. D adds it above the line.

1215a 2 D now reads περὶ ὧν ἐπισκεπτέον μόνως, but the second  $\epsilon$  of ἐπισκεπτέον has been corrected from  $\alpha$ . It therefore originally agreed with



A. 11 A omits τῆς περί; D adds it in the margin. 31 D has ὁν ἀγορὰς with B, but ὁν is over an erasure. Probably it originally agreed with A. b 34 A omits ὁν; D adds it above the line.

1216a 10 A omits τὸ; D adds it above the line. b 36 A omits μὴ; D adds it above the line. 37 A has πολιτῶν for πολιτικῶν of the other manuscripts; D has πολιτικῶν but ιτικῶν is over an erasure.

1217a 20 A has ἐπισαφὲς for ἐπὶ τὸ σαφὲς of the other manuscripts. In D τὸ is added above the line. 36 A reads διὰ for καὶ & of the other manuscripts. In D καὶ is over an erasure. 37 A omits τῆς; D adds it in the margin. b 23 ἔπειτ' εἰ καὶ ὅτι] A reads εἰς for εἰ καὶ. In D τ' εἰ καὶ are in a small hand over an erasure. 27 In D ὁν is over an erasure; A has οὐ.

1218a 3 D has πρότερον πρότερον γὰρ τὸ κοινόν with the printed texts, but ρον πρότερον γὰρ τὸ are over an erasure. A has πρότερον γὰρ τὸ γὰρ κοινόν. 26 ἐφίεται (2nd)] ἐφίεται A. D has ἐφίεται but φίειν are over an erasure.

1221a 24 D has ὀλιγαχόθεν but γα are added above the line. A has ὀλιγόθεν. BC ὀλιγαχόθεν but in B γαχο are probably over an erasure.

1229a 26 δοκοῦσιν εἶναι οὕς ὄντες. This is the reading of most of the manuscripts and of the printed texts. A has εἰ for εἶναι. D reads as above, but οὗσιν εἶναι οὐ are over an erasure. 33 τὰ ποιητικὰ] A omits; D adds in the margin. 35 φθαρτικοῖς] So D, but εκὺς is over an erasure. A has φθαρτικοῖς.

1230a 27 προαιρετικῇ] A omits; D adds in the margin. b 23 σώφρων (2nd)] A omits; D adds in the margin.

1247b 24 καὶ οὐ δεῖ] A omits; D adds in the margin.

1248b 26 ἐπαγωγῇ] A has ἀπαγωγῆς. D has δ (afterwards erased) ἐπαγωγῆς.

Here are some cases in which D originally agreed with ABC or AB as against the other manuscripts and has been corrected.

1214b 17 ABC omit οὐ; D adds it above the line.

1217b 14 AB (but not C) omit χωριστῆν; D adds it above the line.

In other cases, in which ABC, AB, AC or A alone agreed with the M<sup>b</sup> text as against P<sup>b</sup>, D originally agreed with them and has been corrected to agree with the P<sup>b</sup> text.

1214a 24 ABCM<sup>b</sup> read δαιμονία; P<sup>b</sup> δαιμονίου. D reads δαιμονία, the dot under α denoting that it requires correction. b 7 D adds δεῖ above the line, in agreement, according to Susenbühl, with 'mg. re. P<sup>b</sup>'.

1215a 15 οὐδὲ τῆς ABCM<sup>b</sup>; οὐδὲ διὰ τῆς P<sup>b</sup>. In D διὰ is added above the line.

1217b 26 ABCM<sup>b</sup> omit το; D adds it above the line.

1218a 16 ACM<sup>b</sup> have δαίκεναι. D has δαίκεναι. Note that the corrector left the accent untouched.

1219a 3 καὶ γὰρ ἔργον τι BP<sup>b</sup>] ACM<sup>b</sup> omit γὰρ; D adds it in the margin.

1220a 20 ὁ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ BP<sup>b</sup>] ACM<sup>b</sup> omit τῶν; D adds it in the margin.

1222b 2 καὶ μὴ ὑπὸ ῥιζοῦ βαπτιζόμενον BP<sup>b</sup>] ACM<sup>b</sup> omit μὴ. In D καὶ μὴ are over an omasure.

1223b 35 πρὶν γενέσθαι ἀκρατῆς τοῦτο δ' ἀδύνατον] In D μίσθαι ἀκρατῆς τοῦτο δ' are over an omasure. Now M<sup>b</sup> for γενέσθαι reads γε. AC have πρὶν γε; B πρὶν γε.

1228a 33 καὶ γὰρ οὗτος ACM<sup>b</sup>] καὶ γὰρ ὁ τοιοῦτος BP<sup>b</sup>. D has καὶ γὰρ ὁ τοιοῦτος, but καὶ γὰρ ὁ τοι are over an omasure. The corrector has left the original breathing.

1229a 25 ACM<sup>b</sup> have θῆρες; BP<sup>b</sup> σῖες. D has θῆρες and in the margin γ' σῖες.

1230b 39 ACM<sup>b</sup> have αἰσθήσεων; BP<sup>b</sup> αἰσθητῶν. D has αἰσθήσεων and in the margin γ' αἰσθητῶν.

1232b 8 ABCM<sup>b</sup> read κατεφηνεσμένως. D has this in the text and in the margin Γ' κατεφηνεσμένως, agreeing with P<sup>b</sup>.

1236b 29 D has ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν αὐτὸν αἰρετός, which is the reading of ABCM<sup>b</sup>. In D there is a reference to the margin after αὐτὸν and in the margin ὁ δὲ δὲ αὐτοῦ. Susemihl notes: αὐτὸν οὐδὲ (?) δὲ αὐτὸν 'ing. re. P<sup>b</sup>'.

Here are some independent readings of D.

1216a 2 ὁμοίως δὲ οὐδὲ διὰ τὴν τοῦ καθευδῆν ἡδονήν] P<sup>b</sup>M<sup>b</sup> agree except that M<sup>b</sup> reads οὐ for οὐδὲ. Both D and Pal 165 omit οὐδὲ in the text and add it in the margin and both agree with ABC in reading ἐν τῷ for τοῦ. The latter reading is probably right. b 30 Bekker reads πάντως without noticing any variant. According to Susemihl 'γρ. πάντως Victorinus' and he admits πάντας into the text. A has πάντος; BC πάντως; D πάντας.

1217a 16 D had originally ὁ λόγος ἔστι ἔστι, which may be right. Then the first ἔστι was erased. ABC have only one. b 13 τὰ δὲ πρότερον. This is the reading of all the manuscripts including ABC. Spengel conjectured τὰ δὲ πρότερον (*Aristotelische Studien*, ii. p. 7). D has πρότερον.

1231a 32 The mss. read οὐ (BP<sup>b</sup> καὶ ACM<sup>b</sup>) γὰρ ὑπερβάλλουσι τῷ χαίρειν μᾶλλον ἢ δεῖ τυγχάνοντες καὶ λυπεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ δεῖ μὴ τυγχάνοντες, which seems to be right. BP<sup>b</sup> omit καὶ λυπεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ δεῖ μὴ τυγχάνοντες. D reads καὶ γὰρ ὑπερβάλλουσι τῷ χαίρειν μᾶλλον ἢ δεῖ τυγχάνοντες καὶ λυπεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ δεῖ τυγχάνοντες καὶ λυπεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ δεῖ μὴ τυγχάνοντες. It is curious that Pal 165, which originally left out καὶ λυπ... μὴ τυγχάνοντες, should have added it in the margin in the duplicated form in which it appears in D.

1232a 26, 27 P<sup>b</sup>M<sup>b</sup> read ὁ δὲ μικρόφρωνος ὅς ἐστι παρὸντων αὐτῷ μεγάλων κατὰ τιμὴν ἀγαθῶν ἀξιοῖ, τί ἂν εἴποι εἰ μικρῶν ἀξιος ἦν  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{εἰ P}^b \\ \text{ἢ M}^b \end{array} \right\}$  γὰρ  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ἂν P}^b \\ \text{οὐ M}^b \end{array} \right\}$  μεγάλων ἀξίων χαῖνος ἦν ἢ  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ἐλαττόνων ἐτι P}^b \\ \text{ἐτι ἐλαττόνων M}^b \end{array} \right\}$ . ABC agree with M<sup>b</sup>, except that they retain ἂν. D reads ἀγαθῶν οὐκ ἀξιοῖ ἑαυτὸν ἀξιος



τι ἂν εἶπαι, all which words, except the first, are over an erasure. In the text D reads ἐτι ἐλαττόνων and in the margin F εἰ ἐλαττόνων ἂν εἴη. ἐτι. D's reading in the text comes near to that of 'mg. re. P<sup>b</sup>' and his reading in the margin agrees with that of 'D<sup>c</sup> et mg. re. P<sup>b</sup>' (I quote from Susemihl). 6 8 The manuscripts give διὰ δὲ πρέπον εἶναι καὶ γὰρ τοῦ πρέποντος κατ' ἀξίαν, καὶ πρέπον καὶ περὶ θ, οἷον περὶ οὐκείτου γάμον. There seem to be no variants. D gives καὶ γὰρ τὰ (corrected from τὸ) πρέποντα κατ' ἀξίαν ἀξίαν (over an erasure) πρέπον, καὶ περὶ θ, οἷον περὶ τοῦ οὐκείτου γάμον. Now it is evident that a line has been repeated here. Above is τὰ γὰρ πρέπον κατ' ἀξίαν ἐστίν· οὐδὲν γὰρ πρέπει. It is repeated in D more closely to its original form than in the other manuscripts. We should read διὰ δὲ πρέπον εἶναι καὶ περὶ θ κ.τ.λ.

1237b 19 Bekker and Susemihl read οἰονταὶ οὐ βούλεσθαι φίλοι ἀλλ' εἶναι φίλοι. This is the reading of ABCM<sup>b</sup>. P<sup>b</sup> omits οὐ. It is clear that D agreed originally with M<sup>b</sup> and then was corrected to agree with P<sup>b</sup>. D reads οἰονταὶ (two letters emsed) βούλεσθαι φίλοι εἶναι (over an erasure) [new line] εἶναι (also over an erasure) φίλοι. In the margin at the end of the first line is ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰσὶ φίλοι and at the beginning of the second ἀλλ'.

1238a 24 Bekker and Susemihl read: ἔχειν τε γὰρ τὸ μὲν ἥδὺ ταχὺ δηλοῦ. This is M<sup>b</sup>'s reading; P<sup>b</sup> omits ἥδὺ. D in place of ἥδὺ has a space of about ten letters in length. (A omits ἥδὺ but leaves no gap; BC omit it, leaving a space of four or five letters. M<sup>b</sup>'s ἥδὺ is no doubt a conjecture.

1240a 27 Bekker following P<sup>b</sup> reads μὴ τῷ τὸ εἶναι τούτῳ ἂν δόξαιεν M<sup>b</sup> has simply μὴ τὸ δόξαιεν. ABC have μὴ τὸ (then space of about thirty-five letters) δόξαιεν. D has μὴ τῷ τὸ εἶναι τούτῳ ἂν (space of seven letters ends the line), (space of fourteen letters begins next line), δόξαιεν.

Of the four manuscripts which I have examined of the Eudemian tradition, D, in its original and uncorrected form, appears to me to approach nearest to the common archetype, and where A and D agree, I think we are entitled to assume that we have the readings of that archetype. On the other hand, B and C are probably not derived immediately from the common archetype, but from a copy of that archetype, which has itself been corrected on the same style and scale as D.

The evidence of a close connexion between A and D which is afforded by the similarity of their readings may be supplemented and strengthened from another source. In 1137a 6 most manuscripts read συγγενίσθαι μὲν γὰρ τῇ τοῦ γείτονος καὶ πατάξαι τὸν πλησίον καὶ δοῦναι τῇ χειρὶ τὸ ἀργύριον ῥάδιον καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς. D reads πατάξαι τὸν πλησίον ἑαυτῷ. It is clear that the scribe of D had his eye caught by αὐτοῖς in the line below and took it in and then saw his mistake. Now it is probable that αὐτοῖς in the line below came immediately below the end of πλησίον. By this reasoning we get a line of thirty-seven letters for the archetype of D. On the other hand, in 1148e 17 A reads οἱ δ' εἰσὶ μὲν περὶ ταῦτα, ἀλλ' οἷα ὡσαύτων εἰσίν, ἀλλ' οὐ μὲν περὶ ταῦτα. In 1151b 13 A reads καὶ οἱ ἀμαθεῖς καὶ ὁ ἀγροικοὶ οἱ μὲν ἰσογνημονεὶς καὶ ἡ ἀμαθής. In these cases, if we suppose that περὶ ταῦτα was repeated because περὶ ταῦτα stood immediately above it in the preceding



line and that *καὶ οἱ ἀμαθείς* was repeated because *καὶ οἱ ἀμαθείς* stood immediately above it in the preceding line, we get for a line of the archetype thirty-five and forty-two letters respectively (A reads *ὁ ἄρρεσκος* but this is evidently a mere slip of Rhosus; BCD give *οἱ ἄρρεσκος*). Again, in 1119b 23 A reads *ὡςπερ μὲν τοιούτων αἰσχίων ἡ περὶ ἐπιθυμίας ἀπαγία τῆς περὶ τὸν θυμὸν*. I suspect that Rhosus wrote *περ* after *ὡς* because his eye was caught by the *περ* of the second *περὶ* coming immediately after it in the line below. This gives us a line of forty letters for the archetype. The omissions which are peculiar to A point in the same direction. Here are the figures: 1129b 21, forty-three letters; 1132b 18, forty-three letters; 1134a 29, thirty-nine letters; 34, thirty-one letters; 1142b 30, thirty-five letters; 33, thirty-four letters; 1143a 33, thirty-three letters; b 29, thirty-eight letters; 1154a 19, thirty-five letters; 1216b 25, thirty-eight letters. All this suggests an archetype with about the same number of letters to the line as K<sup>1</sup>, which has generally thirty-seven or thirty-eight letters to the line, but sometimes as few as thirty-five and occasionally forty-three or forty-four. (This modifies what I said in my first Study at page 51).

These arithmetical calculations are, however, as dangerous as they are fascinating, and I only draw attention to these striking coincidences between A and D as affording some additional support to the view that they are immediate copies of one and the same manuscript. A suggestion may be hazarded as to the origin of that manuscript.

Philolophus on his return from Constantinople in 1427 gives a list of the manuscripts which he had brought back with him to Italy.<sup>10</sup> Among them are the *Ethics* of Aristotle, the *Magna Moralia* and the *Eudemian Ethics*. The manuscript of the *Eudemian Ethics* may have been a copy made in Constantinople. Philolophus had a *Nicomachean Ethics* copied for him in Constantinople in 1423—and what is more, by a copyist who praised his liberality.<sup>11</sup> But if Philolophus' manuscript of the *Eudemian Ethics* is the archetype of ABCD, it is more probable that it was a manuscript of considerable antiquity. What makes me suggest that it was the archetype of our manuscripts are the facts that B was written for Philolophus, that C belonged to him, and that he was—or professed to be—on very friendly terms with Giannozzo Manetti, who would therefore have had no difficulty in borrowing the archetype for the purpose of making a copy. There is a letter from Philolophus to Manetti dated 'xii. kal. octobres. M. cccc. lvii.' He speaks of 'our old and great friendship.' 'Iampridem,' he says, 'cum Florentiae agerem, solebam primis annis tuum vitae institutum non probare solum, sed etiam laudare, qui platoniceis, ut mihi videbare, praeceptis imbutus reipublicae gubernacula nullo pacto velles attingere. Itaque totum graecae disciplinae studiis et exercitationibus te dedideras. Erasque ejus rei gratia

<sup>10</sup> See on the whole subject Calderini (Aristotele) 'Ricerche intorno alla biblioteca e alla cultura greca di Francesco Filelfo' in *Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica*, V. ix., Firenze, 1913, pp. 294-424.

<sup>11</sup> Brandis, 'Die Aristotelischen Handschriften der Vatikanischen Bibliothek' in *Abhandlungen der I. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* (Historisch-philologische Abhandlungen) p. 74.

quotidie mecum una.' D cannot date back to these happy times, as Scouleriotes did not begin his career till long after Philolophus had withdrawn from Florence. But the archetype may have been sent to Manetti afterwards.

The reader has now before him the testimony for the Eudemian tradition of the three common books in as complete a form as I can present it.

W. ASHBURNER.

#### APPENDIX C.

There is another manuscript of the *Eudemian Ethics* written by John Scouleriotes—Palatinus Graecus 165. This manuscript contains the *Nicomachean Ethics* and therefore in the text of the *Eudemian Ethics* the common books are omitted (see Bekker at 1234b 14). Susemihl, who calls it D<sup>r</sup> and says that it belongs to the same class as P<sup>b</sup>, gives its readings for 1214, 1215, and in some other places. While it is true that it agrees closely with P<sup>b</sup> from beginning to end, so far as I have examined it, it is also true that, in the early part at least of the *Eudemian Ethics*, it has been largely corrected from a manuscript of the M<sup>b</sup> family. Here is a list of words and phrases which Pal. 165 in agreement with P<sup>b</sup> omits in the text and which it adds in the margin. (The readers of my first Study will notice that some of these places are also omitted in the text by my B, which in its early part belongs to the P<sup>b</sup> family, and are also supplied in the margin).

1219b 31 τι.

1221b 14 πλήκτης δὲ καὶ λοιδορητικός ταῖς κολάσεσι ταῖς ἀπὸ τῆς ὀργῆς. 39 πέφυκε γίνεσθαι χειρόν καὶ βελτίον.

1223a 17 καὶ κατὰ προαίρεσιν τὴν ἐκάστου ἐκείνων αἰτίων εἶναι ὅσα δὲ ἀκούσια. b 5 βουλόμενος πράττει.

1224a 31 χαίρων δέ.

1228b 10 πρῶτον. 13 εἴη ἄν.

1231b 5 καὶ χαλεπότητος.

The corrector did not persevere to the end. Thus 1246b 10 Pal. 165 omits ἐτι and ἡ τοῦς with P<sup>b</sup>; II it omits χρήται. . . 12 ἀρετὴ with P<sup>b</sup>; 14 it omits ὅ with P<sup>b</sup>; but in none of these cases is the omission supplied in the margin.

Here are a few more cases where the reading of Pal. 165 points in the same direction.

1220b 15 ποιότης. λέγω δὲ τὰς δυνάμεις are dotted underneath, no doubt as a sign that they should be omitted. M<sup>b</sup> omits a passage, the last word of which is ποιότης. It is probable that the corrector of Pal. 165 was trying to bring his text into conformity with a manuscript of the M<sup>b</sup> type, and made a mistake in his dots.

1224a 4 προαιρεῖται δ' οὐδεὶς is in the text but over an erasure, οὐδὲν ἐξαίφνης. εἰ δὲ ἀνάγκη μὲν is added in the margin. P<sup>b</sup> and my B omit in



the text *προαιρείται δ' οὐδείς οὐδὲν ἐξαίφνης*. B adds it in the margin. Probably Pal. 165 originally had the same omission and corrected it, partly in the text and partly in the margin.

1231a 32 Pal. 165 adds in the margin *καὶ λυπεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ δεῖ* *τυγχάνοντες καὶ λυπεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ δεῖ μὴ τυγχάνοντες* between 31 *τυγχάνοντες* and 33 *οὐδ' ἀνάλογον*. P<sup>o</sup>—followed by my B—omit *καὶ λυπεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ δεῖ μὴ τυγχάνοντες*. It is probable that Pal. 165 intended merely to correct this omission. It is rather singular that my D has in the text the whole passage which Pal. 165 adds in the margin. Can Pal. 165 have been corrected by the aid of D? However this may be, I think it will be found that Pal. 165 in its original form is merely a copy of P<sup>o</sup>.

#### APPENDIX D.

In my first Study I identified the unknown manuscript of Victorius, which Sussemihl makes use of and calls C', with my B and suggested that, where Sussemihl gives a reading which is not found in B, he may have used another manuscript. Victorius in his commentary on the *Nicomachean Ethics* makes considerable use of the *Eudemian Ethics*—'quoniam mendosa' he says of them, 'non sine fructu tamen leguntur'—and discusses questions of their text not infrequently.

Here are the passages. (I cite from *Petri Victorii Commentarii in X Libros Aristotelis de Moribus ad Nicomachum*, Florentiae, 1584, fol.)

1215b 8 In citing the passage about Anaxagoras, he reads *ὅτι οὐ νομίζει* (p. 901). This is the reading of C Z M<sup>o</sup>, while P<sup>o</sup> and AB have *ὅτι*.

1218a 32 'Verba Aristotelis sunt in altero illo opere *πάντα δὲ τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἢ ἐκτός, ἢ ψυχῆς*, suspicari tamen posset quispiam, quam opinionem non temere sequendam indicio defecisse eo loco tertium membrum, cum calamo exaratos libros eius de moribus operis viderim nulla re illic variatos' (p. 38). Bekker's and Sussemihl's manuscripts all give *ψυχῇ* and the editors prefix *ἐν*. ABC also have *ψυχῇ*. Possibly *ψυχῆς* is a printer's error. It is curious that Spengel (*Aristotelische Studien*, ii. p. 8) first inserts a tertium membrum and then repents of his insertion.

1221b 19 'Nec tamen omittere debeo, quin tester, duo menda, hae ipsa in parte eo loco exaratos libros habere, quae auctoritate calamo scriptorum tolluntur: nam pro *πὸς λαμβάνειν* legi debet *προσλαμβάνειν* et pro *συνημμένον, συνελημμένον*' (p. 98). P<sup>o</sup>B have *προσλαμβάνειν*; M<sup>o</sup>AC *πὸς λαμβάνειν*; P<sup>o</sup>M<sup>o</sup>ABC all agree in *συνελημμένον*.

1222a 3 Victorius in citing this passage reads *ἀπαθείας, καὶ ἡρεμίας*: 'ita enim quoque illic, calamo exarati libri, multitudinis numero, non unitatis habent' (p. 82). P<sup>o</sup>M<sup>o</sup>AC have *ἀπάθειαν καὶ ἡρεμίαν*. B has *ἀπαθείας καὶ ἡρεμίας*.

1229a 19 'Pro *κατενοηκότες* igitur *κατενοηκότες* illis legi debet'



(p. 179). κατενοχηκότες is the reading of Aldus and κατενοχηκότες of P<sup>b</sup> M<sup>b</sup> and my BC. A has κατεντηκότες.

1232b 38 He reads ἀνόητον. 'Ita enim scriptum est in libris antiquis, cum in Aldino exemplari hoc verbum turpiter depravatum sit (p. 232). P<sup>b</sup>M<sup>b</sup>ABC all read ἀνόητον.

1239a 37 'Corruptum profecto id est in omnibus quos viderim libris: pro ἐπεβολαῖς enim perperam scriptum in ipsis est ὑπερβολαῖς, cui lectioni locus nullo pacto est: conjecturam igitur sequitas, locum emendavi' (p. 464).

1241a 35, . . . 38 'Sed cum eius dubitationis prima pars valde corrupta sit in libris etiam duobus, quos vidi manuscriptis, quomodo putem legi debere, hic significabo: nam in peroratione ipsa nullum mendum extat: ἀπορεῖται δὲ διὰ τί μᾶλλον φιλοῦσι οἱ ποιήσαντες εἰς τοὺς παθόντας, ἢ οἱ παθόντες εἰς τοὺς ποιήσαντας. δοκεῖ δὲ δίκαιον εἶναι τῶναντίον: τοῦτο δ' ἐπολάζει μὲν ἂν τις διὰ τὸ χρήσιμον, καὶ τὸ αὐτῷ ὠφέλιμον συμβαίνειν, et cetera quae sequuntur minime depravata' (p. 520).

1246b 34 'Redigit mihi in memoriam locum, quem in libro de moribus ad Eudemonum, videor mihi, conjectura ductus fideliter emendasse: ubi enim illuc legitur καὶ ὁρθῶς τὸ σῶμα κρατητικόν, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἰσχυρότερον φρονήσεως, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐπιστήμης (sic) ἔφη, οὐκ ὁρθόν, et quae sequuntur, prorsus existimo pro duobus illis verbis, miserum in modum depravatis legi debere Σοκρατικόν' (p. 373).

It is clear from Victorinus' own words that he had two manuscripts to consult, and equally that one of them was B and that the other was not A. Can it have been C?

## THE CHARACTER OF GREEK COLONISATION<sup>1</sup>

THREE movements of expansion can be distinguished in what we know of the history of the Greeks. The first, that of the so-called Dorian and Ionian migrations, left them in possession of the Greek mainland, the principal islands of the Aegean, and the western seaboard of Asia Minor. The second, that of Greek colonisation properly so-called, extended the Greek world to the limits familiar to us in the history of Greece during the fifth and fourth centuries. The third, in which Macedonian kings act as leaders, began with the conquests of Alexander, and resulted in that Hellenisation of the East which was the permanent achievement of his successors. The general character of the second of these movements forms the subject of this essay. Much has still to be done before a detailed history of Greek colonisation can be given to the world. Sites must be excavated, and the main lines of Greek commercial history established, before it can even be attempted. But we know enough already to judge with fair accuracy of that tremendous outburst of activity, which left the Greeks almost undisputed masters of Mediterranean commerce. Here and there the course of development is still uncertain, and almost everywhere we are ignorant of details that would inevitably be instructive, but, since recent historians of Greece aim rather at narrating the story of individual colonies than at presenting general conclusions, it may prove worth while to give here a survey of the whole field. Perhaps the clearest way of presenting such a survey will be to discuss first the causes of Greek colonisation; secondly, the political and social conditions under which it developed; and lastly, the relations which resulted between each colony and its mother-state.<sup>2</sup>

### I.—*The Causes of Greek Colonisation.*

Thucydides had no doubt as to the underlying cause of Greek colonisation: ἐπιπλέοντες τὰς νήσους καταστρέφοντο, καὶ μάλιστα ὅσοι μὴ διαρκίῃ

<sup>1</sup> The essay here printed, by permission of the Council of the British Academy, was awarded the first annual Crozer Prize 'for the best Essay on any subject connected with the language, history, art, literature, or philosophy of Ancient Greece' (see *J.H.S.* xxvi. p. lxviii.).

<sup>2</sup> I acknowledge my authorities in the

course of the essay; but I should like here to express my gratitude to Rev. E. M. Walker, of Queen's College, Oxford, and to Professor Percy Gardner for the personal help and encouragement which they have given me. It will be also plain how much I owe to the recent edition of Babesch's *Griechische Geschichte* (1914).

*εἶχον χώραν*.<sup>2</sup> It may be objected that the historian had before him little more evidence as to the history of his country in the eighth century than is now at our disposal. From the standpoint of the archaeologist he had perhaps even less; but he had fewer misconceptions to clear away, and there can be little doubt as to the accuracy of his conclusions. Greek colonisation was due above all else, to the need for land. But the simplicity of this statement must not rob it of its force. Colonisation, it is true, implies at all times a need for expansion, and under healthy conditions it is a sign that the population of the home-country is fast out-growing its productive capacity; but Greek colonisation was due to a motive that was peculiarly urgent. Greece is, before all things else, a small country—so small, that the traveller on his first visit needs time to grow familiar with the shock of this discovery. Cultivable land, moreover, is precious where bare rocks are so plentiful; and it is of cultivable land, of course, that Thucydides speaks. Here, then, lies the force of his remark. We have only to look at the map to see how truly his words apply to the chief colonising states of Greece; Corinth, Megara, Chalcis, Eretria, Phocaea, Miletus; all are sea-ports with a territory of some extent and fertility, but so confined either by natural obstacles or by the neighbourhood of powerful states as to preclude the possibility of expansion by land. Yet, when once their population of peasants and farmers began to grow, land must be had somewhere, and, since it could not be had at home, expansion over the seas became a necessity; *ὅσῃ μὴ διαρκῇ εἶχον χώραν*.

But geography is not alone in teaching us the force of the words used by Thucydides. Greek colonisation begins in the eighth century B.C., continues in full vigour for some 150 years, and begins to decline towards the middle of the sixth century—that is to say, it begins in what we now call "proto-historic" times, and has practically ended at an age of which later Greeks had no connected history. We know now that they filled in many of the gaps in their knowledge by inferences drawn from the history of their own times. For us the temptation to do the same is still great, but we must learn to think away our previous conceptions if we wish the early history of the Greek colonies to become vivid and intelligible. And, in the first place, we must think away all the associations which life in a highly-developed industrial society has inevitably left in our minds. Thucydides tells us that Greece was once a land of villages.<sup>3</sup> The fact is undisputed, but its logical consequences in Greek history are hard to realise. There were no cities in the days when Archias sailed from Corinth or the first Ionian settlers from Miletus. The statement sounds almost a contradiction in terms, but it is literally true. In the age to which these early colonies belong, the Greeks had already developed the typical *πόλις* or city state, but the city, as we know it, owing its existence to industry and commerce, was still in process of development, for the population of Greece was still mainly agricultural, tillers of the soil, not dwellers in the city.<sup>4</sup> The social conditions which we

<sup>2</sup> Th. i. 15; cf. Plato, *Lysis*, 108 E, 740 E.

<sup>3</sup> Th. i. 10.

<sup>4</sup> Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.*, (ed. 2), i. 1, pp. 202-3, for the development of the *πόλις*.



know to have existed in pre-Solonian Athens seem to have been typical of many other Greek states. Feudal aristocracies, based on the tenure of land, were still strong throughout the country—possibly the old feudal monarchies had not yet completely disappeared; and though the whole population was grouped in the constitution of a regular state, the majority lived and worked, not in the central town, but in villages or on the land.<sup>2</sup> In such a community land is the most valuable of all possessions, the only guarantee of permanent wealth. The great wars of which we hear in this period (those of Argos against Sparta and of Chalcis against Eretria) were waged in deadly earnest, because each side fought for the possession of a plain; and the states which sent out colonies were urged by the same motives, for here, too, the possession of land was at stake.

Here, however, we must make a distinction which is of some importance. In the passage which we have already quoted, it will be noticed that Thucydides makes no distinction between the era of colonisation, according to the sense in which we are now using the term, and the earlier occupation of the islands by Aeolian, Ionian and Dorian tribes; and this failure to distinguish between two separate epochs in Greek history can be traced also in an earlier chapter.<sup>3</sup> Yet the difference is not merely one of time. The earlier migrations were, it is true, caused by the pressure of advancing tribes, and were thus due, in a sense, to the need for land; but, unlike the later movement of expansion, they were themselves tribal conquests, not settlements organised by a city-state. In the history of modern Europe they correspond rather to the barbarian invasions of the fifth century A.D. than to the movements of colonisation which took place in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The later Greek settlements, on the other hand, were due to the natural growth of a population which had lived for generations under settled conditions, and to them alone can we apply the words of Thucydides: *ἡσυχάσασα ἡ Ἑλλὰς βεβαίως καὶ οὐκέτι ἀνισταμένη ἀποικίας ἐξέπεμψε*.<sup>4</sup> After the period in which Dorians, Ionians and the other tribes of the mainland had struggled for the supremacy, Greek life, both on the mainland and in the newly-won territories, settled down to a period of agricultural development. Soil hitherto untilled was made productive, tenure of land became more secure, and by sea the pirates, with whom Homer was familiar, were gradually forced to a more regular existence.<sup>5</sup> It is in this period of growing order and prosperity that the origins of Greek colonisation are to be sought. On the one hand, as families began to hold land continuously for generations, and since the amount of fertile soil was very limited, the natural growth of a peasant population soon needed some outlet to replace the earlier custom of restless wandering. On the other hand, with the clearing of the seas from pirates, men grew accustomed to regular intercourse by water. It needed

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Burg, *History of Greece*, pp. 86-7.

<sup>3</sup> Th. I. 12, where the Athenian settlements in Ionia are treated as parallel to the Peloponnesian colonies in Italy and Sicily.

<sup>4</sup> Th. I. 12.

<sup>5</sup> Beloch, op. cit. I. I, pp. 229-232 and 282 (though his views on the Homeric question have disturbed his chronology).

only some local crisis, or the enterprise of some prominent citizen, to suggest the plan of a public emigration.

If we turn again to the map we shall see more exactly what were the geographical limits of the Greek peoples when they embarked on their enterprise of expansion over the seas. On the mainland, all was of Greek nationality from the Peloponnesus to the borders of Illyria and Thrace; but the tribes of Aetolia, Thessaly and Macedon were behindhand in their social development, and did not really share in the civilisation of their more advanced kinsfolk. In the Aegean, Lemnos and Imbros, still barbarian, marked the northernmost limits of the Greek world; but in the south the advance had been more rapid. Crete was wholly, Cyprus partly, in Greek hands. Greek settlers had occupied at an early date the coast-line of Pamphylia, and it is possible that others had penetrated as far south as the district later to be known as Cyrenaica.<sup>40</sup> On the Asiatic coast, Dorian, Ionian and Aeolian settlers had already made their homes from Cnidus in the south to the Troad in the north; but the Hellespont and the Propontis, and (in Europe) the whole Thracian coast were still in the hands of native tribes. Within these limits Greek life had attained, with fair uniformity, the settled conditions already described, and the number and variety of the states which took part in the early colonial movement show how widely prosperity had already been diffused in the different regions of the Greek world. But progress had, of course, been relative, and we must free our minds from many conceptions of value made familiar by later Greek history. Athens was as yet unimportant, Sparta was only beginning her rôle of arbiter in the Peloponnesus; Corinth, Chalcis and Eretria were the great cities of the West, and in the East Ionia was already outstripping the mother-country both in enterprise and culture.

The mention of these towns naturally suggests the question, so familiar in the history of modern colonies: Was there, in addition to the need for expansion felt by a growing population, the further motive of commercial enterprise? In a lecture recently delivered to the Classical Association, Professor Myres has thrown new light on some old puzzles in Greek colonial history by an appeal to the facts of geography.<sup>41</sup> The currents of the Mediterranean, the winds of the Adriatic, the temperature of the Euxine are all cited in explanation and illustration of the paths taken by the Greek colonists; but we must remember, in turn, to examine these geographical facts in the light of the facts of chronology. Professor Myres is convincing when he shows, taught by his own personal experience, that the Greeks were kept aloof from the Adriatic by adverse winds, and helped to Italy and the West by favouring currents; but neither winds nor currents can justly be named prime causes of Greek colonisation. Professor Myres is, therefore, forced to supplement his geography by economics, and he speaks constantly

<sup>40</sup> Cf. A. Gerke, 'Die Myrindonen in Kyrene,' *Herms*, 1906. For Pamphylia, cf. Basalt, *Gr. Gesch.* (ed. 2), i. p. 323.

<sup>41</sup> *Proceedings of Classical Association*, 1911, pp. 43-89.



of Greek traders and commercial routes. Here, surely, his chronology is at fault. No one can dispute for a moment that the Greeks were by instinct a race of traders, and that this instinct was nowhere more conspicuously shown than in the history of their colonisation. But we must distinguish carefully between two stages in that history. If the Greeks of the sixth and fifth centuries were predominantly a trading race, it does not follow that they were always so. Greek colonisation goes back, at least, to the closing quarter of the eighth century B.C.—an early date in the history of their social development. Was the Greek instinct for commerce sufficiently developed at that early date to act as a compelling motive in a great migratory movement? If we answer in the negative, it is because the evidence of archaeology seems to prove that the Greeks had not so early at their disposal the materials requisite for large industrial or mercantile enterprises. In the recent edition of his *Griechische Geschichte* Dr. Beloch has pointed out how small were the industries and how inadequate the shipping of the Greek world during the era of the earliest settlements.<sup>12</sup> Thucydides himself dates the first great advances made by the Greeks in the art of navigation two or three generations later than the traditional date of the first Ionian settlements,<sup>13</sup> and we can safely say that not until the second half of the seventh century did commerce and industry begin to play a dominant part in Greek life and history. The earlier Greeks were, in the main, not traders but peasants; and the first Greek colonies did not owe their existence to reasons of commerce, as do to-day, for example, the States of North America. But, on the other hand, commercial enterprise must certainly have had its share in the origins of Greek colonisation. In his account of the founding of Cyrene, Herodotus tells how the men of Thera first heard of the new country from a fisherman of Crete, and how they were helped on their journey by Samian fishermen.<sup>14</sup> We have here, in all probability, some relic of tradition which, if only we could supply the missing details, would throw light on the part played by individual traders in the work of discovering new sites and of acting as guides to the emigrant community. Such guides there must certainly have been. Possibly in many cases the actual impulse to go from the mother-country was due to the tales brought home by adventurous traders, but, given the conditions which we know to have prevailed in eighth century Greece, the main cause of unrest at home, and of the consequent settlements abroad, must always have been the pressure of a growing population seeking to expand within limits which were inevitably too small.

To illustrate these social conditions, it is well to recall a neglected statement preserved by Strabo which, when set in its proper light, sets us speculating as to the whole course of early Greek history. He tells us<sup>15</sup> that, when Archias set sail from Corinth for Syracuse, most of his followers came from Tenae, a village in Corinthian territory. No authority is given for this statement, but it is evidently based on local tradition (the only possible

<sup>12</sup> Beloch, i. 1, pp. 284-277.

<sup>13</sup> Th. i. 13.

<sup>14</sup> Her. iv. 151-2.

<sup>15</sup> Strabo, p. 380.



source for so obscure a fact), and traditions of this kind are almost always of the highest authority.<sup>17</sup> But what a light it sheds on early Corinthian history! Corinth, we know, was one of the first Greek states to develop a commercial system,<sup>18</sup> its coinage was among the earliest struck on the mainland, and it was early afield in the work of colonisation. Here, if anywhere, we should suspect the influence of commercial motives: the conclusion seems almost inevitable that Syracuse, Coreyra and the other early Corinthian colonies were founded with the immediate object of establishing Corinthian influence on an important trade-route. Possibly thoughts of this kind were in the minds of Archias and the other leaders of the expedition; they may have heard from traders of the gain to be won by opening up the sea-road to Italy. What is certain is that the majority of those who sailed with him on his expedition, if Strabo's statement is correct, cannot have been of the seafaring class. Tenea is an inland village; its inhabitants must always have been of the peasant-class, and can have had but little interest in questions of commerce and trade-routes. Whatever may have been the later history of Corinth's colonising activity, her first settlements were made at a time when her population was still mainly agricultural, and when commercial interests had not yet become the dominant element in domestic politics. Even after a century of archaeological discovery, we know so little about eighth century Greece, that we can go little further than the mere statement of that fact; but it is always well to remember that the men who followed Archias across the seas were very different from the fully civilised Greeks of the fifth century. Mr. Hogarth has argued very ably against those who would see in "proto-historic" Greece nothing but a society of savage tribes "with an innate instinct for humanism,"<sup>19</sup> and his objections gain force with each succeeding century in Greek history. Comparatively speaking, civilisation in its various forms was well advanced in Greece in the eighth century B.C., and the recent excavations at Sparta have taught us to think highly of early Greek art; but three centuries were still needed to produce the full bloom of Periclean Athens. The comrades of Archias belonged to a less complex society. They went about their day's work clad in the simplest, barely decent clothing,<sup>20</sup> and the implements which came readiest to their hands were still the sword and the plough. In spite of Mr. Hogarth one is tempted to ask whether they were anything more than half-wild, healthy men, with an eye for beauty and an almost endless capacity for improving their minds. Certainly they were not the men to organise a great national venture on a purely commercial basis, and for purely commercial ends.

Having regard to these facts, we may, perhaps, claim that the earliest Greek settlers were led rather on the path of adventure than along recognised trade-routes; but again we must be careful not to confound ancient

<sup>17</sup> Strabo's immediate authority cannot, apparently, be Aristotle (quoted for another fact about Tenea shortly afterwards), for in the same sentence he speaks of the Roman conquest of Corinth.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.* i. 13; Strabo, p. 378.

<sup>19</sup> Hogarth, *Ionia and the East*, p. 20.

<sup>20</sup> Lang, *World of Homer*, p. 64 and frontispiece. He speaks only of Ioulaia, but his frontispiece is taken from Sparta.

with modern history. We read often of the era of discovery which preceded the settlement of the Greek colonies,<sup>20</sup> but we have only to compare the history of eighth century Greece with the history of Europe in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries to see how misleading is the phrase. Medieval Europe was startled into new life by the discovery of new continents, and we need only follow on the map the rapid progress of Portuguese discovery round the coasts of Africa, or read of the successive attempts to find the New Atlantis, to appreciate the glamour of romance which still hangs round those first centuries of European colonisation. To the sailors of Spain and Portugal the craving for travel and adventure was a stimulus more powerful than the desire for gold; but the Greek sailors of the eighth century B.C. can have had little of that craving. Greek colonisation was not heralded by any startling discovery of new lands. It was rather a gradual process, during which, slowly and cautiously, Greek ships advanced from headland to headland, never venturing far from the mainland, and for the most part remaining for two or three generations within waters which had been already explored by the Phoenicians, or included within the former sphere of Minoan thalassocracy. The Samian and Phocaean adventurers whose voyages thrilled Greece in their own day and interest us still in the pages of Herodotus,<sup>21</sup> lived not in the eighth, but in the seventh century B.C. Massalia itself was not founded until about 600 B.C.<sup>22</sup>

Since these statements may seem to have something of the air of a paradox, it will be well to examine more closely the different regions in which Greek enterprise was most marked in the eighth century B.C. To this period tradition ascribed the settlement of Coreyra, the foundation of the earliest Italian and Sicilian colonies, and the first Milesian settlements on the shores of the Propontis and the Euxine; we may perhaps add the first Eretrian colonies in Chalcidice, though here even the approximate date of foundation must remain in doubt.<sup>23</sup> Of these regions, Coreyra and Chalcidice were geographically almost part of the Greek world; they lay within sight of Greek-speaking countries, and were the natural stepping-stones for an advance overseas. Italy lay but fifty miles from the coasts of Epirus, and on a clear day it is possible to see one coast from the other.<sup>24</sup> Exploration under such conditions was, without doubt, a real advance, but it was not, as in the annals of fifteenth century seamanship, a voyage into the unknown; and, once the Greek sailors had crossed the straits, the coasts of Italy and Sicily were but a repetition of their own familiar shores. Only in one region did the Greeks of the eighth century B.C. penetrate into a country almost wholly unlike their native land. The Milesian exploration of the Euxine is a signal proof that, even at an early date, Greek sailors were not afraid to face real dangers, both from climate and from the uncertain

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Bury, *History of Greece*, p. 86; Zimmern, *Greek Commonwealth*, p. 249; Prod. Myers, *loc. cit.* pp. 44-50.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.* I. 162; II. 152.

<sup>22</sup> Julian, *Diatribe de la Gaule*, I. p. 205. Coreyra was not founded until 630.

<sup>23</sup> Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* (ed. 2), I. p. 422, n. 4.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Beloch, *op. cit.* I. 1, p. 233.



hospitality of native tribes. But here again it is well to remember the map. Milesian colonisation was, even more notably than the colonies of Corinth, connected in her later history with the development of commerce, and in particular with the traffic in corn from the shores of the North and West.<sup>22</sup> But this traffic was a consequence, not a cause of the early Milesian settlements beyond the straits of Bosphorus, as is shown plainly by the geographical line of their advance. Cyzicus, Sinope and Trapezus belong to the eighth century B.C.; the remaining colonies on the southern coast may have followed shortly after the foundation of Trapezus, but tradition separated by more than a hundred years the settlement of Istrus, Tyras and Olbia in the North-West from the foundation of Sinope in 770 B.C.; Panticapaeum, Theodosia and Tanais in the extreme North follow a generation later; and last of all come the settlements in the West (Tomi, Odessus and Apollonia), founded in the first half of the sixth century.<sup>23</sup> These dates are, of course, only approximate, but they must be taken as giving us, at least, a correct sequence. It follows that Milesian exploration was for long confined to the southern coast, and only ventured into the unknown regions of the North-West and North after more than a century's familiarity with the waters of the Euxine.

It would be idle to deny the adventurous character of the Ionian sailor, and Herodotus bears witness to the fact that the colonies of the Euxine were later regarded mainly as centres of export for trade;<sup>24</sup> but the facts which we have cited show that the prospect of traffic in corn was not the motive which first drew settlers from Miletus so far from home, for it was precisely in the regions of Tomi, Odessus, Olbia and Panticapaeum that trade had afterwards its most important centres.<sup>25</sup> Sinope is the type of the earliest Milesian settlements, and Mr. Leaf has taught us to see the history of Sinope in a new light.<sup>26</sup> Her unrivalled position as mistress of the Euxine gave her in later centuries an unending source of wealth, but it is plain that her position as the distributing centre for the trade of the Euxine was slow in bringing her prosperity. Such a position depended for its importance on the development of trade between the straits of Bosphorus and the North, and the fact that Sinope had to be refounded about the middle of the seventh century B.C. shows that her fortunes must for long have been low. Almost certainly, for the first hundred years of her existence, her main income must have been from the local fisheries and the cultivation of her territory on the mainland.<sup>27</sup> It is interesting to note that Cyzicus, founded according to tradition about the same time as Sinope, took for the device of her coinage, not any symbol of her traffic as an emporium, but the tunny, in

<sup>22</sup> Cf. E. von Stern, in *Glin*, 1909; *Hermes*, 1915. But Prof. Myres goes too far when he says (*loc. cit.* p. 82): 'it is the Pontic corn, as we well know, which was the primary motive of Pontic colonisation.'

<sup>23</sup> The dates will be found in *Companion to Greek Studies*, p. 56. They are fully discussed

in Beloch, *op. cit.* I, 2, pp. 218-238.

<sup>24</sup> *Her.* iv, 24.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. E. von Stern, *Hermes*, 1915 (pp. 165-172 and 198-204).

<sup>26</sup> Cf. W. Leaf, *J.H.S.*, 1916, pp. 1-16.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 2-3; Strabo, 545-6.



recognition of her income as a town of fishermen.<sup>21</sup> Both towns were founded on sites admirably chosen for purposes of trade, but both seem to have been mainly dependent on local industry and agriculture for their early prosperity. This is what we should expect from settlements founded when Miletus was only beginning to realise her commercial future.

The connexion which we have here noticed between the early foundation of colonies and the subsequent development of trade-routes is of vital importance for our whole subject. Our evidence for the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. points so plainly to the existence of commercial relations between the colonies and their mother-states that we are apt to conclude that the colonies were originally founded in consequence of those relations; but in almost every instance it is possible to show, at least as a probability, that it was rather the existence of colonies in a certain area which later created the commercial connexion. In Chalcidice and Thrace, for example, the early colonies of Eretria and Andros preceded by generations the sudden development towards the end of the sixth century of that mining industry which made the fortune first of Thasos, then of Athens, and lastly of the Macedonian kings, and of which we are only now beginning to have clear knowledge.<sup>22</sup> With the exception of Potidaea (not founded until after 600 B.C.),<sup>23</sup> the sites of the various Chalcidic colonies are obviously better suited for agricultural settlements in what has been styled 'the Greek Riviera,' than for towns destined to be centres of trade. So, too, in Italy and Sicily the earliest settlements are not those most obviously chosen for reasons of commerce. Cyne, the earliest Greek settlement in the West, had no regular port. Sybaris and Croton became later great commercial cities, but their trade was due not to their commanding positions, but to the fertile territory which they commanded in the interior. In Sicily, Naxos was evidently chosen as a desirable site by sailors approaching from the sea, but it was not in any way marked out as a natural centre for sea-trade. Syracuse, perhaps the ideal Greek colony, had all the advantages of a great commercial and imperial site; but Agragas and Selinus, to name two of the most prosperous colonies in Sicily, owed their prosperity almost entirely to the fertility of the neighbouring land.<sup>24</sup> We shall see later that our first glimpse into the politics of a Sicilian town shows a society founded on the basis of land-tenure, not on a system of commercial capitalism.<sup>25</sup> But perhaps the most interesting example of a region, originally agricultural which was transformed by later commercial enterprise, is to be found in the outlying region of Cyrenaica. In the sixth and fifth centuries this region owed its importance mainly to the export of its famous local herb, the *silphium*, and Βάρτοι σίλφιον passed as a proverb among the merchants of Greece.<sup>26</sup> But we have only to read an account of the sites chosen by the Greeks for their new foundations to

<sup>21</sup> B. V. Head, *Hist. Num.* (vol. 2), p. 323.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Peddie, in *Clas.*, 1910 ('Suppl. vol. 2'), pp. 1-27.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Nie. Dam. fr. 60 (*F.H.G.* III.).

<sup>24</sup> Cf. for a most instructive commentary on these sites, Freeman's *History of Sicily*, vol. I.

<sup>25</sup> Her. vii. 153.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Liddell and Scott, s.v.

understand how little these early settlers cared for the conveniences of transit by sea. Cyrene itself is situated on the heights of a line of cliffs rising steeply from a low-lying shore.<sup>37</sup> A community of traders would have chosen a port as the site of their new home, but the Greeks, as Herodotus tells us,<sup>38</sup> soon moved from the island on which they had first landed to this more inaccessible site; for behind Cyrene stretch those plains which even the first settlers could see to be almost unrivalled for the mildness of their climate and for fertility of soil.<sup>39</sup> Later, these plains were to be made famous by the discovery of the virtues of *silphium*, but the sudden development of this industry dates apparently from the reign of Battus the Fortunate (c. 590-560 B.C.), two generations later than the foundation of the colony.<sup>40</sup> When the fortunate merchant-king came to organise the export of his precious commodity, he must have found it difficult to convey his bales down the steep cliffs to the shore; modern explorers have found it difficult to smuggle away the treasures unearthed by the spades of their workmen.<sup>41</sup> No better proof could be required that the men who first founded Cyrene were bent on cultivating a soil which promised to yield the abundance which had failed them at home rather than on establishing a centre for trade with the home-country.

There is, therefore, much ground for saying that the earliest Greek settlements were not mainly due to the promptings of commercial enterprise; but, as we pass on to the later chapters of Greek colonial history, we shall see that motives of commerce come to be of increasing importance. The conscious development of that policy, either by a capable government at home or by the constant working of racial rivalry, will be discussed in a later chapter. It only remains, for the present, to note yet another difference between ancient and modern colonisation which, though often overlooked, is of the most profound significance. For centuries the Christian religion has been a main factor in determining the character of Western civilisation, and the stimulus which it has given to the expansion and diffusion of the European races is written on every page of the history of modern colonisation. That stimulus is without a counterpart in the history of the Greek settlements. It is not hereby meant that the Greeks were not a religious people. Religion played a leading part in their history; above all, during the earlier period with which we are dealing. But in the history of their colonisation religion, though a force, was a force which acted rather for the preservation of national sentiment than as a motive for travel and conquest. The theory, once made so popular by Ernst Curtius in a brilliant chapter, that the priests of Delphi organised the movement of colonisation with the intention of creating a wide sphere of Hellenic influence in the Mediterranean world, is as contrary

<sup>37</sup> The most recent account is to be found in the *Annals of B.S.A.*, 1893-6, pp. 113-140, by H. Wald-Blandell (with notes by Prof. Stulniewicz).

<sup>38</sup> Her. iv. 156-9.

<sup>39</sup> Her. iv. 199; Diod. iii. 49; Strabo, p.

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837; cf. *Phil. Pyra.* ix. 9.

<sup>40</sup> The history of the Battid dynasty is fully discussed by Beloch, *op. cit.* i. 2, pp. 210-217.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. the account by R. Murdoch Smith and E. A. Porcher of their expeditions to Cyrene (1860 f.).



to the psychology of the Greek religion as it is destitute of historical evidence.<sup>42</sup> When the Greeks founded their earliest settlements in the West and on the Euxine, their religion had not yet developed from a local cult to a universal faith. Men were content to worship the gods of their fathers in their own homes, and no thought of evangelising other nations ever came to trouble their prayer. Hence the missionary, so familiar a figure in the history of modern colonisation, plays no part in the story of the Greek colonies; and he was to remain unknown in the ancient world until the sophists destroyed all intelligent faith in the local cults, thereby paving the way for the universal creeds of the Stoics, the Epicureans, and the Cynics. In the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. no Greek left his home with the thought that he was the bearer of a higher faith as well as of a higher culture. Whatever other motive influenced the foundation of the early settlements, the motive of religious enthusiasm was entirely wanting; and its absence will become notable when we consider the relations of the Greek settlers with the native tribes whom they displaced. The ancient Greek had the spirit of a trader and an adventurer, but he was never an apostle.

## II.—*The Formation of a Greek Colony.*

It is important, when speaking of the formation of a Greek colony, to remember that we know very little indeed of the manner in which the settlements of the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. came into existence. For the settlements, much fewer in number, of the fifth and fourth centuries we have abundant information in Thucydides and Diodorus,<sup>43</sup> and we know that in this period the process of founding a colony had been reduced to certain legal forms; the inscription relating to the foundation of Brea towards the end of the fifth century is a contemporary and authentic document.<sup>44</sup> But for the earlier period our information is very slight, and often of doubtful value. There must have been "foundation-legends" current about many of the cities of historical Greece. Herodotus has preserved a few of them,<sup>45</sup> and we get a few more from Strabo and other late compilers, but no Greek historian had the happy idea of collecting and collating these various legends, and for the most part we are here once more in the realm of conjecture or of uncertain deductions.

Certain characteristics seem to be common to foundations of all periods. There seems always, for example, to have been an *αἰσχυρὴς* to lead the colonists (for we may ignore the modern criticism which finds local deities or

<sup>42</sup> Cf. Curtius, *Gr. Gesch.* i. cc. 3 and 4. His monograph, *Die Griechen als Mäcder der Colonisation* (1883), is more valuable and equally suggestive. It has been reprinted in his *Athenien und Griechenland*, iii. (1889), pp. 76-89.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. especially Th. i. 27 (Epilamnus); iii.

92-3 (Heraclaea); Diod. xii. 10, etc. (Thuri).

<sup>44</sup> Hicks and Hill, No. 41; cf. Dittenberger, *Sylloge* vol. 2; 933 (Coreyra nigra); also in C. Michel, *Recueil* (1900), No. 72.

<sup>45</sup> The most important passage is iv. 159-160 (Cyrus).



aetiological fictions in the names of Phalanthus or Battus<sup>40</sup>), and there must always have been some kind of division of land. The part which Delphi played in giving its sanction to the new foundations is not so certain. The earliest authentic witness to the custom of seeking an oracle at Delphi is to be found in a passage of Herodotus, where he tells that the Spartan Dorieus led forth a colony, towards the end of the sixth century B.C., 'without consulting the oracle as to his destination, or doing any of the accustomed acts.'<sup>41</sup> This proves that the custom of getting the Delphic sanction goes back well beyond the middle of the sixth century; but it is uncertain how soon Delphi rose to the position of prominence which we know it to have held in historical times,<sup>42</sup> and in general it is well not to insist too much on the action of Delphi in the early days of Greek history. Moreover, the oracles relating to the foundation of the early colonies, some of which have been preserved by Diodorus,<sup>43</sup> give little confidence in the tradition which they are supposed to represent. Their style is quite unlike the authentic documents preserved by Herodotus, and their subject-matter proves them to be late and valueless forgeries.<sup>44</sup>

In the absence of detailed information we must have recourse once more to general deductions from the conditions of early Greek society and the subsequent development of the colonies themselves, making what use we can of the few facts that have been preserved to us. It is natural to divide our discussion into two parts, and to treat first of the steps taken before the actual foundation, and then of the manner in which the Greek settlers seem usually to have dealt with the problems which confronted them in their new homes.

The foundation of a Greek *ἀποικία* differed in one all-important respect from the normal growth of a modern colony. To-day European expansion is a gradual process. Men go out, sometimes alone, sometimes in small groups, to make a private settlement in a new country; and in proportion to the steadiness with which this stream of emigration can be supplied from the mother-country is the success of each state in its work of colonisation. Germany has developed a colonial policy under pressure of over-population at home. France has failed to assimilate her conquests because her population has failed her at home; and in the sixteenth century the American colonies were won for England because the English were able to 'crowd on, and crowd out the Dutch.'<sup>45</sup> But Greek colonisation was conducted on

<sup>40</sup> For Battus as a mere eponym, cf. Beloch, *op. cit.* i. 2, p. 216. The existence of Phalanthus was first questioned by Prof. Sundniér in his brilliant monograph, *Kyrene* (1897), and later by Sir Arthur Evans in his *Hermosa of Thracian*. The arguments are elaborate, but not convincing; and the present writer is a firm believer in the value of local tradition.

<sup>41</sup> Her. v. 42.

<sup>42</sup> Beloch, *op. cit.* i. 1, pp. 330-1.

<sup>43</sup> Diod. viii. 17, 21, 23; cf. Strabo, pp. 262, 269, 278.

<sup>44</sup> The oracle relating to Battus in Her. iv. 155 is also suspect. There is a longer alternative in Diod. viii. 29, and since Battus is a Libyan name, both versions carry their own condemnation. For legend of Battus, cf. Gercke, *Hermes*, 1906, p. 448.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. iv, p. 749.

different lines. The need of expansion was a gradual growth, the discovery of a new home was also, probably, a gradual process; but the actual foundation of a colony was a single enterprise, conducted by a single leader and shared in by a definite number of settlers. In the inscriptions of Brea and Coreyra nigra, which have come down to us, clear provisions are made for the allotment of land in the new territory,<sup>52</sup> and these provisions presuppose that only those who were duly recognised as *ἀποικιστάς*, sharers in the colonial enterprise, had a right to put in a claim. We have no such clear evidence for the earlier foundations, and it is possible that the first colonies were established with less minute regulation; but the allotment of land was always a characteristic feature of Greek foundations, and the importance which, as we shall see, was later attached to the possession of 'original lots' suggests that on this point Greek methods of colonisation remained always much the same.<sup>53</sup> The consequences of this fact on the later history of the Greek colonies were, of course, immense. Greek colonies never expanded in the sense in which modern colonies expand. Each *ἀποικία* was from the first a *πόλις*; and, though later fresh colonists (*ἐποικιστοί*) might be invited under promise of receiving recognition by an allotment of land,<sup>54</sup> the control of local politics and local administration must always have remained mainly in the hands of those who could claim the title of 'original possessors'.

As to the actual organisation of the early colonial expeditions we know very little. We have seen that they belong to a time when Greece was ceasing to be a feudal society, when towns were beginning to grow, and when, though the population was still mainly agricultural, power and influence were coming more and more into the hands of those who lived in the towns. In such a society, it is natural to suppose that the leader, round whom a band of emigrants would collect, even though they were mostly drawn from a discontented peasant-class, would be himself a member of the influential classes in the town; this would almost certainly be the case in the later stages of Greek colonisation, when, as may often have happened, the final impulse to emigration was due to the ambitions of enterprising small traders. What is certain is that a Greek colony was never a motley gathering of adventurers grouping themselves together under no definite leadership. It was essentially a state-enterprise, organised for the public good and placed under the leadership of a competent *ἐκτεταγμένος*. Sometimes, apparently for local reasons which we shall discuss, more than one leader was appointed to the new colony. Thus Gela claimed as its 'oecists' Antiphemus of Rhodes and Entimus of Crete, and Himera had as many as three.<sup>55</sup> But we have no reason to think that a Greek colony was ever sent out from the mother-state without its duly appointed leader. Of the thirteen colonies mentioned by Thucydides in the opening chapters of his sixth book, ten are definitely

<sup>52</sup> Cf. the quotations in Zimmern, *Greek Commonwealth*, p. 247.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. *Ar. Pol.* 1319 a.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. *Her.* iv. 138.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. *Th.* vi. 4, 5. Sometimes one man seems to have acted as 'oecist' to two colonies: e.g. Thucydides to Naxos and Leontini (*Th.* vi. 3).



stated to have had 'oecists,' whose names are given. It is only fair to conclude that in all cases our information would be equally precise if it were complete.

Of greater importance is the question, how far the men who went out together under the leadership of an 'oecist' were members of one state. It has sometimes been urged that the settlements made in the early days of Greek colonisation were of a very mixed population.<sup>36</sup> But, on the other hand, no feature of Greek colonial history is more remarkable than the fact that each colony acquired from the first a distinctly individual character, and in particular that each colony felt itself bound by the strongest possible ties to foster its relations with the mother-state. These facts are hardly to be reconciled with the theory that the early settlements grew out of motley gatherings, and it is, therefore, well to examine the evidence on which the theory is based.

In the first place, we must insist once more on the necessity of distinguishing between the earlier and later Greek colonies. There is abundant evidence that in the fifth and fourth centuries the population of many of the chief colonies was of a very mixed character; but this evidence is of no value when we consider the differences which the lapse of three or four hundred years made in the Greek world. Alcibiades, for example, in a famous passage of Thucydides,<sup>37</sup> is made to encourage the Athenians in their plans for a Sicilian expedition by saying that the Sicilian states were lacking in patriotism owing to the mixed character of their populations: "ὄχλους τε γὰρ ξυμμίκτοις πολυανδρούσιν αἱ πόλεις, καὶ ῥαδίαι ἔχουσι τῶν πολιτειῶν τὰς μεταβολὰς καὶ ἐπιδοχάς." History proves Alcibiades to have been wrong, and we must allow for the exaggeration of a partisan; but the fact to which he alludes can easily be explained by reference to the history of Sicily during the preceding century. Just seventy years earlier, Gelon had inaugurated his policy of transplanting to Syracuse large masses of the population of other Sicilian states<sup>38</sup> and the troubled history of the next generation shows how fatal were the after-effects of the tyrant's high-handed policy. Alcibiades might well feel confident that Athenian arms would have little to fear in so distracted a country.<sup>39</sup> Again, it is certain that when the Athenians founded Thurii about ten years before the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war, the new colony attracted all the restless elements of fifth-century Greece.<sup>40</sup> But the causes which gave rise to the foundation of Thurii were by no means so simple as those which occasioned the foundation of the earlier settlements. Thurii was essentially an imperial colony; it was founded not to relieve an excessive population but for a purely political object, and the cautious Pericles seems to have been anxious to make the actual share of Athenians in the enterprise as small as he could. The later history of Thurii serves but to enforce the argument, for, in strong contrast with the loyalty of earlier settlements to

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Heilm, *History of Greece* (Eng. tr.), i. c. 21, note 1.

<sup>37</sup> Th. vi. 17, 2.

<sup>38</sup> Her. vi. 156; cf. Diod. xi. 72.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Freeman, *History of Sicily*, ii. p. 326.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. the list of tribes given in Diod. xii. 11.



their *μητροπόλεις*, the citizens of Thurii severed their connexion with Athens within a few years of the foundation of their city.<sup>51</sup> If we seek for a parallel to this effort at Imperial colonisation we shall find it, not in the history of early Greece but in the second foundation of Epidamnus attempted by Corinth in 435 B.C., or in the foundation of Heraclea in Trachis by Sparta during the early years of her war with Athens. Both of these settlements were intended for purely imperial purposes, and Thucydides tells us that both Sparta and Corinth invited volunteers from the whole Greek world to aid in each enterprise.<sup>52</sup> The days were past when the states of Greece sent out colonists from the sheer necessity of finding some outlet for a growing populace. It had rather now become a difficulty to find men in sufficient numbers to enable them to develop their resources; and, like Australia and Rhodesia in similar circumstances to-day, Corinth and Sparta took refuge in a vigorous campaign of advertisement.

These later experiments in imperial policy do not throw any light on the origins of the earlier Greek settlements, but we have definite evidence that some of the earliest colonies arose from a mixture of different populations. Cyme, the first of all Greek settlements in the West, was claimed in later days (though the tradition has been obscured by popular error) as the joint foundation of Chalcis and Euboean Cyme.<sup>53</sup> Samè in Thrace was founded by Eretria and Andros,<sup>54</sup> and in Sicily Gela was founded by Rhodes and Crete, and Himera by Chalcidians from Zancle together with some Dorian refugees from Syracuse.<sup>55</sup> These are only a few examples which have been preserved to us by the chance of time, and there is no reason to suppose that parallel instances were not to be found in every quarter of the Greek colonial world; but it is important to observe how much these foundations differ from the settlement of Thurii or Heraclea in the fifth century. These colonies were not formed from a medley of several states and races. In each instance the names of the states concerned are mentioned, and it is notable that they had obvious ties of neighbourhood and common interests, which might easily lead to a joint foundation. Chalcis and Cyme were both towns of Euboea, Rhodes and Crete were both Dorian islands in the same quarter of the Mediterranean and on the same lines of commerce. Andros and Eretria were both Ionian, and we know from Strabo that the former was at one time a dependency of the Euboean town;<sup>56</sup> very possibly the prominent part played by Andros in the colonisation of Chalcidice is to be explained by the fact that she was under the dominion of Eretria at the period during which Chalcidice was colonised, and that Eretria used her population to further her own schemes in establishing a sphere of interest on the Thracian peninsula.<sup>57</sup> The only

<sup>51</sup> Cf. Th. vi. 44, 2; vii. 33, 5; Diod. xii. 35; Busolt, *ibid.* p. 537.

<sup>52</sup> Th. i. 27, 1; iii. 92, 4.

<sup>53</sup> Strabo, p. 243, who names Aeolian Cyme; hence the impossible date given by Eusebius (cf. Beloch, *op. cit.* i. 2, p. 242, note 3).

<sup>54</sup> Plut. *Qu. Gr.* 57.

<sup>55</sup> Th. vi. 4, 3; 5, 1.

<sup>56</sup> Strabo, p. 448: *Ἀνδρῶν δὲ καὶ Ἐρετρίας καὶ Τυρῶν καὶ Κελῶν καὶ ἑλλήνων πόλιν.*

<sup>57</sup> I offer this as a possible explanation of a curious fact. The poverty of Andros was proverbial (Her. viii. 3), though it had some

one of the settlements mentioned by Thucydides, which does not conform to these general characteristics, is Himera, and the language in which he describes its foundation is worth noting. He classes it as a colony of Zancle, but adds that, owing to the added element of Syracusan exiles, the language of the settlers was a mixture of the Chalcidic and Dorian dialects, whilst the institutions of the town (τὰ νόμιμα) were purely Chalcidic.<sup>68</sup> This is the language of a writer who has to comment on a curious phenomenon, and it is evident that Thucydides considered the mingling in one state of Dorian and Ionian elements a notable fact. In the preceding chapter he describes what must have been a more common occurrence. Dorian settlers came out to Sicily from Megara, under the leadership of Lamis. After one unsuccessful attempt at colonisation, they agreed to form a common state with the Chalcidians of Leontini: but the partnership soon broke down, and the Dorians were expelled.<sup>69</sup> What must have been the normal procedure is well shown in the foundation of Epidamnus. The town was properly a colony of Corcyra, but help was given by Corcyra's own mother-state, Corinth, who sent an "oecist" and a band of colonists; a few other settlers came from other states, but they were all of Dorian extraction (τοῦ ἄλλου Δωρικοῦ γένους).<sup>70</sup>

It is possible that, if we knew more of the history of the early Greek colonies, we might be able to add other examples no less singular than the story of Himera. Naxos is an example that will occur to everyone, but the Greek settlement at Naxos was in every way a peculiar one.<sup>71</sup> A more difficult problem is presented by the history of Cyrene. When Demonax (c. 540 B.C.) carried through his democratic reforms in that state, we are told that he created three tribes: one for the Theraeans and their *περίοικοι*, one for the Peloponnesians and Cretans, and one for all the islanders.<sup>72</sup> Now Cyrene was, properly speaking, a foundation of Thera. Why, then, do we hear of so many foreign elements? Obviously, the population of the colony was of a very mixed character within a century of its foundation; but we must remember that the history of Cyrene is full of difficult problems. Herodotus tells us that the original settlers remained in possession of their holdings for only two generations, and that in the third generation, under Battus the Fortunate, an offer being made of free distribution of land, Greeks from all parts flocked to the state; and further that, shortly before the reforms of Demonax, 7,000 hoplites had been killed in battle against the Libyans.<sup>73</sup> These facts help to explain the disintegration of the settlement, which seems to have taken place during the early part of the sixth century, though we cannot wholly understand the political and economic causes which lie behind them: and the question is further complicated by the doubt which

fertile land (cf. Pausanias, s.v. Andros). It is hard to see on any other hypothesis how it could afford to found four colonies. For the towns of Chalcidiae, cf. E. Harrison in *C.Q.* 1912.

<sup>68</sup> Th. vi. 5, 2.

<sup>69</sup> Th. vi. 4, 1.

<sup>70</sup> Th. i. 24, 1.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. P. Gardner, *New Chapters in Greek History*, ch. 7.

<sup>72</sup> Her. iv. 161.

<sup>73</sup> Her. iv. 159, 160.



surrounds the earliest Greek settlements in this region.<sup>74</sup> But problems of this nature are in no way surprising when we consider how little we know of Greek colonial history. The broad facts of that history are plain enough. Greek tradition was unanimous in ascribing the foundation of each colony to one or two states, whom custom always honoured as *μητροπόλεις*; and the universal respect accorded to this custom is only made more striking by the single flagrant exception of Corynæ's relations with her mother-state.<sup>75</sup> Such evidence is decisive in showing that the Greek settlements were not the result of haphazard emigration, but had each distinct national and local traditions of their own.

We know practically nothing of the internal movements which led in each case to the emigration of fresh settlers from the mother-country; but what we have said in the preceding chapter as to the main causes of Greek colonisation only confirms our view that in the majority of these foundations the great bulk of the settlers in a new colony came almost entirely from one state. The relations of state with state were much less advanced in Greece in the eighth and seventh centuries than they were in later times, and Thucydides himself remarks on the absence of treaties and alliances in the history of early Greece.<sup>76</sup> When we remember that colonies were usually sent out owing to the pressure of a growing rural population, we find it difficult to admit that more than one state could easily have concerted a joint emigration, except under conditions which made inter-communication peculiarly easy; the joint colonies of Eretria and Andros have already been cited as typical examples. Once an expedition had been decided on, there is every reason to suppose that certain adventurous spirits would offer their services, and we may, perhaps, imagine that these would be among the foremost in enterprise and nautical experience. But the main body of the emigrants would be of one stock, most of them would belong to the party under the pressure of a common necessity; and as they sailed from their mother-country they would go forth to a new home, speaking one language and trained to the same traditional customs.

It would be interesting to know how the settlers of the home-country first came to know of a hopeful site for their new foundation. Greek tradition held that each band of emigrants went forth under the divine mandate of Apollo, and with its destination defined in a more or less cryptic oracle. The tradition contains at least this amount of truth, that the colonists never left their homes without some idea of their future choice. Sites such as those chosen by the Greeks in almost every quarter of the Mediterranean were not chosen by happy accident, and in a recent description of the Greek colonies on the northern shore of the Euxine, von Stern is emphatic that the favourable position of even the most remote sites was evidently well known to the Greek settlers before they eventually made their home there.<sup>77</sup>

<sup>74</sup> Gericke ('Die Myrmidonon in Kyrnos,' in *Hermes*, 1906, p. 478) holds that the *επίσκοποι* in the first tribe represent an older stock of Greek settlers than the colonists from Thera.

<sup>75</sup> Th. i. 25; Her. iii. 49.

<sup>76</sup> Th. i. 15, 3.

<sup>77</sup> E. von Stern, in *Hermes*, 1915, pp. 161-224.



The position of the Sicilian towns will occur to everyone as a striking proof of the eye which Greek colonists had for commanding sites, though it is worth noting that even they could afford to learn by experience. Naxos, the earliest Sicilian colony, is less favourably situated than Syracuse; and in the East the settlers who chose Chalcedon in preference to Byzantium became proverbial for their blindness.<sup>78</sup>

A comparison of the different sites chosen by the Greeks for their settlements in both East and West would, if made from personal experience, be sure to lead to interesting results.<sup>79</sup> Sometimes the settlers seem to have brought with them from their home an inclination for a particular type of site. Massalia must have reminded many of its Phocæan inhabitants of their rocky home in Asia Minor, and both Syracuse and Potidaea suggest some of the characteristics of *himareis Corinthi*. In general, it is important to notice that the Greek colonists looked on fertile land as no less essential to a favourable site than a good harbour. The Greek settler was always a farmer as well as a sailor, and, as we have seen in our former chapter, his interests by land were often greater than his interests by sea.<sup>80</sup> The particular direction which these interests might take varied naturally with the capacity of the land which they cultivated, and the Greek settlers were versatile. In Massalia they grew the vine and olive;<sup>81</sup> Sicily and Italy were famous for their vines and their flocks of sheep; in Cyrene we have seen that the *silphium* made the fortune of a kingdom; and in the northern regions of the Black Sea a corn-trade developed which was eventually to grow into a capitalist monopoly, supplying all Greece with its daily bread.<sup>82</sup> On occasion the Greeks became miners, and the *περαιά* of Thasos afforded for a time the principal gold-supply of the ancient world.<sup>83</sup> So, too, we find an enterprising member of the Bacchiad family becoming prince of an Epirot tribe in order to gain control of the silver mines in their territory.<sup>84</sup> Many of these interests were subsequent to the foundation of the colony, but they show how quick the Greek was to seize upon any opportunity offered him by the land in which he had set up his new home.

Once the settlers had chosen their site, the work which lay before them may be summed up in two lines of the *Odyssey* :—

Ἄμφι δὲ τείχος ἔλασσε πόλει καὶ ἰδείματο οἶκους,  
καὶ νηὸς ποίησε θεῶν καὶ ἐδάσσατ' ἀρούρας.—*Od.* vi. 9-10.

Time has obliterated all traces of the early towns thus built, and the striking remains still to be seen on some of their sites belong to a later period in

<sup>78</sup> Her. iv. 144; Strabo, p. 326.

<sup>79</sup> By far the best and most suggestive is Freeman's account of the Sicilian sites in his *History of Sicily*, vol. I.; cf. also his interesting account of the way in which the Sikels learnt from the Greeks, in vol. III.

<sup>80</sup> Cf. Behch, *op. cit.* i. 1, p. 231, for the contrast with the Phœnician settlements.

<sup>81</sup> Strabo, p. 179. Fishing was also of great

importance—as also, for example, at Taras (cf. Evans, *Homages of Tarentum*, on types of coins) and Byzantium (*Ar. Pol.* 1291 n).

<sup>82</sup> Von Stern, *loc. cit.* p. 202; for further references, cf. T. B. Glover, *From Pericles to Philip*, pp. 394-396.

<sup>83</sup> Perizon, *Ché*, 1910.

<sup>84</sup> Strabo, p. 326.

their development. Only in Naucratis can we form a fairly complete picture of the earliest form of a Greek settlement; but the sites unveiled by the work of the Egyptian Exploration Fund are in no way typical of an ordinary Greek colony. Naucratis was not, indeed, a colony (*ἀποικία*) in the strict sense of the term. Herodotus speaks of it as an *ἐμπόριον*<sup>55</sup> and we can nowhere better understand the distinction between the two terms. The essence of a Greek colony was that it was a fully developed city-state, with territory in possession of the citizens. Naucratis was not a regularly constituted *πόλις*; it had no territory, but had grown up, thanks to the patronage of the Egyptian kings, and, as Professor Percy Gardner well points out, the large building, partly storehouse, it would seem, and partly place of refuge, whose foundations have been unearthed in modern times, show plainly that to the end Greek traders were here strangers living in the midst of enemies, not citizens living in their own home.<sup>56</sup> It has sometimes been thought that many of the later Greek colonies had their origins in *ἐμπόρια* such as that of Naucratis.<sup>57</sup> We know so little about the early days of Greek colonisation that no definite answer can be given to the question. In the more remote regions of Greek colonisation it is quite probable that settlements were made of a less regular type. Only interests of trade were likely to bring colonists so far, and they would be less likely to wish to settle permanently in so distant a home. Herodotus, for example, speaks of the Milesian settlements on the northern shore of the Euxine as *ἐμπόρια*,<sup>58</sup> and one of the Massaliot settlements in Spain was known as Emporium even in the days of Strabo.<sup>59</sup> These settlements were made in the late seventh and early sixth centuries, when Greek colonisation had become almost entirely a policy of commercial interests, and it is probable that the trading-station was then as common as the regular colony along more distant trade-routes, but in the earlier period of colonisation it is more likely that the full type of *ἀποικία* prevailed. Naucratis is not, we must repeat, in any way characteristic of Greek methods of colonisation. Here alone did the Greek settler come in contact with a civilisation more advanced than his own, and it was natural that he should be unable to establish himself with full security on Egyptian soil.

In the foundation of an ordinary *ἀποικία* perhaps the most important act was the allotment of territory. Greek law prescribed that the settler who went out with a band of colonists lost his rights of citizenship at home<sup>60</sup>; the possession of an allotment made him a citizen of the new state. Hence the "*γῆς ἀναδάσμιος*" became the charter of colonial citizenship, and Aristotle tells us that in many towns there was a law forbidding the citizens to sell their original allotments.<sup>61</sup> It was for this reason, too, that

<sup>55</sup> Her. ii. 179.

<sup>56</sup> P. Gardner, *New Chapters in Greek History*, p. 209-211; the exact purpose of this building is not, however, clear. It was not the 'Pantheonion.'

<sup>57</sup> Cf., for example, Zimmern, *Greek Com-*

*munications*, p. 250.

<sup>58</sup> Her. iv. 24.

<sup>59</sup> Strabo, pp. 159-160.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. Saanto, *Das gr. Bürgerrecht*, pp. 62-64.

<sup>61</sup> Ar. Pol. (319 A., cf. 1296 n.



when Arcesilaus wished to attract fresh settlers to Cyrene, he made an offer of a fresh division of land to any who cared to make themselves citizens of his kingdom.<sup>28</sup> An interesting example of the importance attached to the possession of these lots is given by an incident in the history of Sybaris in the fifth century. An attempt was made by the survivors of the old city to make a second foundation with the aid of Greek settlers from all parts under Athenian protection. The new state was formally constituted, but was dissolved almost immediately. It was found that the original Sybarites claimed for themselves the leading magistracies, and thereby so controlled the allotment as to give themselves all the land in the immediate neighbourhood of the town, whilst the strangers were sent to the outlying districts.<sup>29</sup> The foundation of Thurii, which was a consequence of this failure, has been elaborately described by Diodorus, and is a good example of the way in which the democracy of Athens succeeded in imprinting its own character on the constitutions of its subject-states. The land was divided in equal allotments, and all relics of aristocratic tradition were destroyed, as in Cyrene after the reforms of Demonax, by basing the ten tribes of the new constitution on principles of local distribution, not of kindred.<sup>30</sup> What principle underlay the allotments of early Greek colonies we do not know; but in the next chapter we shall see that, where we can trace the political history of a colony, we find it to be largely dependent in early times on the possession of land. This fact alone shows how important was the distribution of allotments at the foundation of the new colony.

One fact connected with the foundation of a Greek colony remains to be discussed. How did the new-comers treat the natives whom they dislodged from their possession? Perhaps no lost chapter of Greek history is so much to be regretted as the narrative of the first efforts made by the Greek settlers to gain a footing in the land which they meant to occupy. A few facts, obscured by tradition, have been preserved in our authorities; others have been only recently revealed by the spade of the excavator, and the fragmentary story which we can thus obtain shows great variety in the fortunes of the Greek settlers in the different spheres of their activity.

As a rule, these settlers came into contact with native tribes of much ruder civilisation than their own. The Scythian tribes of the extreme north-east, the Thracians, the Epirots, the Bruttians and Campanians, the Sikels and Sicans, the Celtic tribes around Massalia, the Iberians of the Spanish coast, and the Libyans near Cyrene were of varied character and culture, but none were the equal of the Greeks. In consequence, a Greek settlement was soon able to maintain its existence, usually, we must imagine, by force of arms, but sometimes owing to the friendly attitude of some native tribe. At Massalia, for example, tradition taught that the first settlers were treated with great kindness by the native prince,<sup>31</sup> and Herodotus tells in a familiar

<sup>28</sup> Her. iv. 163: *εὐρύτους χώρας ἰσχυρὰ ἐστὶ γὰρ ἡδαιονία*.

<sup>29</sup> Diod. xii. 2; Ar. Pol. 1303 A; cf. Busolt, *op. cit.* iii. p. 329.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Busolt, *op. cit.* iii. p. 333. Von Stern (*loc. cit.* pp. 115-7) discusses the allotment of land in the Pontic colony, Chersonesus.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Julian, *Hist. de la Gaule*, i. pp. 201-3.



story how the prince of the Tartessians, Arganthonius, befriended the Phocaean merchants who came to his shores during his long reign.<sup>96</sup> But, on the other hand, the arrival of a Greek colony must often have been a signal for war. The commanding sites so often chosen by the settlers appealed to them, we must presume, mainly for reasons of strategic defence, and the possession of a hill must often have given the settlers a comfortable feeling of security against native raids.<sup>97</sup> Sometimes the neighbourhood of a powerful tribe was a permanent menace to the existence of the colony. The Sikels were, for long, dangerous neighbours to the Greek towns in Sicily, and the towns of southern Italy finally succumbed to the attacks of the tribes of the interior.

Once fairly established, the Greeks rarely sought to extend their influence inland; for the most part, they were content to hold their own, or to plant a series of smaller settlements along an important coast-line. The 'land-empires' of Sybaris, Croton, Syracuse and Marseilles are notable exceptions to this rule, and we shall have more to say of these in the following chapter; but as a rule the Greek confined himself to the coast. This fact forms, perhaps, the most essential difference between Roman and Greek methods of expansion. The Roman *negotiator* was everywhere: he was to be found in Britain, beyond the Rhine, along the Danube, and in the countries of the East. The Greek trader never penetrated far into the interior. Where obvious commercial advantages lay within easy reach, he was too enterprising a speculator to let slip the occasion of profit. On the Adriatic and in Thracia we have seen him controlling the working of mines by native tribes; on the northern shores of the Euxine a whole nation tilled under the direction of the merchants of Olbia<sup>98</sup>; in Cyrenaica the Greeks organised the gathering of the *silphium* by Libyan workers.<sup>99</sup> But all these activities were accidental, and the Greek settlers never cared to leave the coast and make their homes inland. Like the cities of the Asiatic coast, their settlements were nearly always at the head of some trade route by land, which enabled them to act as carriers to the Greek world of goods produced or made in the interior.

Occasionally we have evidence that the Greek settlers reduced the former occupiers of the soil to the level of serfs, in much the same way as the Israelites under Joshua made the Gabaonites their servants. The *Κολάβοι*, mentioned by Herodotus as the slaves of the Syracusan oligarchs, are the most familiar example of this type of serfdom; they seem to have been mainly conquered Sikels, truly 'hewers of wood and drawers of water'.<sup>100</sup> Another example is to be found in the Dorian colony of Heraclea on the south-western shore of the Euxine. Here we are told by Strabo<sup>101</sup>

<sup>96</sup> Her. I. 163; cf. for some admirable criticism Th. Reinach in *Revue des études grecques*, 1892, pp. 40-48.

<sup>97</sup> Cf. for an interesting discussion on this point a controversy between Mr. H. Weld-Blundell and Prof. Studniczka in the *Journal*

of R.S.A. 1895-6, pp. 9-16.

<sup>98</sup> Her. iv. 17, 18; cf. von Stern, *loc. cit.*, pp. 165-172.

<sup>99</sup> Diad. iii. 49.

<sup>100</sup> Her. vii. 155; cf. Busolt, *op. cit.* i. p. 389.

<sup>101</sup> Strabo, p. 542.

that the Greek settlers made serfs of the native tribe of the Mariandynoi, allowing them the right of barter, provided they did not exercise it outside the territory of the colony. We have, I think, no further evidence of similar systems of serfdom; but Greek colonisation rested primarily on conquest, and it is very natural to suppose that relations between land-lord and tiller of the soil may often have coincided with the relations of master and serf. There was certainly nothing in Greek notions of society to discourage the practice. Aristotle would have justified it as being entirely to the advantage of the serf.<sup>100</sup>

Commercial enterprise must often have led the Greeks to enter into the closest relations of daily life with the neighbouring tribes of the interior; and it is important to remember how many advantages in favour of easy intercourse with the natives were granted to the Greek settlers, though they are now for the most part denied to modern colonists. In their relation to the work of assimilation carried out by the Roman Empire, these advantages have been emphasized by the late Lord Cromer in his suggestive essay on *Ancient and Modern Imperialism*<sup>101</sup>; and the Romans had, in this respect, much the same advantages as the Greeks. There was neither religious question nor colour-question in the ancient world. We have already remarked on the difference made by the absence of the former to Greek colonisation. Undisturbed by the duty of preaching a gospel, the Greek was relieved of the many embarrassing questions to which the activities of modern missionaries often give rise. To understand how freely Greeks could intermarry with natives not separated from them by any distinction of colour, we have only to remember that Cimon was the son of a Thracian woman, Hegesipyle, daughter of Olorus, a Thracian prince.<sup>102</sup> If the Philaidæ did not think it beneath them to intermarry with native families, we can understand how many barriers were broken down by the absence of all reason for colour-prejudice; for in every sphere of their colonising activity, the Greeks met races which, though socially and intellectually their inferiors, were still, in feature and colour, of the same general type. Even the Libyan tribes, of which we have been speaking were, it is well to remind ourselves, not negroes, but Berbers.<sup>103</sup>

But, though fusion with native peoples was much facilitated by the absence of prejudice arising from differences either of colour or of religion, it would be a great mistake to think that the Greeks had little regard for the preservation of their national existence. In the more remote regions of the Greek colonial world inter-marriage with natives seems to have been common, and we can well understand that, where intercourse with the rest of the Greek world was rare and difficult, the life of the Greek settlers must gradually have become merged in the life of the surrounding nations. In

<sup>100</sup> Cf. especially *Pol.* 1330 a.

<sup>101</sup> Lord Cromer, *Ancient and Modern Imperialism*, pp. 91-97, 139-143.

<sup>102</sup> *Her.* vi. 40; *Phil. Cim.* 4.

<sup>103</sup> Prof. Percy Gardner has pointed out to me that there is in the British Museum a bronze head from Cyrene, which indicates a distinct mixture of Greek and Berber.



the article on the Pontic colonies to which we have so often referred, von Stern shows how the Greeks of the kingdom of the Thracian Bosphorus gradually took on many of the manners and customs of their Scythian neighbours, until in the fourth century B.C. there arose what he calls a *Mischkultur*, composed partly of Scythian, partly of old Ionian elements, and with many curious analogies to the culture displayed by the Mycenaean tombs.<sup>98</sup> But this was the exception. For the most part, Greeks were jealous of national tradition, and even in these remote regions it is noteworthy that the Dorian town, Chersonesus, a colony of the Pontic Heraclea, was far more tenacious of its national customs than the neighbouring Ionian settlements, and preserved until late in the Christian era its character of a purely Greek πόλις.<sup>99</sup> So, too, in the west, Tarentum and Syracuse preserved their Hellenic atmosphere long after the Achæan and Ionian towns, with the exception of Naples, had become merged in a common Italian culture. Even in Naples the Ionians were not able to preserve entirely their national integrity: for, on the occasion of some internal dissension, they called in settlers from Campania to take the place of those who had been expelled, and were thus forced, as Strabo puts it, 'having made enemies of their friends, to dwell in the most friendly relations with their most deadly enemies.'<sup>100</sup> It is all the more remarkable that, even in Strabo's time, Naples should still be the town where most traces of Greek life were to be found in Italy.

In conclusion, it will be of interest to quote from a very different source similar testimony as to the tenacious quality of the Greek character and genius. Some years ago a bust was discovered in the south of Spain, near the site of an ancient Phocæan colony. After some discussion as to its *provenance*, it was assigned by a distinguished French critic to an unknown local sculptor of the fifth century B.C., seeking to imitate at a distance the work of his famous contemporaries on the Greek mainland. The words in which the critic sums up his judgment will be of interest in connexion with our subject, as showing how Greek art could still preserve its native genius in the midst of foreign influences: 'Il est espagnol par le modèle et les modes, phénicien peut-être par les bijoux; il est grec, purement grec, par le style.'<sup>101</sup>

### III.—Political Development and Relations with the Mother-State.

Thanks to the discovery in modern times of the Aristotelian *Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία*, we are beginning to understand how little we know of the constitutional history of Greece in the seventh and sixth centuries; and (a result of no less importance), we are also beginning to realise that the

<sup>98</sup> Cf. von Stern, *loc. cit.* pp. 190-204.

<sup>99</sup> Cf. *ibid.* pp. 173-7, 223.

<sup>100</sup> Strabo, p. 246. The whole chapter is of unusual interest.

<sup>101</sup> Th. Reinach, 'La tête d'Éleus au musée du Louvre,' *Revue des études grecques*, 1898, p. 39.



constitutional history of Greece is not to be summed up in the history of the Athenian and Spartan constitutions. For the history of Greek colonisation Corinth, Megara, Eretria, Chalcis, Miletus, and Phocaea are of greater importance than either Athens or Sparta. Yet of these towns Corinth is the only one where we can trace, even in outline, a continuous history of constitutional development; and of the colonies founded in the eighth and seventh centuries, Syracuse and Cyrene are the only two of whose constitutional history we have any knowledge before the fifth century B.C. As to the history of other colonies, we have only stray statements, sometimes of doubtful historical value. At Massalia, for example, we know that a stringently narrow oligarchy was gradually altered to a more democratic type of government under a council of 600.<sup>119</sup> At Taras a hereditary monarchy was continued until the end of the sixth century, and we can trace some points of resemblance between its aristocratic system and the constitution of its mother-city, Sparta.<sup>121</sup> At the Western Locri and at Catane we hear of the law-givers Zaleucus and Charondas,<sup>122</sup> and at Croton of the political influence of Pythagoras.<sup>123</sup> But in none of these states have we material enough for even the skeleton of a constitutional history. Is it too much to hope that the papyri will yet give back to us some of the 150 odd *πολιτεῖαι* attributed in ancient times to Aristotle, and of which only such tantalizing fragments remain?

It is not only in matters relating directly to the constitutional history of the Greek colonies that the absence of evidence makes itself felt. Our ignorance as to the constitutional history of their *μητροπόλεις* in the seventh and sixth centuries is an almost equally grave loss; for the political development of the colonies was inevitably governed by two principles. On the one hand, there was the natural desire of the settlers to reproduce, as far as possible, in their new homes the familiar institutions of the mother-city. On the other hand, there was the reaction of a society where the exploitation of the resources of a new country counted for more than the traditions of the past and of family descent. Had we fuller knowledge of the early political history of the Greek states on the mainland and in Asia Minor, we should be in a position to control the working of at least one of these principles; but only in the history of Corinth and her colonies is it possible to do this in any detail. For the rest, we must confine ourselves to broad generalisations, prefaced by the frank admission that they are based on what must often be very insufficient evidence.

As far as our knowledge justifies a conclusion, it would seem that the great age of Greek colonisation belongs to a period when the Greek political world was almost entirely in the hands of feudal aristocracies.<sup>124</sup> At Corinth we know that the Bacchiad clan held power during the great days of early

<sup>119</sup> Strabo, p. 179; Ar. *Pol.* 1305<sup>a</sup>; 1321<sup>a</sup>;  
cf. Busolt, *op. cit.* i, p. 435.

<sup>121</sup> Cf. Busolt, *op. cit.* i, p. 410.

<sup>122</sup> Strabo, p. 260; Diod. xii, 12-22.

<sup>123</sup> Bury, *History of Greece*, pp. 317-318;

cf. Strabo, p. 384.

<sup>124</sup> Holm, *History of Greece* (English translation), i, pp. 267-272, gives, to my mind, the best summary of the Greek political world in the days of colonisation.

Corinthian commerce,<sup>115</sup> and we constantly hear of its members in connexion with the history of the early colonies. Archias, the 'oecist' of Syracuse, Chersicrates, 'oecist' of Coreyra, and Phalius, 'oecist' of Epidamnus, were all of this clan; we have already referred to yet a fourth Bacchiad who became prince of an Epirot tribe.<sup>116</sup> So, too, in Megara it seems that the foundation of her colonies both in East and West goes back to the period of that oligarchy which was finally overthrown by Theagenes.<sup>117</sup> For Eretria we have the authority of Aristotle<sup>118</sup> that the period of her colonising activity coincides with the rule of the oligarchic Hippobotae, and we may presume that the colonies of her neighbour and rival Chalcis were due to the similar oligarchy which flourished there at the same period. Of the Achaean cities, to which Sybaris, Croton, and other cities of Southern Italy traced their origin, we know less. Strabo tells us<sup>119</sup> that a hereditary monarchy lasted here for long after the Dorian invasion of the Peloponnese, and it is possible that, when Sybaris and Croton were founded, the Achaeans were still a united state under a feudal king; but this is not the place to enter into a discussion of the many problems connected with the Achaean colonies.<sup>120</sup> Later, when Pythagorean doctrines had caused trouble among the states of Magna Graecia, it was to the home-country that the colonists looked for reform, and they then found a democratic constitution established in Achaea.<sup>121</sup> Most puzzling of all is the history of Miletus. Here we get glimpses into a confused sequence of political disturbances. The old hereditary monarchy seems to have been succeeded almost immediately by a tyranny which was in its turn followed by a period of *στάσις* between two parties, known to later history as *Πλουρίς* and *Χειρομάχα*.<sup>122</sup> But here we have no means of tracing the historical connexion between these varying political changes at home and the great work of Milesian colonisation in the eighth, seventh, and sixth centuries. It is only worth noting that the political parties which we have just named obviously indicate a society in which commercial interests have become of vital importance; and we have already remarked that the foundation of the later colonies of Miletus on the northern and western shores of the Euxine was certainly due to the commercial instinct of merchants who wished to open up the trade in corn.

The evidence which we have thus briefly examined suggests that the Greek colonies were founded by states still in process of development from a purely feudal to a commercial and oligarchic stage of political government. It is, therefore, natural to find that the little evidence which we possess as to the earliest political history of the colonies themselves points to a similar transitional character. Hereditary monarchies were not unknown in the Greek settlements. We have mentioned that of Taras; the kings of Cyreno

<sup>115</sup> Strabo, p. 378.

<sup>116</sup> Strabo, p. 260; Th. i. 24, 2; Strabo, p. 326.

<sup>117</sup> Plat. *Qu. gr.* 47.

<sup>118</sup> *apud* Strabo, p. 447.

<sup>119</sup> Strabo, p. 384.

<sup>120</sup> Cf. Beloch, *op. cit.* I. 1, pp. 233-6, for one view.

<sup>121</sup> Strabo, *loc. cit.*

<sup>122</sup> Nic. Dam. fr. 34 (*F.H.G.* III.); Plat. *Qu. gr.* 32; cf. Her. v. 28-9.



are an even more conspicuous example.<sup>122</sup> In Syracuse, too, we hear of a tradition (which, though obscure, is apparently of good authority) that there was a king in the early days of the city's history.<sup>123</sup> But, in general, it seems safe to say that the characteristic form of government in a Greek colony of the seventh and sixth centuries was government by oligarchy. Even in those states where we know that a hereditary monarchy maintained itself for generations, we may suspect that the real government was in the hands of the wealthier classes. But it is important to note that the oligarchies usual in the colonies seem to have been formed on a different principle from the oligarchies which became powerful in Greece during the seventh century. In Corinth and Athens we hear of government by a ring of powerful families, belonging to γένεα of high descent, and it is probable that similar oligarchies existed in many of the other Greek states. But in the colonies political power seems from the first to have been associated rather with wealth than with noble lineage. Our earliest precise information comes to us from Herodotus, who speaks of an early oligarchy at Syracuse, in the hands of landlords (γεωμοροι).<sup>124</sup> We can only conjecture that the same property-qualification underlay the oligarchic constitutions of Massalia and the Italian towns. At a later date we can trace more definitely the political influence of large commercial families, whose income was derived from their possession of land, in the colonies of the Tauric Chersonese.<sup>125</sup>

No general law can be laid down as to the history and decline of these land-owning oligarchies. In cities where commerce on a large scale was caused by the prosperity of the colony, the growth of a democracy must have followed inevitably, according to the universal rule of Greek history. The town-dwelling class thus formed, analogous in all respects to the *παιτικὸς ὄχλος* which filled the Piræus in the fifth and fourth centuries, had other interests than either the class of land-owners or their peasant-serfs, and its growth was bound to be a disturbing influence in the politics of their country. The results can be most clearly traced in the political history of Syracuse, where a δῆμος owing its prosperity to commerce and industry grew to power during the sixth century, proved strong enough to overthrow the ascendancy of the γεωμοροι at the opening of the next century, and though they had to submit for a generation to the rule of Gelon and his successors, were finally able to expel their tyrants and to make Syracuse a democratic state. We have less information as to the political history of other colonies, but we may suspect that the same cause was at work in the democratic revolution which overthrew the Battid rule in Cyrene towards the middle of the sixth century.<sup>126</sup> In the political troubles associated with the name of Pythagoras in the cities of Magna Græcia, and in the gradual transformation of the Massaliot oligarchy to a constitution more nearly approaching the

<sup>122</sup> Cf. Beloch, *op. cit.* i. 2, pp. 219-217.

<sup>123</sup> Van Stjern, *loc. cit.* p. 171.

<sup>124</sup> Cf. Büsch, *op. cit.* i. p. 389. The authority is Hippys of Rhegium.

<sup>125</sup> Cf. Her. iv. 161-2; cf. Beloch, *op. cit.* i. 1.

<sup>126</sup> Her. vii. 153.



Aristotelian ideal.<sup>128</sup> In this stage of their political development, the Greek colonies follow closely the political history of the mainland during the sixth and fifth centuries, though it is noteworthy that, whilst in Corinth, Sicily, Megara and Athens the *τυραννίς* is associated politically with the rise of democracy, in Sicily Gelon and Theron appear as the opponents of the lower classes, ruling over both rich and poor, but with a marked preference for the rich.<sup>129</sup>

The rise of the *τυραννίς* in Sicily during the crisis of the Persian wars and its revival almost a century later, during the crisis of the war with Carthage, are two of the most notable incidents in Greek history, suggesting the recognition in the West of a national ideal which was still undeveloped in the East.<sup>130</sup> But it is well to remember that the Sicilian "tyrannies" of the fifth and fourth centuries are not characteristic of Greek colonial history as a whole. Only in one other region of the Greek colonial world do we meet with a parallel phenomenon. Towards the close of the fifth century B.C. the Greek colonies on the Scythian coast-line fell under the rule of a capable and enterprising dynasty of soldier-princes. Its founder, Spartocus, seems to have been a Thracian soldier of fortune, and the kingdom which he established presents many interesting analogies to the kingdom of Dionysius. Like Dionysius, Spartocus founded his rule on a constitutional basis; like the Sicilian tyrant, he established his position by the prestige of his conquests; but, unlike him, he succeeded in founding a dynasty which was to last for many generations.<sup>131</sup> The cause of such parallel achievements is not far to seek. Sicily and the Tauric Chersonese, despite the many contrasts which exist between the two countries, have this in common that they are regions geographically separate from the rest of the Greek world and constantly under the menace of grave peril from hostile neighbours. Under such conditions, the rule of a military despot becomes almost a necessity, and, once established, is easily consolidated. Had the Cyrenaica produced a general as capable as either Dionysius or Spartocus, it would have fallen a less easy prey to the conquering power of Persia.<sup>132</sup>

Where the personal despotism of a tyrant cannot be traced, we sometimes have evidence that a single city established her empire over adjoining Greek towns in order to unite them in face of a common foe. This is most notable in the history of Sybaris and Croton, where the two rival cities established a regular *ἀρχή* by land, each with the object of controlling an important trade-route.<sup>133</sup> But other instances, less famous in history, are also to be found. Massalia, most remote of all the great Greek colonies, seems to have held sway over all the Greek towns around the opening of the Rhone Valley. For the most part they were her own colonies, founded, to use Strabo's expressive phrase,<sup>134</sup> as 'outworks' against the Iberians to the

<sup>128</sup> *Ar. Pol.* 1305 a.

<sup>129</sup> *Her.* vii. 137; cf. Bury, *History of Greece*, p. 300.

<sup>130</sup> Cf. the very interesting speech of Hermodrates, in *Th.* iv. 59-61.

<sup>131</sup> Von Stern, *loc. cit.* pp. 177-189.

<sup>132</sup> *Her.* iv. 290-294.

<sup>133</sup> Cf. Busolt, *op. cit.* i. pp. 400-402.

<sup>134</sup> Strabo, p. 180; *ἐκτοχίσματα*.

west and the Ligurians to the east and north; and it is evident from Strabo's description that they were mere dependencies of the great central town, possessing no independent policy of their own, but used by the Massaliots as outposts from which to hold in check the aggressions of her restless neighbours. So, too, we find that Rhegium, in the days of her strength, had several towns subject to her control,<sup>135</sup> and it is interesting to note that in the days of Xenophon both Cotyora and Trapezus paid tribute to Sinope.<sup>136</sup> Apparently here also the great emporium had established her empire over the Milesian settlements of the Pontic coast-line. Sometimes, too, where no city was strong enough to impose its rule on the neighbouring colonies all would group themselves together in a federal union under the presidency (nominal or otherwise) of a single town. The confederacy of the Chalcidic towns under the leadership of Olynthus is a familiar example of this policy.<sup>137</sup> During the fourth century a more durable federation was formed by the Corinthian colonies in Acarnania, under the presidency of Stratos.<sup>138</sup>

The great political importance of some of these colonies naturally suggests the question whether the mother-states made any attempt to interfere in the policy of their imperial daughters. As a rule, the answer which modern scholars give to this question is in the negative. It is pointed out, very justly, that with ancient methods of navigation it was impossible for the mother-country to exercise any effective supremacy over colonies divided from it by a long tract of sea, and a comparison has been made in this connexion between the position of the Greek colonies in the ancient world and the relations of England and America in the eighteenth century.<sup>139</sup> But we can rarely trust to a generalisation concerning Greek history, and we have no reason to believe that every Greek colony stood to its *μητρόπολις* in exactly the same relation as its fellow-colonies. To give but one example, it is plain that those Massaliot settlements which Strabo describes as *ἐπιτεχίσματα* must have been far more closely dependent on the government of Massalia than more distant settlements, such as HemeroSCOPEION or EMPORION.<sup>140</sup> In general we know too little of Greek colonial history to be able to illustrate this conclusion in detail,<sup>141</sup> but by a fortunate chance, a few statements of great interest have come down to us, relating to the history

<sup>135</sup> Strabo, p. 258: *ἐργασίας ἑξῆς εἶχεν*; cf. Deloche, *op. cit.* I, p. 368, n. 3.

<sup>136</sup> Xen. *Anab.* v. 5, 10.

<sup>137</sup> Cf. Bury, *History of Greece*, pp. 558-60; Freeman, *History of Federal Government*, pp. 190-197.

<sup>138</sup> Cf. a remarkable paper by Dr. Imhoof-Höfer, 'Die Münzen Akarnaniens,' in *Nam. Zeit.* 1878, pp. 11-18.

<sup>139</sup> Sir George Cornewall Lewis, quoted by Cromer, *op. cit.* p. 8, n. 1.

<sup>140</sup> Strabo, p. 159. Th. Reinach (*loc. cit.* pp. 51-6) thinks that these were originally

settlements of Phocaea, drawn later into the sphere of Massaliot influence.

<sup>141</sup> Prof. Myers (*loc. cit.* p. 63) says that Miletus 'alone among the great colonising states of the Greek world seems, until its fall, to have kept some kind of hand over its factories.' I am disposed to think that his view of the relations between Miletus and her colonies is correct, though I do not know of any precise evidence on the point; but I cannot allow that Miletus was alone in maintaining these relations.



of the Corinthian colonies, and these give us light as to the political relations of Corinth with her colonists.

Thucydides puts into the mouth of a Corinthian speaker the claim that they were better loved by their colonies than any other Greek state.<sup>142</sup> This statement might seem to imply that Corinth was unusually liberal in her colonial policy; yet we have evidence that she insisted repeatedly and strongly on her imperial claims. Her standing feud with Corecra, though probably due to the fact that Corecra interfered with her Italian trade,<sup>143</sup> had its immediate cause in an act of dishonour done to her by the colony in the reign of Periander.<sup>144</sup> Under Cypselus her political relations with Corecra seem to have been unusually close, for to his reign belongs the foundation of Anactorium in which Corecraeans and Corinthians took an equal part<sup>145</sup>; though at the same time we have evidence of a hostile faction in the island, for the Bacchiads, whom Cypselus expelled from Corinth, took refuge in Corecra.<sup>146</sup> Epidamnus, too, as we have already seen, was a joint colony of the two states, and one of the proximate occasions of the Peloponnesian War was due to Corinthian interference in the domestic politics of this town.<sup>147</sup> So, too, in Potidaea we find that Corinth was watchful over her rights. In spite of the fact that the town was a subject of the Athenian empire, she continued to send her overseers from home as an assertion of her privilege as *μητρόπολις*.<sup>148</sup> But these incidental acts of policy are not the only points of interest in the colonial history of Corinth; here, more than anywhere else, we can trace the influence of home-politics on colonial policy. Of the colonies founded in the west by Corinth, Corecra and Syracuse belong certainly to the early period of Bacchiad ascendancy; almost certainly, also Epidamnus, for its *οἰκιστής* was a member of the Bacchiad family.<sup>149</sup> To three minor settlements—Chalcis and Molycreia at the mouth of the Saronic gulf, and Solium opposite Leucas—no definite date is assignable. Anactorium, Leucas, Apollonia and Ambracia were all founded under the Cypselid rule<sup>150</sup>; and to the same period belongs also the foundation of Potidaea in Chalcidice.<sup>151</sup> If we consult the map, we shall see that this chronological difference is parallel to an obvious difference in policy. The early colonies were founded on sites sufficiently fair to attract settlers of themselves. The later colonies are grouped in one region, and, from what we know of the general policy of the Cypselids, we have every right to say that their foundation was deliberately intended to strengthen the Corinthian hold on the trade-route already formed by the establishment of the earlier settlements.

Bearing in mind this development in Corinth's colonial policy, it is interesting to see how active the Cypselid tyrants were in securing a firm

<sup>142</sup> Th. i. 38, 3.

<sup>143</sup> Th. i. 37, 4.

<sup>144</sup> Her. iii. 48.

<sup>145</sup> Th. i. 55, 1; Strabo, p. 432.

<sup>146</sup> Nic. Dam. fr. 58.

<sup>147</sup> Th. i. 25-6.

<sup>148</sup> Th. i. 56, 2.

<sup>149</sup> Th. i. 24, 1; but Eusebius gives O. 38, 4 (= 625 B.C.).

<sup>150</sup> Strabo, p. 432; Nic. Dam. fr. 58.

<sup>151</sup> Nic. Dam. fr. 69.



hold on their colonies. Not only did they make new settlements; they took care that the government of these settlements should be entrusted to members of their own family, and we find a whole series of viceroys of the various colonies all belonging to the royal house.<sup>152</sup> Gorgos, son of Cypselus, was made 'oecist' of Ambracia, and the same tyrant's two illegitimate sons, Pylades and Echiades, were made 'oecists' of Leucas and Anactorium.<sup>153</sup> At Corcyra we find in succession as viceroys three sons of Periander—Lycophron, Nicolaus, and Cypselus—as well as his nephew, Psammetichus;<sup>154</sup> and Potidaea, only founded during the reign of Periander, received as its 'oecist' yet another of his sons, Evagoras.<sup>155</sup> There is, therefore, plain evidence that Corinth, at least during the rule of the Cypselids, favoured a strongly imperial policy in her relations with her colonies; and in face of this evidence it is tempting to accept a conjecture recently made by Mr. Ernest Harrison in the *Classical Quarterly*.<sup>156</sup> He points out that, whereas the consecrated phrase in Thucydides to describe the origin of a colony is simply ἀποικία τινῶν, an exception is to be found in his method of describing some of the Corinthian settlements. Apollonia, Epidamnus, and Molycreia are described in the ordinary way;<sup>157</sup> but Chalcis is Κορινθίων πόλις, Sollium is Κορινθίων πόλισμα, and of Anactorium it is simply said: ἦν δὲ κοινὸν Κερκυραίων καὶ ἐκείνων.<sup>158</sup> Having regard to the peculiar colonial policy of Corinth, this difference in terminology may well correspond with a difference in the relations of these settlements with the mother-city. In that case, we might perhaps add Chalcis and Sollium to the list of colonies planted by the Cypselids along the trade-route from Corinth to the west; but here we are in the realm of pure conjecture.

The colonial policy of the Cypselids, which we have discussed, inevitably suggests comparison with the policy of the Pisistratids at a slightly later date. Here, too, we find an imperial policy consistently pursued, and a system of viceroys, appointed to support the central government: Hegesistratus at Sigeion, and Miltiades in the Thracian Chersonese.<sup>159</sup> As it happens, the evidence of coins helps to throw light on the success attained in the pursuance of each policy. Of the Corinthian colonies, Corcyra issued no independent coinage until after the fall of the tyrants: she then marked her revolt from the control of Corinth by issuing staters on the Aeginetan, not the Corinthian, standard.<sup>160</sup> Ambracia, Anactorium, and Leucas, all Cypselid foundations on the other hand, issue during the fifth century Corinthian staters;<sup>161</sup> and the coinage of Leucas, in particular, conforms so closely to the Corinthian, not only in the large staters but also in its smaller denominations, that numismatists have concluded<sup>162</sup> that 'it remained longer

<sup>152</sup> The Cypselid family is discussed by Baloch, *op. cit.* I. 2, pp. 274, etc.

<sup>153</sup> Nic. Dam. fr. 58; Strabo, p. 323.

<sup>154</sup> Her. iii. 33; Nic. Dam. fr. 60.

<sup>155</sup> Nic. Dam. fr. 60.

<sup>156</sup> C.Q. 1912, p. 177, where the evidence is fully given.

<sup>157</sup> Th. I. 26, 2; 24, 2; iii. 102, 2.

<sup>158</sup> Th. I. 108, 4; ii. 30, 1; I. 53, 1.

<sup>159</sup> Her. v. 94; vi. 34-39, 103.

<sup>160</sup> Cf. Gardner, in *Brit. Mus. Catalogue* (Thessaly), pp. 47-49 (Introduct.).

<sup>161</sup> Imhoof-Blumer, *op. cit.* p. 11.

<sup>162</sup> Cf. Head, in *B.M.C. (Corinth)*, p. 63 (Introduct.).

than any other Corinthian colony in intimate political relations with the mother-city.<sup>161</sup> So, too, Sigeion seems always to have maintained, amid the vicissitudes of the Athenian empire, a close connexion with Athens; in contrast with most of the subject-states it issued no independent coinage during the whole of the fifth century, and in the fourth century it remained faithful to the Athenian type of Athena and her owl.<sup>162</sup>

The political relations which we can trace between Corinth and her colonies become all the more significant when we remember that only here has the veil of our ignorance been lifted; if light were let in on other points, we might well find that Greek colonisation has a more varied history than we know at present. But, at the same time, we must not lose sight of a fundamental principle in Greek politics, clearly stated by the Corcyraean ambassador at Athens: οὐκ ἐπὶ τῷ δούλοι, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ ὁμοίῳ τοῖς λειπομέ-  
τοις εἶναι ἐκπέμπονται ἀποικοί.<sup>163</sup> Even where the policy of the μητρόπολις was most imperial, Greek sentiment always recognised that a colony had the right of a distinct political existence, under the suzerainty of the mother-city; for every Greek colony was also a πόλις in the fullest sense of the word, and, when the power of the μητρόπολις began to wane, it needed no internal reform to give the colony a self-contained existence in the eyes of the Greek political world. Leucas and Anactorium, for example, were as truly πόλεις when subject-colonies of Corinth in the sixth century, as when in the fourth century they assumed complete independence of the mother-state and became autonomous members of the Achaean League. Yet, even where political ties were weakened by distance or time, there always remained the bond caused by universal Greek religious sentiment. A colony, it was felt, owed duty to its μητρόπολις, and any act of hostility or contempt was looked on as an act of impiety.<sup>164</sup> This religious feeling was fostered by an annual ceremony. The οἰκιστής of each colony was by Greek custom a citizen of the mother-city; on his death he received worship as a hero, and games were sometimes instituted in his honour.<sup>165</sup> No greater act of revolt against the authority of the home-country could be accomplished than the discontinuance of these religious ceremonies. When the Amphipolitans wished to sever all connexion between their city and Athens, they cast down the shrine of their 'oecist' Hagnon, and paid honour instead to Brasidas as the deliverer of their city.<sup>166</sup> So, too, the men of Thurii symbolised their withdrawal from Athenian influence by requesting the Delphic god to act as their οἰκιστής;<sup>167</sup> they wished to emphasise the fact that they were now an international state.

Seeing that the ultimate bond of union between mother-city and colony was thus of a religious nature, it is not surprising to note that those colonies founded in the early centuries, when the Greek religion was still a potent

<sup>161</sup> *Hist. Num.* (ed. 2), p. 549; cf. P. Gardner, in *J.H.S.* 1913, pp. 147-188.

<sup>162</sup> *Th.* i. 34, 1; cf. the corresponding Corinthian coin (*Ibid.* 33, 2): *Ἰσὶ τῷ ἑταίρῳ* *τὸ* *ἐλευθέρῳ* *καὶ* *τὸ* *ἐλευθέρῳ* *θεωμά(σθαι)*.

<sup>163</sup> *Her.* vii. 31; viii. 22; cf. *Th.* v. 106, 1.

<sup>164</sup> *Her.* vi. 38.

<sup>165</sup> *Th.* v. 11, 1.

<sup>166</sup> *Diod.* xii. 33; cf. *Th.* i. 25, 1 (*Epistamnus*).



force, remained to the end more loyal than any of the later settlements, founded for the most part on principles of imperial, not of national, policy. The shock given to Greek sentiment by the unfilial action of Coreyra is of itself sufficient to prove that the general attitude of the colonies in the early days of Greek history was one of dutiful respect, if not of actual submission.<sup>169</sup> Very different was the history of the colonies founded during the fifth century when religious feeling had been undermined by rationalistic propaganda. Amphipolis and Thurii were both lost to Athens within thirty years of their foundation, and Spartan influence at Heraclea in Trachis was from the first of doubtful quality.<sup>170</sup> The Corinthian ambassadors had, by contrast, good reason to boast of their friendly relations with their colonies. Syracuse was founded in the eighth century, yet, when four centuries later she fell on evil days, it was to Corinth that she looked for help, and it was in Corinth that she found a Timoleon.

Closely connected with the sentiment of loyalty to the mother-state was the more general feeling of loyalty to kindred of the same race. The division of the Greek race into Dorians, Ionians and Achaeans formed one of the most profound influences in the whole current of Greek history. In particular, the rivalry between Dorians and Ionians is of peculiar importance for the history of Greek colonisation. In our written authorities this rivalry is sometimes alluded to in most pointed terms, and we know that it was a powerful factor in Greek political history of the fifth century B.C. The Athenian *ἀρχή* was largely built up on the sentiment of Ionian kindred,<sup>171</sup> and it was fear of a Dorian alliance between Syracuse and Sparta which was one of the chief motives in the Sicilian policy of Athens.<sup>172</sup> But if we turn to the map and mark the different regions in which the two races established their colonies we shall at once be struck by an apparent unity in the methods of each. In almost every region of the Greek colonial world, the two races are to be found represented on our maps; but it seems everywhere plain from the grouping of their settlements that the sites were chosen in a spirit of conscious opposition. In Sicily, the north east was originally almost entirely in the hands of Ionians, whilst the east and south were settled by Dorians. In the Aegean, the Ionians went to the north, the Dorians to the south, and there is here little clashing of interests; but, on the shores of the Euxine, though Miletus succeeded in gaining almost a monopoly of the more distant coasts, Megara succeeded in encircling the entrance to the Propontis with a ring of her settlements. A glance at the geographical position of these and other Greek colonies will show at once that of the two races the Ionians were by far the more enterprising. On the Euxine, in the northern waters of the Aegean, beyond the straits of Messina to Gaul and Spain, and (if we may trust Herodotus and Plutarch),<sup>173</sup> up the coast line of the Adriatic, it was Ionian sailors who everywhere led the way; and though their earliest enter-

<sup>169</sup> Th. i. 25, 4.

<sup>170</sup> Th. ii. 93, 4.

<sup>171</sup> Cf. Th. v. 96, 1.

<sup>172</sup> Th. vi. 8, 2; cf. iv. 61, 2.

<sup>173</sup> Her. i. 183; Plut. *Qu. Gr.* II. Beloch (*op. cit.* i. I, p. 247, n. 4) rejects this tradition; but, if false, how are we to account for its acceptance?



prises date back well into the eighth century, even in the seventh century Samian and Phocaean adventurers still found new ports to explore.<sup>174</sup> There is, therefore, much point in a comparison, made by a distinguished French scholar, between the early Ionian settlers and the Portuguese adventurers of the fifteenth century,<sup>175</sup> though we must always bear in mind that it is not in any way a comparison of degree. But it would be a grievous mistake were we to give to the Ionians alone the whole credit of success in the history of Greek colonisation. It is true that only in the Cyrenaica do the Dorians appear in the character of explorers; but though later in the field, and of a less enterprising spirit, their instinct for colonisation suggested to them a choice of sites even more remarkable than those occupied by the Ionians. Their insight in this respect amounted, indeed, to genius. Chalcedon and Byzantium, Potidea, Taras and Syracuse—these are sites of which any people might well be proud. For the most part they belong to the later period of Greek colonisation, and it will be noticed how plainly the latest point to a deliberate policy of getting control of trade-routes. Chalcedon, Byzantium and Potidea, no less than the Corinthian outposts along the shores of the Adriatic, commanded routes by which Ionians must inevitably pass on their voyages to and from their more distant colonies. Sites such as these were not chosen at random.

From the position of many of their colonies, it would seem that the Dorian states aimed deliberately, at least in their later foundations, at acquiring control of Ionian routes. That in certain regions they succeeded in doing so would seem to appear from the evidence of early Greek standards of coinage. If coinage was not itself an Ionian invention, the Ionians were, at all events, the first Greeks to make a regular use of money; yet it is curious to note that, in many important regions of the ancient Greek world, the Dorian standards of Aegina and Corinth prevailed over the Ionian standards of Euboea and the cities of the Asiatic coast. In Italy and Sicily, Chalcis was well ahead of Corinth in the foundation of her colonies, and we should naturally expect that the Euboic standard would thus have every chance of becoming the dominant currency of Magna Graecia; yet the earliest Italian coinage was struck on the Corinthian standard and in direct imitation of Corinthian fabric, and there is evidence that, before the existence of a local currency, Corinthian staters were in free circulation through the towns of Italy.<sup>176</sup> Only in Chalcidic Cyme and Rhégium, and Phocaean Elea do Ionian standards appear.<sup>177</sup> Again, in the Pontic colonies the influence of Miletus was supreme from the eighth century onwards; yet the earliest coins found in this area are of the Aeginetan standard,<sup>178</sup> pointing clearly to the fact that Aeginetan influence in the Euxine, for which Herodotus affords evidence in the time of Xerxes,<sup>179</sup> goes back to the earliest

<sup>174</sup> Her. iv. 152.

<sup>175</sup> Th. Reinach, *op. cit.* pp. 52-3.

<sup>176</sup> Hill, *Historical Greek Coins*, p. 22; *Handbook of Greek Coins*, p. 152.

<sup>177</sup> *Ibid.* Num. p. 35; p. 88.

<sup>178</sup> Cf. Wroth, in *B.M.C. (Pontus)*; but Prof. P. Gardner (*History of Ancient Coinage*, p. 171) suggests that at first the Pontic cities used the electrum coinage of Miletus.

<sup>179</sup> Her. vii. 147.

days of Greek commerce. But the most remarkable instance of Dorian commercial preponderance is to be found in the district of Chalcidice. Thanks to the acute criticism of Mr. Harrison,<sup>126</sup> we now know that this region was exclusively in the hands of Eretria and her dependencies until the foundation of Potidaea about 600 B.C. The cities of Chalcidice do not begin to issue coins until about 500 B.C. Their currency belongs to the Euboic-Attic standard; but, unlike Athens or Euboea, they divided their stater into three, not two, drachms, and this division is an obvious imitation of the Corinthian system.<sup>127</sup> When we remember how comparatively late was the foundation of Potidaea, we shall find it all the more striking that a single town should, in the course of a century, have been able to influence the whole commercial system of Chalcidice to the extent of imposing on them the divisions of Corinthian currency; and we shall also admit that Periander was well advised in the choice of a site for his new colony. These instances of colonial policy suggest a continuous and successful effort on the part of the leading Dorian states to force themselves into the highways of Greek commerce. M. Reinach has compared the Ionian settlers with the Portuguese. Those who remember the rapidity with which the Portuguese, in the great days of European expansion, won and lost their hold on the trade with the East, will perhaps, in the light of these facts, find an added point in his suggestive comparison.

#### IV.—General Summary.

In conclusion, it will be well to summarise briefly the views that have been put forward, and to suggest again certain obvious points of comparison between Greek colonial history and the history of modern colonisation.

In the first place we have seen that the fundamental cause of Greek colonisation was not, as in more modern times, the sudden discovery of unexplored regions or the prospect of commercial gain. It was rather the constant pressure of a population outgrowing the productive capacity of land at home, and chafing, too, at the restraints of a social system wholly founded on the hereditary tenure of land. This pressure was a direct result of the increasing stability of Greek life, and the tendency to emigration was further encouraged by a second result of that increasing stability, the clearing of pirates from the home waters. But the Greeks, though essentially an agricultural people, were none the less born for maritime adventure, and the migratory movement soon resulted in a rapid extension of the limits of the Greek world. Parallel to this extension went, naturally, a great development of commerce, and commercial enterprise becomes more and more inextricably united with the growth of the colonies until the later phases of Greek colonial history are identical with the history of contemporary Greek commerce. Yet, if we are careful to distinguish the earlier from the

<sup>126</sup> C. Q. 1912, pp. 91-103, 164-178.

by Prof. Garbner: *cf. History of Ancient*

<sup>127</sup> This fact has been recently established. *Coins*, p. 197.



succeeding stages of that history we see clearly, that the first Greek states founded over-seas were primarily communities of an agricultural people, only later centres of industrial or commercial activity.

This primary character of Greek colonisation explains much that would otherwise be puzzling in its later development. Greek society in the colonies no less than in the mother country, had its roots in the conception of a city-state. As long as a Greek colony survived as an independent unit, sometimes long after it had lost its independence, it retained its essential character of a *πόλις*. Hence, the development of social and political institutions among the Greek colonies is, as far as we can trace it, closely parallel to the development of society in Greece proper; only occasionally, where pressure from outside threatened the very existence of the Greek states do we find, as in Sicily under Dionysius, the sudden rise of a military despotism. And this continuity is reflected in the whole atmosphere of Greek colonial history. Tradition was a very living force in the Greek colonies, and there was nothing in their development, which can be compared to the characteristic features of modern colonial states. The relations of French Canada to France resemble, perhaps, more closely the relations of a Greek colony to its *μητρόπολις* than do the more progressive Anglo-Saxon colonies, where progress has often been achieved at the cost of respect for tradition, and of much else that is beautiful.

A detailed examination of the political relations between the Greek states of the mainland and their respective colonies is unfortunately no longer possible. How did each Greek state solve the problem of maintaining its hold on its distant colonies? That is a question which we can no longer answer; we can only draw attention to that general sense of religious reverence which was so strong a bond of union between the new and the old in all Greek society. The few details which chance has preserved for us as to the colonial policy of Corinth teach us little more than the extent of our ignorance. If we had even such slight knowledge of the colonies of Miletus, Megara, or the Achaean states, what new light might be thrown on the development of early Greek society?

One last question cannot fail to suggest itself to the student of Greek colonial history: since Greek colonisation achieved so much, why did it not achieve more? By the middle of the sixth century B.C. the Greek world had already been given those limits which were to remain almost unchanged until Alexander broke down, at a blow, all the barriers of the East: why was no effort made by the Greeks in the days of their independence to extend these limits? It is the old riddle of the greatness and the littleness of Greek history. Perhaps no other nation has shown such intense activity of expansion, and yet made no attempt to found a permanent empire. The Romans had not the Greek genius for colonisation, but the Roman *negotiator* penetrated everywhere, and opened up new regions for the Roman armies to conquer. The Greeks, on the other hand, were content with their isolated settlements, and never seem to have thought of establishing an empire in the interior of those countries whose sea-boards they held. Perhaps it was



the failure to convert the ideal of a city-state into the ideal of a nation; perhaps it was some inherent quality of the Greek mind—content with what it had and not caring for more than was sufficient to supply its material needs. Imperialism and apostolate are two conceptions, very different in their origin and their motives, yet both equally unfamiliar to the Greeks. What they had, they made perfect; and we must admit that the perfection of their civilisation was due in no small measure to the existence of their colonies. Exchange of goods and interchange of thought are two very necessary conditions of human progress; and Greek colonisation ensured that, for two centuries at least, the Eastern Mediterranean should be the almost undisputed waterway of Greek merchants and travellers.

AUBREY GWYNN.

## THE UTILISATION OF OLD EPIGRAPHIC COPIES.

### INTRODUCTION.

SOME of the most important inscriptions in Central Anatolia, copied by old travellers with fair accuracy, are concealed in the great collections, such as *C.I.G.*, with false or defective transcription in which their value is lost. The object of this article is to illustrate by examples the importance and the right method of re-studying them. In order to show the facts, as the basis for a new restoration (which will in every case be found closer to the original copy than the published transcriptions), brevity is best served in several cases by quoting former transcriptions fully.

In using the copies of older travellers the chief principle is to emend as little as possible. Certain letters, however, are liable to be confused by any copyist in a difficult text, and correction in such cases is needed within limits. Also, there is a personal equation which can be established in respect of each. Copyists vary in excellence, some being much more trustworthy than others, and there are certain errors to which some are more prone than others. A great scholar, with brilliant imagination and poor or unpractised eyes, may make worse copies than the old travellers. F. Lenormant was a typical example. His ingenuity (sometimes undisciplined) and learning enabled him to distort his own poor copies to such a degree that a scholar of Berlin, Hermann Roehl, wrote two malignant articles branding him as *inscriptionum falsarius*, and Kirchhoff with others made the same accusation. Neither of them was intellectually able to appreciate the errors into which excessive ingenuity and quickness of intellect may betray a bad copyist rather lacking in judgment.<sup>1</sup> The editors of *Hermes*, 1882, p. 460, and 1883, p. 97, admitted Roehl's articles (with other insinuations by Mordtmann), and stamped with their authority this disgraceful attack which has overshadowed Lenormant's great services, and some even of his own friends shrink from championing his cause. His worst fault was not want of fidelity, but over-ingenuity. His inscriptions have often not been found,<sup>2</sup> but that was the

<sup>1</sup> Lenormant found in a tobacco-shop in Athens a sheet of paper on which was written part of a list of city names and river names, apparently a schoolboy's exercise, which he and Karl Mueller accepted as a genuine ancient scrap of information.

<sup>2</sup> In my experience, very often inscriptions

are seen once, and disappear (pp. 129 etc.); Germans at home based on this a charge of forgery. Grothe in his *Vorderasiatische Expedition* has a just remark about those who on Schlegel's demand impossibilities in ignorance of facts.

period of reconstruction, when ancient stones quickly disappear. I have often said from experience in Turkey that, where reconstruction begins, more inscriptions are lost in four years than in the four centuries preceding, and stones appear and die in a day or a year.<sup>2</sup>

Lenormant's errors were due largely to the quickness of his thought and the badness of his sight for faint impressions: when great ingenuity is combined with great learning there is no "personal equation" except infinity. The copies of Hamilton, Lucas, etc., treated in the present article, were attempts to present facts without comprehension or theorising; but in Lenormant and some other scholars the tendency to theorise dominated the mind. Some examples are treated below in Nos. XXII. ff.; but I intentionally take my principal example from a deceased scholar. The way in which this tendency acts is illustrated in a supposititious example on the following page. It is true that this explanation leaves Lenormant's inscriptions in need of corroboration: they are influenced by a vivid creative imagination, but this uncertainty does not justify the malignant assertion that they were forged. Lenormant inaugurated a method of re-creating ancient ritual from scanty fragments of information, and although he carried his method to an extreme, he is always suggestive and instructive. He represents a stage in the epigraphic study of Greek religion; he is to be read but always also to be tested. The same class of spiteful critics have said about a great English discoverer that he always finds what he wants: they forget the motto to Goethe's *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, pt. i.

Another principle has to be constantly emphasised, that epigraphic copies reproduced in type are dangerous; and I have attempted to restore the probable state of the stone, so far as the evidence which can be gathered from type permits. Access to the notebooks of Hamilton, Stuart, etc., would give invaluable aid. The same lesson is emphasised in the forthcoming volume of *JRS.* vi. where I re-publish an unintelligible Latin fragment found at Pisidian Antioch by me in 1882, published by Sterrett in *E.J.* No. 128 from his own copy of 1885, and in *C.L.L.* iii. 6834 from Sterrett and me. Publication in *C.L.L.* is regarded naturally as the standard of knowledge; and it was only by chance, looking over my own ancient notebook, that I observed the meaning of a fragment which is unintelligible in those publications, and was left as hopeless by Mommsen (against some objection urged by me). The original copy is the only standard, and is frequently misrepresented in publication (sometimes even by the scholar who made it). Sterrett's copy in No. VI. disproves his own correction; in No. XXIX. my copy punishes my distrust of it. To avoid conjecture is the great lesson, and yet it is necessary sometimes to make conjectures where corruption is certain.

Ligatures, which are often difficult where the surface is worn, are commonly misrepresented or ignored by the old travellers.

Also, there is far too much tendency to interpret Anatolia in terms of

<sup>2</sup> See the remarks on pp. 129, 130 etc.



Greece. Scholars come to Anatolian work saturated with Greek ideas, and they set about the interpretation of Anatolia on the theory that any Greek analogy, whether real or apparent, is most likely to give the true explanation.

I use the opportunity of interpreting more fully or correctly several of my own published inscriptions; and I have had many opportunities of comparing the copies made by old travellers and by myself with the actual stones, and thus gauging the tendency to error and to correctness in almost all of them. The tendency to be correct is frequently ignored by scholars working in a library with no experience of the real difficulties to which travellers are exposed from many causes that I might enumerate, and of which some will be mentioned in the course of this article. The old copyists tried to be correct, and this desire to represent faithfully what they did not understand is an important element in criticising them usefully. The worst copyist known to me is a Greek doctor Diamantides (who was assassinated in his own house at Konia in 1902): yet he did good service. Sterrett has published many inscriptions from him, and I transcribed all his inscriptions from his notebooks during his lifetime. Cronin in *J.R.S.* 1902, p. 119, republishes an inscription from my copy, which Sterrett, *E.J.* No. 241, published from Diamantides. The inscription, a complete dedication by a high priest of Tiberius for the second time, C. Julius Oarios, to Pluto, is in Diamantides quite unintelligible, and yet every letter of his copy is accounted for and the reason for mistake is evident. The copy of Diamantides suggests the reading  $\delta \delta \epsilon \iota \nu \alpha \lambda \epsilon \rho \epsilon \upsilon \varsigma \tau \omicron \upsilon \delta [\eta] \rho \omega [\sigma] \acute{\alpha} \iota \sigma [\nu \dots] \beta \iota \sigma [\kappa \alpha \iota \text{ Νυμφῶν}]$ . A highly ingenious scholar (as e.g. F. Lenormant) might start with this in his mind, and read the priest's name in l. 1 (instead of the Emperor's) and the hero's name as  $\delta \sigma \iota \upsilon \nu \text{ Τοναίου } \text{Οάβιος}$  (gen.), to which a learned and instructive commentary would be attached; the hero Oabis is Oebis in the list of Korykian priests; and many other analogies impose themselves.

The last four lines of *C.I.G.* 4000 (No. IX.) supply a gauge according to which one can determine the character and extent of the errors which Lucas makes at his worst. The lines are a common Phrygian Greek formula, in which he makes the following errors:  $\Lambda$  for  $\Delta$ ,  $\text{ΤΗΠΠΥΛΗ}^2$  false,  $\Lambda$  for  $\text{Α}$ ,  $\text{ΠΙ}$  for  $\text{Π}$ ,  $\Gamma$  for  $\text{Τ}$ ,  $\text{Ν}$  omitted,  $\text{Ν}$  for  $\text{Ρ}$  (a strange error),  $\epsilon$  for  $\text{C}$ ,  $\text{Π}$  for  $\text{ΙΤ}$ ,  $\text{Ο}$  lost. Some of these errors are of the kind to which a rapid copy in Anatolian travel is exposed (as  $\Lambda$  and  $\text{Α}$ ,  $\epsilon$  and  $\text{C}$ , are hard to distinguish); a few are more serious. Now, looking over this copy as a whole, having regard to the fact that Lucas was neither a trained epigraphist nor yet even a Greek scholar, and bearing in memory the difficulties which beset the best epigraphist in seeing the correct forms of very difficult letters, we conclude that, where round forms (the commonest) are employed, the following may be regarded as almost equivalent in Lucas (and likely to be confused by other copyists in difficult cases):  $\text{C}$ ,  $\text{O}$ ,  $\epsilon$ , perhaps  $\text{Θ}$ :  $\text{Α}$ ,  $\text{Λ}$ ,  $\Delta$ :  $\Gamma$ ,  $\text{Π}$ :  $\text{ΤΙ}$ ,  $\text{ΓΙ}$ ,  $\text{Π}$ ,  $\text{ΙΤ}$ :  $\text{X}$ ,  $\text{Υ}$ :  $\text{X}$ ,  $\text{Κ}$ : lambda in the form  $\lambda$  is confused with  $\text{X}$  and  $\text{Υ}$ .

<sup>2</sup>  $\text{ΙΤΥΧΗ}$  would be the easiest correction for  $\text{ΠΥΛΗ}$ , but the case is more serious (see No. IX.).

Where square forms are employed,  $\Gamma$  and  $\Xi$  may be confused with each other, but not with  $\Theta$  (unless it also is square); and the probable errors vary according to the type of alphabet; but this equivalence must not be used too freely, as human nature errs, but yet seeks after the truth and returns to it.

A good illustrative case also, may be found in a metrical epitaph at Apameia-Kelainai, which has been published in *C.I.G.* 8964, and by Welcker, *N. Rh. Mus.* 1845, p. 265 from the copy of Hamilton, and again by Kaibel, *Ep. Græc. ex Lap. Conl.* 387 from the copy of G. Hirschfeld (given in his article on Apameia, *Abhandl. Berl. Acad.* 1875, p. 25; see also my *C. B. Phr.* No. 343). Both Hamilton and Hirschfeld make mistakes, but neither copy is so remote from the correct text as the transcriptions published in *C.I.G.* and by Welcker and Kaibel. The errors of those two travellers (of whom Hirschfeld was a trained archaeologist, placed for some time in charge of the excavations at Olympia) furnish the personal equation according to which we should estimate the copies made by them in other cases. This is especially valuable in the case of Hamilton, who is the sole authority for many Anatolian inscriptions. He is very accurate where the inscription is clear: he rarely omits a letter without indicating the loss (except at the end of lines, where the loss is obvious only to an epigraphist). There is some justification for every mark in his copy (as in Lucas, etc.), but the fact that sometimes he copied something different from the mark on the stone is due partly to deterioration of the surface, partly to a certain tendency of eye and mind, which is the personal equation. The same holds with G. Hirschfeld, and is to be explained in his case probably on the theory that he had not good eyesight: a great deal depends on the delicacy of the eye and its sensitiveness to faint impressions. Arundell, whose two works furnish the sole copies of several inscriptions, is a poorer copyist, and frequently omits a letter, giving no indication that a letter is omitted. He ranks on the same level with Lucas, or perhaps lower, and the character of their mistakes is similar.

The inscription at Apameia is exceptionally difficult. The stone is a large panel, lying flat on the ground; the raised edges detain the rain-water on the surface, and the impact of the rain also exercises a deteriorating effect: thus the incised letters are worn and broadened. In 1881 and 1882 I refrained from copying it, because it is conspicuous, and I devoted my time to others which were less likely to attract notice. On a later visit I had with me Hirschfeld's paper on Apameia, and compared his copy carefully with the original.

The experience of many years, copying thousands of such inscriptions, sometimes extremely faint and worn, sometimes obviously scratched on the stone by untrained cutters ignorant of the language, makes me sympathetic with, and infinitely far removed from desiring to criticise, errors made by older travellers. In first copies I have made every error that they have made, but it has been my rule never (except under compulsion) to leave an inscription until I had exhausted every means of completely interpreting it, and had satisfied myself either that certainty could not be attained at the



moment, or that my reading and understanding were trustworthy. I do not blame travellers' copies, but I do blame scholars who, in their libraries, 'correct' (!) with careless haste those copies in any degree that suits their caprice, and thus often retard progress by concealing the facts of Anatolian antiquities, which they themselves do not sufficiently study.

It may be thought that I exaggerate the difficulty of distinguishing between letters on stones which are faint and worn; but I give an example. In the great Korykian inscription (containing probably a list of priests), the best text of which is published by Heberdey and Wilhelm, *Reisen in Kilikien*, No. 155, they read in l. 30 NENACPMIOΣ. Hogarth reads NENA, and I remember being of the same opinion:<sup>4</sup> this seemed to us the safest text, and we could not trust to reading any cross-stroke in A. While H. W. print their own text without indicating any doubt, they put in their notes 'Hogarth richtig NENA.' There remains some doubt whether the true form of the name may not, perhaps, be NENΔOPMIOΣ, reading neither A nor Λ, but Δ: compare H. W. 190, where they print Δορμίστας, but where the double name is probable, Δορμύς Ηάς. 'Dormis (called alas) Pas, son of Kadadenis.' The name Pas occurs in the Korykian inscription, B 17: with it compare Mos, Tas, Bas, Zas, Datas, Plos, Lous, Klous, Glous, etc.<sup>5</sup> Again in the same inscription, l. 29, OPBIΣ is printed by Hicks, from the squeeze of Mr. Bent and from (as I think) Hogarth; but H. W. read OEBIΣ; and in 30 a name given is ΜΟΥΡΜΙΣ (Hicks, Hogarth), Μόρμυς (H. W.). This implies a tendency in H. W. to see Ε, where H. H. see Ρ, and a difficulty in distinguishing N and Y (due to V being taken for Y).

From the Korykian inscription many variants might be quoted, showing the extent to which scholars and professional epigraphists, copying from the stone or using impressions, may differ in a doubtful text. Where, with all the advantage of training and care, Hicks and Hogarth<sup>6</sup> differ from Heberdey

<sup>4</sup> The same name and the same difference of opinion in 32, 33, 76.

<sup>5</sup> See No. XXII.

<sup>6</sup> I say nothing about myself, because my notebook with the complete text was lost the same year in the post; and there were some divergences of opinion between Hogarth and myself in front of the stone. It should also be mentioned that the inscription was copied by us in a state of considerable physical weakness. We came down to the coast expecting to buy food, but every native had gone up to the high inner country, and we arrived late in the evening, to find nothing. Next morning early we sent a man to the nearest town (six hours distant) to buy food, but he did not return till 10 p.m. Moreover the mosquitoes, which had driven even the natives up to the high mountain pastures, prevented sleep. Our purpose in that one day's excursion across Taurus from Laranda to Ollis and Korykos

was mainly to recopy the great Korykian inscription for the benefit of Bent and (Bishop) Hicks in publishing; and we had nothing with us except what each carried on his own horse. These conditions are not suitable for making accurate copies of a difficult text. I was involved in an additional difficulty which at the time I did not appreciate. The inscription is engraved on the base of a temple, and begins high up. It was necessary to build a platform of stones, gradually raising it as the copy progressed. The platform naturally was accommodated to the height of the taller; and Hogarth had the advantage of six inches or more. At that time I had not learned that it is difficult to see correctly when the eye is lower than the letters, and thus I was exposed to difficulties which in my later epigraphic life I would have avoided. Such are a few of the obstacles that occur in real life, even on a long excursion undertaken



and Wilhelm in regard to numberless symbols, we need not wonder that Lucas, and to a smaller degree Hamilton, vary from the truth. But the point is to determine the manner and degree of variation.

All restoration remains hypothetical until it is definitely proved by re-examination of the stone, and I have spent much time in searching for the inscriptions of former travellers. In many cases hypothesis has changed to certainty, and the hypothetical stage drops out of notice in republication, but frequently re-examination is impossible, as ancient stones have a short life above ground in Turkey (see p. 130, etc.). In exemplifying the method of using copies from former travellers I attempt also to illuminate the antiquities of Central Anatolia, selecting mainly those that throw light on the Anatolian religion, and especially on the god who is called (as I hope to prove) *Mānes* in the Anatolian speech and *Men* in the grecised form.\* Almost all important inscriptions of Central Anatolia have a religious aspect; death and burial bore intimately on religion. Two show how advertisements were expressed as religious documents. Several are Christian of the fourth century and present exceptional interest, showing incidentally how much superior Christian education was to pagan in ordinary Anatolian society at that time.

To illustrate the importance of my subject I find, if my interpretations are correct, among inscriptions concealed in *C.I.G.* :—

1. Epitaph of the priest's son, who organised the last pagan ceremony 362 A.D. in Christian Iconium: *C.I.G.* 4000. I was forced gradually to refer it to the religious movement of Julian's time. The priests of an Iconian cult about the end of that movement buried their son, who along with them had taken an active part in the revivification of the local ritual. The spirit of the document is similar to the revival under Diocletian and Maximian Daza, but has its own individual character: it restored the obscure local rite, whereas the older revival restored the great sanctuary at Zizyma (No. I).

2. Decree in honour of the priest who restored the old cult and reorganised the Imperial property, c. 300: *C.I.G.* 3988.

3. Advertisement of two marble-workers, c. 150: *C.I.G.* 3995 n.

4. The career of a forgotten Roman Governor, 16-18 A.D.: *C.I.G.* 3990.

Also 5. The reorganisation of the Phrygo-Pisidian frontier, 24 B.C.: Sterrett, *W.E.* 548.

My best thanks are due to three contributors,<sup>†</sup> to whose cordial assistance

for the special purpose of copying afresh an important inscription. The life of an exploring archaeologist contains twenty disappointments to every success.

\* I have expressed this opinion often: the proof is here given: see Rooder's *Lectures*, II, 2, pp. 2688, 2717.

† Mr. Anderson, of Christ Church, Mr. Buckler, of the American Embassy, and Professor Calder, of Manchester, have co-operated with me in most of the inscriptions repub-

lished here, and have made many suggestions, a considerable number of which I accept. The copies have been circulated by me to some or all of them in the more difficult cases, and have been greatly improved through their criticisms. In many cases I state the name, but my debt is much greater than that: often a conjecture was made by one and modified successfully by others, so that no name can be assigned.

and frank criticism much of this paper is due, but, of course, the responsibility lies finally with myself, and they do not all agree with all the views stated here.

1.—*C.I.G.* 3988: *I.G.R.R.* iii. 248 (Kadin-Khan). I quote the latter, adding in capitals some letters which it omits from Hamilton, also our restoration.

ἐπειδὴ ὁ ἱερεὺς Διος	ἐπειδὴ Ὁρέστης ἱερεὺς IOVIS
καὶ Βέστης . . . . . ἔ-	καὶ Βέστης [καθιέρωσεν καὶ ἐπέ-
δωκεν ἐν . . . . .	δωκεν ἐν[δόξως Μητρί Ζιζυμνη-
ση χρυσίου . . . . .	νῇ χρυσίου [ἀσήμον λείπρας δύο
καὶ ἱερὰ ἀγγεῖν . . . . . 3	καὶ ἱερὰ ἀγγεῖα τρία καὶ σθη-
κωβλάτια . . . . .	κωβλάτια [δὲ ἄλλα τε παστοῖα δὲν
ἀπογραφῇ . . . . .	ἀπογραφῇ [τελείαν ἀπέθηκεν ἐν
τοῖς ἱεροῖν . . . . .	τοῖς ἱεροῖς [ὑρχείοις: ἱερατεύσας
δὲ καὶ τὸ τρίτον . . . . .	δὲ καὶ τὸ τρίτον ἀνενέωσε τὸ βά-
θρον ΚΘΣ . . . . . 10	θρον κ[ε] θε[ι]μέλια, καὶ τὰς σκευο-
θηκα καὶ φα . . . . .	θηκα(ς), καὶ φά[ι]νας ἵπποις θείοις
ισβ καὶ ΘΚ Ν[ι] . . . . . τελ-	ισβ, καὶ [σ]κευῆας μὲν δεδόχθαι τελ-
εἰν δεκ ΓΡ . . . . .	εἰν δεκ[α] Περ[ι]ποιούους κατὰ ἔτος
ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ . . . . .	ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἡλιωνίου τιμῆς συν-
τελεῖν δ[ι] . . . . . ὑπὲρ 15	τελεῖν [δ]ε καὶ τοὺς μύσταν ὑπὲρ
αὐτοῦ ἐκ[ι] . . . . . τὰ μακαρ-	αὐτοῦ ἐκ[α]τόμβην ἱερὰν ἡμέρῃ
ίτου ΜΑΙ	εἰ τοῦ Μα[ρ]τίου πρὸς δόξαν τοῦ
μακαρίτου	μακαρίτου καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς κυρίων
καὶ κτ[ισ]του	καὶ κτη[όρων] σωτηρίας

10 *I.G.R.R.* has *θρον α*, nothing more. 12 *I.G.R.R.* has *ισβ καὶ θ[ι] . . . . . τελ[ι]* but Hamilton gives *IC8* with a line above to show that it is a number (examples occur of this wrong order of numbers). 10-19 The exact wording is uncertain, but the general bearing is clear.

The inscription opens as an honorary decree *ἐπειδὴ . . . . . [ἔδοξε]*; yet the latter part is evidently of the nature of an epitaph: i.e. the hieron of Zizyma or the State of Laodiceia passed a decree in honour of the deceased. Another Lycæonian inscription of the same character, at once a public honorary decree and an epitaph, found at Kara-Bunar, belongs probably to Hiera Hyde. Some of the restorations are printed *exempli gratia*.

The text depends solely on Hamilton. The letters were evidently in good condition when he visited Kadin-Khan, and his copy is trustworthy,<sup>2</sup> though a skilled epigraphist would doubtless have elicited more at some places. The great Khan at the village, full of inscribed stones, is crumbling into ruins as the years pass, stones disappear one by one, and others are disclosed:

οὐκ περ φύλλων γενεή, τοιήδε καὶ ἐπιγραφῶν.

<sup>2</sup> The stone was cut in two, and thus letters were broken: e.g. from *P* there may remain in the left-hand fragment only *l*. This has happened at least once in Hamilton's copy.



This one has never been seen again, although I have repeatedly examined the ruins from 1886 onwards.

In restoring such an inscription, the length of the lines, and the period to which the inscription belongs, must be determined. It is elsewhere pointed out that a good stone is often split by stonecutters into two approximately equal parts.<sup>8</sup> Hamilton indicates traces of four letters lost at the right where the surface was injured by the cutter, and we infer that the lines in each half contained about twelve letters, and that the total length was about twenty-four letters. The restoration of 6-8 confirms this approximate length.

Further, the restoration has made no progress, because its period and character have not been observed. In 19 the copy has been corrected (?) to  $\kappa\tau[\iota\sigma]\tau[\alpha\upsilon]$ ; but Hamilton is right and the word is  $\kappa\tau\eta\tau[\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha\upsilon]$ . The *ketores* were the possessors and cultivators of the land which became imperial property under Augustus (being thus  $\iota\epsilon\rho\acute{\alpha}$  γῆ or  $\chi\acute{\omega}\rho\alpha$ ): the term became common in documents of the fourth century. The printed restorations also miss the evident allusion in 4 to a certain weight of gold: the inscription belongs to the late period when gold was counted by weight, probably c. 300 A.D. The mention of *sericoblattis* and the spirit and tone of the pagan feeling point to that period.

From these two assumptions we start, and the success of the restoration must be the test and proof.

1-2. In *C.I.G.* and *I.G.R.R.* the restoration is  $\text{Ἰσμεδῆς ὁ Ἰερεὺς Διός}$ , making the lines about seventeen letters in length. It is, however, inadmissible that a decree should be passed in honour of an individual without his name. Evidence which cannot be detailed here proves that Orestes was a characteristic name in the priestly family at Zizyma, and Strabo, pp. 535, 537, mentions that Orestes was a figure who played a part in the origin of the religious centres, Komana and Kastabala, though he professes no belief in this myth. In such cases my view is that Orestes is a grecised form of a native name whose sound recalled this Greek word, as e.g. at Olba Tarku became Teukros.<sup>10</sup> Buckler, without knowing that the name Orestes was connected with the cult of Zizyma, restored it here from Hamilton.

Cagnat-Lafaye take Vesta as the Roman goddess, and connect this with the supposed fact that Laodiceia was made a Roman colony in 235 A.D. The same false reasoning was stated previously by me in *Ath. Mitt.* 1888, p. 235; at that date Waddington's wrong reading of a coin of Pella was accepted and the coin in question was assigned to Laodiceia (which was supposed to

<sup>8</sup> See *B.S.A.* 1912, p. 77. That the stone was a good one, and probably marble, is clear from the fact that the letters must have been in excellent condition when Hamilton saw it.

<sup>10</sup> So Suchan pointed out, but he did not explain why Alas alternated with Teukros in the dynastic family. Evidently the sons of Yavna, the old Ionians, gave a name to the mythical dynasty Alas. Telamon also occurs,

apparently as the Greek corresponding to Tlelemis (cp. Kithelents); other examples on p. 146. Orestes was Oaris or Oareis. This archaistic introduction of Greek mythological names must be distinguished from the real survival, E and W, of the Aegean Sea, of names like Lykaon (Lakabent), hero-ancestor of the Lykaones and king in Arcadia. See pp. 146, 149, 169, 181.



have been made a Colonia by Maximin I.; but the error was pointed out many years ago,<sup>11</sup> though now through the influence of Cagnat-Lafaye's excellent book the error may find new life outside numismatic circles. Vesta is only a title of the native Anatolian goddess, for the inscription belongs to the pagan reaction, when the Empire was allying itself with the Anatolian religion and using the native gods as helpers in the final struggle against the increasing power of Christianity; and the gods of different countries were identified with one another and the names interchanged, with the purpose of presenting a unified pagan religion throughout the Empire banded together against the new faith.<sup>12</sup>

In Roman religion Jupiter and Vesta were not ordinarily recognised as a family pair; but this goddess, besides her more familiar aspect as the virgin goddess whose priestesses are the Vestal Virgins, had also another aspect as Mater Vesta with her own pontifex. There must have existed in some ancient Italian cult a conjunction of the divine father and the divine mother Vesta which belongs to a different stage in thought and ritual from the virgin Vesta, guardian of the ever-burning flame that formed the centre of the communal life in town or village. The Laodicean composer, however, was not thinking of a rather obscure cult like that. He had in mind only the outstanding fact that Vesta, centre of the Roman State, was an expression of the same supreme goddess who ruled at Zizyma.

Vesta, as the Anatolian Mother, is associated with the divine Father. In *C.I.L.* iii. 13,638, found at Iconium, but also relating to the Zizymene religion, Jove and Minerva Zizymene are associated.<sup>13</sup> In the present text a still more distinctly Roman form of the goddess is named, and we should expect also that the god should be obviously true Roman. The intention clearly is to give strong expression to the alliance of Zizyma with the Roman policy by employing strictly Roman names for the two supreme deities. We look therefore for Iovis or some other Latin form rather than the purely Greek name. But how was the Latin form Iovis expressed in Greek? In the first century, when Hellenic feeling was more effective, the Greek name might be substituted for the Roman, but about 300 A.D. that is less probable. The representation of the name of the god was therefore probably coloured by the conditions of the time, but the Latin Iovis contains two non-Greek spirants and it is quite uncertain how these were represented in Greek characters.

Moreover, as the inscription belongs to the time of Diocletian Iovius.

<sup>11</sup> See Hill, *Br. Mus. Catal.* p. xxi.

<sup>12</sup> The word "Bestes" occurs as a proper name in an unpublished inscription of Laodicea, and the suggestion was made by a friend that this inscription should be restored in some such form as *ἡ δὲ θεὸς Ὀπερσέας* (?) *καὶ Βέστες*, but this cannot be justified. The inscription in question has the *ο* again marked, and is therefore of late date, and no argu-

ment can be drawn from names of the sixth or seventh century to prove the existence of a similar name about 300 A.D. I should regard that unpublished inscription as so late that *Βέστες* is to be treated as a grained form of a name of the mediæval type in *-ζω*, making *Βέζες* rather than *Βέστες* the real name.

<sup>13</sup> Given below as No. XIII.

the use of the Latin name is all the more probable.<sup>13</sup> About A.D. 300 the name Zeus (which was commonly used for the chief god of Icomium and Zizyma during the first century) again came into use, no longer as a local god but as an envisagement of the supreme god who in the different countries was regarded by different races under varying forms and names.

In that late syncretism, half philosophic and half religious, the conceptions of the supreme god in different countries were regarded as attempts made by different races in different localities to give envisagement and name to the one Supreme Being. Among those racial envisagements the Jehovah of the Hebrews occupied a position of peculiar dignity and inspired special awe and fear, as being probably the most immediate and powerful impersonation of the ultimate power. Cumont has pointed out that the oblique cases Iovis and Iovi (especially the latter, which was the common one in dedications) approximated much more closely to the Hebrew name than the nominative form, and that especially under the form of identification with the Phrygian Sabazios the adoration paid to Iovi Sabazio was regarded as equivalent to the worship of Jehovah Sabaoth, and that again the worship of the Most High God Θεός (or Ζεὺς) ὑψίστος, which was (as I think) older than, and in origin independent of, any Jewish influence,<sup>14</sup> came to be looked upon as merely the expression in Greek words of Jewish religious ideas, so that θεός ὑψίστος was commonly used and recognised as indicating the Hebrew god.

2-4. Orestes presented certain articles which are enumerated. After εἰδοκεν (ἐνέδοκεν) there must be some word or words stating to what deity the gifts were presented, as in a case at Zizyma unpublished, this was [Mother Zizime]ne. There is also needed a word of commendation, e.g. ἐνδόξως.<sup>15</sup>

4. A statement of the amount of gold by weight uncoined. Then follows a list of other articles that were presented. The first must be either holy statues or holy vessels, and the latter is more probable, as new statues would hardly be called holy (for the holiness of statues depended generally on their antiquity).

6. C.I.G. and I.G.R.R. have the impossible word *καβλάτια*. This is evidently the misrepresentation of a word ending in *blatēa*, which has the character of many terms in Diocletian's Edict, and confirms the view that the inscription belongs to his time. I conjectured [οἱ] *καβλάτια*, 'garments which were dyed purple in Laodiceia, not imported,' seeing here a reference to that home industry which lasted through the ages at Ladik and died out only in comparatively modern time (during the degeneration of the economic

<sup>13</sup> Some forms may be quoted as showing the tendency of the time and the spelling that was used. The Pisidian Terminus was called *ἱεῖνα* (in some MSS. *Zeῖna*) in the list of Hierocles (*H.G.A.M.* pp. 429, 18). The dative occurs in inscriptions in the form *ΥΟΗΟΡΟΝΔΙ* and *ΙΥΩΔΙΟΝΥΣΩ*: in the Zizymene cult there seems to be a

certain mixing of Latin and Hebrew forms. The Greek representation of the Emperor Julian was *Ἰουλιανός*.

<sup>14</sup> *C.A.P.* i. p. 33.

<sup>15</sup> The consideration before presentation of the articles is typical of the Anatolian feeling, as well as characteristic of the spirit that ruled in the pagan reaction.



condition of Anatolia produced by the centralisation of government at Constantinople from 1815 onwards). The carpets of Ladik are no longer made, and the dyeing has ceased with the manufacture; but in commerce the old Ladik carpets are occasionally sold, and are recognised by experts through the local mark of a jug which is worked into them all.<sup>10</sup> Anderson saw the true text [*σημεῖον πορφυρέων*], 'purple silk (garments)'.<sup>11</sup>

8-12 The third priesthood of Orestes causes difficulty. The great Anatolian priesthoods were held for life (*ἐπὶ βίῳ*), and strictly gave no opportunity for a second and third tenure; but in the third century there was much disorganisation and uncertainty, and Orestes may have been twice interrupted through change of imperial policy and alternation in the balance of religious power.<sup>12</sup> During his third priesthood he made donations on a large scale (the number 212 occurs in 12). Whereas the former gifts had been directed to re-equip the temple and ritual (which had been suffered to degenerate, as occurred also at other places in Anatolia), the gifts in the third priesthood are of a different kind, refitting the establishment externally. 11 affords the best foothold to start from. Orestes gave or established or constructed 212 articles whose name begins with *φα*. We dismiss such words as *φαίλαρα*, *φαίλασια*, *φάρη*; Buckler, comparing *C.I.G.* 3847 m, well suggested *φα[τρώματα ξύλινα]*, but 212 *lacernaria* seem too many. Perhaps *φά[τνας]* suits the circumstances best: for there was a special cult of Zeus Phatnios at the stables (Zizyma or Laodiceia), invoking the god as protector of the mangers at which the divine horses (*i.e.* employed in the imperial service, *θεῖαι*)<sup>13</sup> were stalled. It was a duty of the priest<sup>14</sup> to maintain the imperial property (comprising large estates and important mines), and horses were needed in large numbers also for the traffic on the great Central Trade route and the Syrian route (*via* Psebila, Savatra, Kybistra), both of which passed through Laodiceia. A large establishment of grooms, etc. (*ἵππεις*)<sup>15</sup> was required. The horses of the road would be kept on the high ground at Zizyma during part of the year for reasons of health, and others were needed there for transport and agriculture. It is in keeping with known facts that during the degeneration of the imperial administration in the third century the equipment of these estates had been neglected. Orestes refitted the mangers, and the dedication to Zeus Phatnios may belong to this very time.

<sup>10</sup> See Miss Ramsay, *Studies in the Eastern Roman Provinces*, p. 5. Such mediaeval manufacture as this, which gave Ladik the distinctive title Yotgan-Ladik, were survivals of ancient arts. So it is with two Pessuntine inscriptions in which the Emperor Trajan thanks a lady named Claudia . . . for her gift of two stulacteria and four (trinita) (less complete. Korte, *Arch. Mitt.* 1897, p. 44; *I.G.R.R.* iii. 228). Articles sent to an emperor in such small number, and acknowledged from Antioch, must have been specially beautiful and valued specimens of local industry.

<sup>11</sup> Perhaps there may have been some ir-

regularity in titlature during this late revival, so that the third year of office was falsely called 'priesthood for the third time.'

<sup>12</sup> Cp. Storratt, *W.E.* i, a *ζῆλος* belonging to the imperial stand.

<sup>13</sup> At Antioch the imperial procurator was *ex officio* priest of the old hieron, using the divine authority to protect the interests of the imperial god, and owner of the Estates; this hypothesis (*Studies in the Eastern Roman Provinces*, pp. 309, 345) is accepted by Rolinow, *Studien z. O. u. Kol.* 201.

<sup>14</sup> See Calder in *Class. Rev.* 1910, p. 12; 1913, p. 12.



Moreover, fine carriage-horses were kept at manger to be used in processions (*φαινήζοντες εἰς πομπὰς καὶ πανηγύρεις* Heliod. vii. 29). In view of these facts the Laodicean dedication to Zeus Phatnios should be repeated here, as in 1886 I did not observe that the dedicator's name (almost wholly defaced) was engraved between the horns of the small altar which bears the inscription.

II.—*Ath. Mitt.* 1888, p. 237, n. 10; at Kadin-Khan (Ramsay).



Εὐ[δαίμων ?]  
οἰκονόμος Δι  
Φατνίῳ κατὰ  
κέλευσιν

A rude bust of the god appears in relief on the shaft, bearing corn-ears and a bunch of grapes. This is the ancient Lycæan god, the giver of corn and wine, who is represented on the monuments from the Hittite period till the end of paganism. Eud[aimon ?] was the steward in charge of this department on the imperial estates at Zizyma. He was a slave of Caesar, indubitably.

About this time another *oikonomos*, Ca[ndidas ?] the younger, made a dedication to Jove Dionysos<sup>20</sup> at Zizyma.

III. Unpublished: on a stele of native rock three miles south of Bakshish beside the road from the Phrygian monuments to Kara-Hissar, copied by me in 1883. This bears on the present subject.



ὄροι  
γυμνα-  
σίου] ἰπ-  
πιστευ-  
σαντες

<sup>20</sup> The dedication is to *ΙΥΩ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΩ* (note 13), which halts between Jove and Jehovah. It was published by Miss Ramsay

in a Report to the Wilson Trustees more accurately than by me in *Class. Rev.* xix. 1904, p. 379.

It is the boundary stone of the grazing ground (?) for the imperial horses: date probably c. 400 A.D. This upland region was certainly a *saltus* belonging to the emperors. An inscription published in *J.H.S.* 1887, p. 498, refers to this great estate, which would offer excellent pasture land to be used in the breeding and summer pasturing of horses. They were doubtless allowed to run free in summer, as they are by the Circassian horse breeders in the Uzun-Yaila (the great plains between the upper Halys and the Euphrates) at the present day; there can be no thought of a racecourse as the stone is in a narrow glen opening north; this is the southern limit of the horse-run. The horses were γυμνοί, i.e. they were turned loose without saddle and shoes. In 1883 I had a horse treated thus after a hard journey. After two months of free running on grass his hoofs had grown, and his value was quadrupled (as the market proved).

The climate is much too severe on the high plateau for these horses to run free in winter. The Circassians used to take theirs down to Cilicia in the cold season. On the plateau they must in cold weather be kept in stables, and in modern times the horse dealers are very careful to keep the horses from chill. It may be assumed that a great establishment existed near Zizyma and that it was re-equipped on a large scale by Orestes. The horses here are φανιζόμενοι (which in Byzantine usage is expressed as φανιστοί).

We now return to the first inscription, I line 9 f. A restoration of the buildings is here described. An excellent example of ἀναδόσεις was found south of Konia by Radet (*B.C.H.* 1887, p. 63; better restored in my *Pauline and Other Studies*, p. 107). It tells how a priestess Ma, daughter of Pappas (where names of divine character are a feature of the Pagan reaction after 300 A.D.), restored and tiled the roof of the sanctuary for the Saints, and the Christian term ἄγιοι is adopted, a fact of Maximin's time. The pagan temples were decaying in a Christian land, and renovation was the fashion 300–312. The poetic word μέλαθρον was suggested here, another feature of the mode of 300–310 A.D. (on which see my paper in *B.S.A.* 1912, p. 04; also *J.H.S.* 1912, pp. 153, 163); but I prefer [τὸ βα]θρον. The platform and vaulted substructures (required on the hilly ground of Zizyma) were restored. The dots after K in Hamilton represent an illegible letter, probably E of εἰ. It is common to find both καί and κί in one inscription. σκευοθήκας would suit: cellars in the vaulted substructures of temples built on sloping ground might probably be used for storing sacred utensils; such cellars have been disclosed at Antioch. The rhythm and balance, however, suggest a certain grouping, (1) the platform and substructures of the temple; (2) the skeuothekai (3) mangers for horses. Orestes was a member of one of those great and wealthy priestly families, whose history and influence in Asia Minor are now coming to be known: see p. 146, also an article to be published in the *Classical Review*, tracing the history of such a family during the fourth century.

The last donation is difficult. Anderson takes the last three letters as a ligature of K·N. Ⓞ preceding K is certainly an error on Hamilton's part



The easiest supposition is that a blur or break on the stone made him read © when the letter really was € or C. This would give the word *σενε*[*ε*] or *σενε*[*α* λδ ?]: light booths (as still on the plateau) were required at Zizyma to accommodate worshippers at the great festivals. [Merchants attending these festivals (which were also fairs) are called *σενίται* (see Lebas, *Bonadio*, 588, l. 53; and Foucart on 326<sup>o</sup>, § 20). J. G. C. A.] One feast near Zizyma is still celebrated annually by the Greeks (see my *Cities of St. Paul*, p. 378).

12-20. It was resolved, in view of the services rendered by Orestes, that temple officials should celebrate on his behalf annually a festival or games and should perform a sacrifice on his behalf on the 10th day of (March or) May in honour of the blessed dead and for the salvation of the Lords-Emperors and the *coloni* of the temple estates. On imperial estates it was usual in dedications on behalf of the salvation of the Lords-Emperors to add also the community of *coloni*.

In the last four lines (from a bold and suggestive conjecture of Anderson's, in which he unconsciously agreed with the evidence of an unpublished epitaph found at Iconium)<sup>21</sup> the god-emperor is introduced into the new cult; in Lycaonia this introduction was made to an unusual extent. In both inscriptions a great sacrifice<sup>22</sup> is made to the dead man, now identified with the god; the new ritual blends with that of the reigning emperor,<sup>23</sup> who also is the god, and the *coloni* share in the benefits of the cult, associated in the salvation of the emperors according to the common formula.

19. The *ktetores* are the possessors or *coloni* on the imperial estates at Zizyma. Allusions to *ktetores* occur frequently in inscriptions of the fourth century or later.<sup>24</sup> They naturally came into relation with the priest Orestes, as the whole country around the sanctuary belonged to the god, who was in old time the native deity (ὁ θεός, or Zeus, or Apollo, or Dionysos, etc.); then the imperial god took his place: at the time of this inscription the Roman national god Jupiter summed up the native and the imperial god. The *ktetores* were probably defined as of some special estate.

While there is much in the general thought and something even in the expression of this decree to indicate a certain parallelism to Christian ideas, there is, if the restoration is correct, no imitation of Christian expression such as is found in the remarkable inscription of Akmonia dated a few years later, 313 A.D., in which the language of the Fourth Gospel is imitated.

The priestly family to which Orestes belonged has evidently dropped all

<sup>21</sup> This epitaph was intended for publication here, but my text is challenged with a rival text by a friend, and must await further consideration. That the emperor is there also introduced into the sepulchral ritual is certain. I find in that ritual also the gods Andistels (plural as C.I.G. 3888 (cf. pp. 25, 1103 add.), C.B.Phr. i. p. 246, ii. p. 375, where Hamilton's text *θεοὶ Ἀνδιστῆες* is correct), but my friend introduces the twelve gods.

<sup>22</sup> Hekatombe: a possible restoration would be *εκαετη*, but this idea is unnecessary, as annual ritual is expressed in 'the 10th day of (May or) March.'

<sup>23</sup> In this case perhaps emperors.

<sup>24</sup> An example dating about 480 A.D. is published by Mommsen from my copy in *Hermes*, 1897, p. 660 (*Glossen. Sch. Hist.*, i. p. 561).



expression of Roman citizenship and retains only the ancient hieratic name. The priest directs and officiates as *Orestes* and not as *L. Calpurnius Orestes*. This seems to have been the Roman *gens* into which several priestly families entered when they received the *civitas*, as may be gathered from two inscriptions of Pisidian Antioch,<sup>28</sup> and also from the Iconian inscription mentioning *L. Calpurnius Orestes*, *princeps coloniae* and *curator* at Iconium (*I.G.R.R.* iii. 264, which we have re-copied and confirmed). The study and practice of medicine appears from those Antiochian inscriptions to have been hereditary in the priestly family, and to have continued even after it became Christian. In the pagan revival there was a tendency to recur to Anatolian nomenclature and to forget the Roman citizenship. Most of the pagan inscriptions of the early fourth century show this characteristic, while the Christian inscriptions 320-370 A.D. rather emphasise the citizenship. On the name *Orestes*, often hieratic in Anatolia, see p. 131, and note 45.

IV. *C.I.G.* 3994 (from *Lucas*) should be read as follows: at least two lines lost at top:—

[ὁ δαίνα ἱερὺς Μητρὸς τῆς ἀπὸ Ζιζ-]<sup>29</sup>  
 υας καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος τὸν  
 ναὸν ὅλον ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀνα-  
 λωμάτων κατεσκεύασε.

As I differ so frequently from the editors of *C.I.G.* (where many other Anatolian inscriptions urgently require correction), it is a pleasure to record that their acute suggestion here has been confirmed and completed by modern discovery. In the first four letters of this fragment they suspect that there is a reference to some epithet of the goddess *Latona* or *Diana* such as *Διδύμας*. In 1886 I found the first of a series of inscriptions which show that the protecting goddess of Iconium was called *Mother Zizimene* or *Zizimene*. In publishing this (*Ath. Mitt.* 1889, p. 237) I suggested that the name was equivalent to *Dindymene*. The difference of vowel in the second syllable constituted a difficulty, and *Mommsen* in his comment on *C.I.L.* iii. 13638 doubted the identification, which is accepted by *Anderson* and *Kretschmer*, *Eval.* p. 196. Since then it has been found that the epithet is local, derived from the mines of cinnabar and copper at *Sizma* (which is obviously the ancient *Zizima* or *Zizyma*). It is therefore evident that the form *Zizymene* was possible. It is unnecessary to refer once more to the proof that *D* and *Z* interchanged with each other freely in Anatolian names, and that nasalisation was also introduced freely. On double *M* see p. 148.

A feature in this inscription is that the *Mother goddess* is mentioned first and *Apollo* after her. Generally *Apollo*, or whatever name is applied to the god, is mentioned first in the public inscriptions, though in the *Mysteries*

<sup>28</sup> The analogy would imply a general act of *Vespasian* in prov. *Galatia*, giving the *civitas* to all the great priestly families that had not yet received it. This remains as yet

a hypothesis. The two inscriptions have been sent to the *Classical Review*.

<sup>29</sup> In this Anatolian word I keep the accent of the nominative.

which must have been celebrated at Zizyma the important position which belongs to the Mother goddess was undoubtedly emphasised.

It may now be regarded as practically certain that the Dindymos of Kybele and Didyma the seat of Apollo bore the same name as Zizyma the seat of the Mother goddess.<sup>20</sup> At Didyma the goddess recedes into the background and is hardly ever mentioned, while the god alone under the name Apollo appears publicly; but the analogy of all other Asia Minor religious centres proves that, with more complete knowledge of the religious ritual practised at Didyma, we should find the goddess alongside of the god. At Zizyma the goddess is, even to public view, the more important figure, but the god under varying names, Apollo, Dionysos, Zeus, and so on, is frequently mentioned along with her, and the two constitute the divine pair. It is characteristic of Hellenic feeling to lay stress on the god, and to keep the goddess in the background.

V. *C.I.G.* 3995, at Iconium, from Paul Lucas:—

ΒΑΒΔΙ(Ε)ΥΧΗΝ ΜΕΤΑ ΑΘΗ  
ΝΑΟΥΤΟΥ ΑΝΔΡΟΣ . . . . κατεσκευ[α]σε δ[ε] [ε]χην με[τ]ὰ Ἀθη-  
ναίου τοῦ ἀνδρός.<sup>21</sup>

It would be hard to justify by any Lyeaonian or Phrygian analogy this form of expressing a vow. The copy of Lucas requires no addition and hardly any correction; it is a complete dedicatory inscription of early Imperial period: read

ΒΑΒΩ ΔΙ' ΕΥΧΗΝ ΜΕΤΑ ΑΘΗΝΑΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΝΔΡΟΣ.<sup>22</sup>

The spelling Ἀθηναῖον ought to be treated as Ionian Greek: it is allowed in later Attic, and it is perhaps due to dialectic variation, not to Phrygian mispronunciation. This would be a sign of early date, which suits the simplicity of the dedication and the use of the name Zeus (see p. 133). The form Δί as dative is not rare in dedications. The name of the lady, Babo, is Anatolian: see my note in *J.H.S.* 1882, p. 126, where it is quoted from *C.I.G.* 4142 and is connected with the name Baubo in the legend of Demeter, through an older form Bambo, from which is derived the Syrian name Bambyke or Mabbog (the Greek Hierapolis, the chief seat of the Syrian goddess).

VI. Sterrett, *W.E.* No. 548: at Apollonia (Olu-Borlu). Recognising its exceptional importance, both Anderson and I have repeatedly attempted (from 1888 to 1912) to find it. It has occupied the attention of Professor G. Hirschfeld, *Gott. Gel. Anz.* 1888, p. 590, and Professor A. Wilhelm in *A. E. Mitt. Ost.* 1897, p. 85. I give their text combined, as Hirschfeld did

<sup>20</sup> Didyma in Lycia the same word?

<sup>21</sup> The editors would have found it want the copy to read *κατεσκευασε*, but there is no justification here for the verb.

<sup>22</sup> Of the changes Ω for Ε needs no apology; the others are made in *C.I.G.* with many needless alterations.



little in 11-15, and Wilhelm, accepting Hirschfeld's restoration of 1-10,<sup>28</sup> confined himself to 11-15.

Sterrett's copy, though so incomplete that he did not give a transcription, is good, but the stone was evidently worn and the letters faint. Our text keeps closer to his copy than Hirschfeld-Wilhelm, and justifies it against his and their alteration in 4. My coadjutors differ from one another about the verbal restoration at one point, and I give both texts, which agree in meaning. As I differ widely from Hirschfeld's interpretation, dating the inscription nearly two centuries later than he does, I promise that he made distinct progress towards the elucidation of the text and that some of his suggestions were excellent; but his conception of the circumstances and period was mistaken, and therefore both he and Wilhelm, who accepted his views, were unable to attain a satisfactory reading.

<i>Sterrett.</i>	<i>Hirschfeld-Wilhelm.</i>
ΤΟΥΜΛ////////	.....κα-
ΤΑΤΗ///ΤΟΙΒΑΣΙΛΕ/	τὰ τῇ[ε] το[ύ] βασιλέ-
ΟΣ////////ΤΑΣΙΝΠΡΟΣ	ως [δια]τα[ξ]ιν πρὸς
ΤΥΜΒΡΙΑΔΕΣΠΟ///	Τυμβριαδέ[α]ς πο?
5 ΠΑΜΝΑΧΩΡΑΝΚΑΙΟ	ρῆμα? χώραν καὶ δ-
ΦΕΩΣΚΕΦΑΛΗΝΑΕ	φως κεφαλῆν [λ]ε-
ΓΟΜΕΝΗΝΚΑΙΑΥΛΩ	γομένην καὶ αὐλώ-
////ΙΑΤΟΝΚΑΤΑΓΟΝ	ν]α τὸν κατάγον-
////ΑΕ'ΟΣΜΙΣΥΛΩΙ	τ]α [πρ]ὸς Μισύλωι
10 ΚΑΙΠΡΟΣΕΝΕΙΜΑΝ	καὶ προσνείμ[α]ν-
////ΑΛΥΤ:ΟΙΣΚΑΙΟ	τ]α [α]ὐτοῖς καὶ [ὁ-
////ΟΕΙΤΗΣΑΝΤΑ	μ]ο[θ]ετήσαντα
III ΤΕΩΣ///ΝΕ	σ[τ]εως [ε]νε-
ΚΕΝΚΑΙΜΠΑΛΟ	κεν καὶ μ[ε]γαλο-
15 ΦΡΟΣΥΝΗΣ =	φροσύνης

The inadequacy of Hirschfeld-Wilhelm's text is evident. There is no construction; and we could make no progress, until Calder suggested that the restoration of 1-2 was false, and that the inscription commemorates, not the confirmation of the king's settlement, but the abrogation of it (*μεταλλάξαν]τα* or similar word). As soon as this was suggested the whole situation was illuminated, and the text resulted:

<sup>28</sup> St. 548 *eröffnet eine auf königlichen Befehl erfolgte Grenzberichtigung; auch nach Hirschfeld's Bemerkung sind die letzten Zeichen unregelmäßig geblieben.*

<sup>29</sup> Owing to lack of proper type the printer used  $\Sigma$  in place of  $\Sigma$  in this and various other of Sterrett's inscriptions. I have a

tracing of his copy.) This gives a look of earlier date; but the form  $\Delta\P$  are later. Such errors as  $\Pi$  for  $\Gamma$ ,  $\Theta$  for  $\Theta$ ,  $\Theta$  for  $\Omega$ , etc., are usual in a very difficult text, which has required thirty-three years to interpret.



## Anderson.

τὸ[ν] με[ταστήσαν]  
 τα τῆ[ν] τοῦ βασιλέ-  
 ως [διὰ] τα[ξί]ω προσ-  
 [ορίσασαι τοῖς]  
 Τυμβριαδέσ[σι] Ο[ὐ]-  
 ραμμα χώραν καὶ Ὀ-  
 φεως Κεφαλὴν [λ]ε-  
 γομένην καὶ Ἀνλώ-  
 ν[α] τὸν κατὰγον-  
 τ[α] [πρὸς] Μισυλῶι κτλ.

## Buckler.

τὸν μεταστήσαν.  
 τα τὴν τοῦ βασιλέ-  
 ως διάταξιν πρὸς  
 Τυμβριαδέσι τ' Ο[ὐ]-  
 ραμμα χώραν καὶ Ὀ-  
 φεως Κεφαλὴν λε-  
 γομένην καὶ Ἀνλώ-  
 να τὸν κατὰγον-  
 τα πρὸς Μισυλῶι κτλ.

The rest as H-W.

We start from TON (Calder): Sterrett's Y is a misrepresentation of the oblique central stroke of N<sup>30</sup>. Thus results a construction which is altogether suitable on the pedestal of a statue: cf. *C.I.G.* iii. 3993, and many more. The name of the municipality must have been mentioned, and is necessary in view of Π. Even the Ionian honorary inscription *C.I.G.* 3993 (which resembles this Apollonian inscription as beginning with the accusative of the person honoured and omitting the verb) mentions the donor, a magistrate acting for the State; yet it is of the late fourth century, when the feeling of municipal individuality and authority had grown weak. Still more, in an inscription c. 24 B.C. instinct with municipal triumph over a rival city, must it be assumed that the name of the people which dedicated the statue was expressed. Moreover, the name of the person to whom the statue was dedicated must also have been mentioned. Two suppositions are open: (1) The name of the people bestowing the honour and the name of the person honoured were engraved on the broad higher member of the pedestal, in large letters. This was probably the fact. (2) There may have been an inscription on another side of the stone which was concealed from Sterrett's view. Perhaps both suppositions are true.

Anderson's and Buckler's texts agree exactly in the meaning, though arriving at it in different ways. The former is expressed in strict epigraphic style, but involves the supposition that Sterrett omitted one line of the text. The other follows Sterrett closely, but makes the expression rather rhetorical, so that epigraphic taste rebels. It must, however, be remembered that the inscription below the statue of an important personage, as here, was not necessarily expressed in purely epigraphic style. For example, in the statue to the regent officer Dionysios at Pisidian Antioch,<sup>31</sup> there is an inscription on one side of the base in ordinary epigraphic style, and on the other side an inscription of non-epigraphic style, semi-metrical, using language of a rhetorical type such as might commend itself to the taste of the third century A.D.

<sup>30</sup> So in the analogous case Hogarth and Hicks read ΜΟΥ; Heberdey and Wilhelm ΜΟΝ (Introd. p. 128).

<sup>31</sup> Sterrett, *E.J.* 92, more completely Calder in *J.H.S.* 1912, p. 80.

The construction in Buckler's text is more difficult, which results from its rhetorical and allusive character. (1) The dative of a place-name after  $\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$  is replaced by the ethnic: I cannot quote an exact parallel, but Greek as spoken at Apollonia was perhaps not careful of strict usage, and the phrase  $\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma \text{ Τυμβριαδῶσι}$  is regarded as equivalent to a single adjective 'Tymbrias-ward (districts)'. (2) The article might be expected with the ethnic, but there are sufficient examples of its omission. (3) We miss the statement that the three districts had formerly been assigned to Tymbrias; but this can be gathered from the situation and from the fact that the King's settlement was altered. Anderson attains perfect clearness by the ingenious suggestion of a missing line; his text is expressed in ordinary epigraphic style throughout, and positively states what the shorter version leaves us to gather, viz. that the three districts had previously belonged to Tymbrias. The choice remains between these two forms of text, and each has its advantages. The shorter text keeps close to the copy, and the strange pseudo-rhetorical and pseudo-grammatical construction may be pardoned to patriotic feeling at Apollonia. Anderson's text may rely on the analogy of W.E. No. 370, where Sterrett omits a line without notice<sup>22</sup>; but a counter-argument lies in the fact that it requires  $\Pi$  in place of Sterrett's  $\Pi$ , a violent change (Buckler reads  $\Gamma$  for  $\Pi$ , a change permissible on our principles).

The purport is: 'Him who altered the king's settlement (which assigned to Tymbrias the land of Ouramma, and what is called Snake's Head, and the Channel leading down to Misyles), and who assigned (those districts) to them (i.e. the Apolloniatai), and fixed boundaries: on account of his good faith and noble-mindedness' or, in the shorter text, 'him who remodelled the king's settlement and the Tymbrias-ward districts . . . and assigned' etc.

Our view is that the stone is complete. Sterrett in his two volumes was careful to state how much loss each inscription has suffered. Sometimes he gives the information in one way, sometimes in another; but there is hardly a case in which he leaves it uncertain whether the stone is complete or not. Our view is corroborated by the fact that the lines are very short,<sup>23</sup> and the pedestal would be too tall and slender for the basis of a statue (which it certainly was), if it contained at the top a preamble necessarily rather long. Two names in large letters, the dedicator and the person honoured, stood at a higher place on the monument.

The situation evidently was that the power both of the king and of the person honoured extended over Apollonia and over Tymbrias (in the Pisidian mountains E. and S.E. from the Linnai, Egerdir Lake). Three districts lay as a 'Debatable Land' between the two cities. The king's  $\delta\iota\alpha\tau\alpha\chi\iota\varsigma$  assigned those districts to Tymbrias; the person honoured here gives them to Apollonia. Evidently those border districts had formed a bone of contention

<sup>22</sup> The corrected text in my *Studies in the Eastern Provinces*, p. 334. The eye readily passes over the broader obliterated space: I speak from eye-witness of No. 370, where the sense and the space show that a line has been

lost.

<sup>23</sup> The letters in each line vary from eleven to fourteen. I would have preferred  $\omega\epsilon\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha$  to  $\omega\epsilon\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha$ , following Sterrett's copy, but that gives sixteen letters, which is impossible.



between the two states for a long time; and the claims set up by each (doubtless based on former history) had been decided in different ways by a king and by a new authoritative power.

Hirschfeld supposes that the date of the inscription is immediately after 189 B.C., that the king was Eumenes II., further that Eumenes II. founded Apollonia, and that the person who is honoured in this monument at Apollonia confirmed the settlement made by the king. I can see no reasonable justification for this view at any point in Pergamenian history. It is highly improbable that such authority as is here attributed to the person honoured could belong to a representative of Eumenes. Moreover Pergamenian authority never extended over Tymbrias.<sup>34</sup> Finally Apollonia was not a Pergamenian but a Seleucid colony founded in the earliest period by Nikator himself<sup>35</sup> and Eumenes made no change except to increase the military strength of Apollonia by settling there a body of Thracian soldiers devoted to himself and his dynasty.<sup>36</sup>

At first I thought that the king might be Mithradates VI., to whom Phrygia belonged for a time, and that a Roman governor of Asia (Sulla or Lucullus, who ruled Asia and Phrygia after the departure of Sulla though only with the title *questor pro praetore*) altered the settlement of Mithradates.<sup>37</sup> This might justify Sterrett's copy of the third letter, if we could understand that some words were lost above containing an accusative and that the text begins with [Μιθραδά]του; but the theory had to be rejected. I need not detail the arguments, which become evident in the discussion.

The date of the inscription is immediately after the formation of the province of Galatia. The Roman governor had authority over both Apollonia and Tymbrias. The king whose constitution he altered was Amyntas, whose heritage was now being organised as the province Galatia. The governor held full power to transfer territory and to set up boundary stones. He is praised by the people for his noble-mindedness (*μεγαλοφροσύνη*), which is a quality far from suitable for a citizen of a republican city, but becoming a high Roman officer. The person who dealt in this way with lands and bounds must be either some special envoy exercising the full powers of the Roman State, or the governor of Galatia representing the emperor himself; but the record is that Gaius Lollius was sent to organise the new province of Galatia, and we may assume that he was the person honoured. He is praised for *πίστις*, which probably implies that there existed some promise, or recognition of the right of the Apolloniatai, on the part of some Roman general in previous time, and that the award was based on this plea; but the truth undoubtedly is that the Roman policy supported order and civilisa-

<sup>34</sup> The victorious Eumenes would not give his own territory to an unimportant foreign city like Tymbrias.

<sup>35</sup> The cult of Nikator (evidently an founder) dated late: see Sterrett, *W.E.* 587.

<sup>36</sup> In this I assume the result of a study of

Apollonia, still unpublished.

<sup>37</sup> Mithradates Euergetes (d. 120 B.C.) also governed Phrygia for a few years, but ruled no part of Phidias. The acts of Euergetes (see *O.G.I.S.* 436) were wholly confirmed by Rome.



tion, such as existed in every Greek city state, whereas on the contrary the Pisidians were regarded in the early province Galatia as hostile to the Roman order and system. Whatever might be the ostensible reason, this principle underlay the strengthening of Apollonia against Tymbrias: the whole policy of Rome in the East is involved in the decision.

The three districts lie on the frontier between the two cities; and this points without doubt to the land on the N.E. side of the double Limnai, viz., the strip of territory on the E. coast of Hoiran Lake and on the N.E. coast of Egerdir Lake. Here the physical conformation makes each district separately recognisable with certainty in itself. The Channel is the pass up which goes the great road to the E. (from Apameia by Apollonia to Antioch and Lycania and Syria) along the course of a stream that runs down from Sultan-Dagh and from Kara-Kush-Dagh on E. and N. (a stream whose old name is unknown) to the N.E. corner of Hoiran Lake. The pass through which it goes is called the *Aulan*, a word employed by Strabo<sup>22</sup> to indicate a kind of pass which, like a funnel or channel, has two open ends and a narrow passage between them. It leads down towards Misylos. The name Misylos was recognised by Hirschfeld among the list of places in this neighbourhood, villages or farms, which were given in a long inscription copied by me in 1882 and published in *J.H.S.* 1883, p. 1 ff.<sup>23</sup> (more correctly in *Studies in History of Eastern Roman Provinces*, p. 325). A great history attaches to this Channel, which cannot here be discussed.<sup>24</sup>

Snake's Head impresses every traveller who looks from the W. coast of Hoiran Lake or Egerdir Lake. The S. side of the Channel is formed by a long ridge which extends from Sultan-Dagh far out into the lake, as if trying to divide the lake into two parts; the parts now bear separate names (Egerdir S. and Hoiran N.), though in ancient times both were called Limnai. I saw this long spit of land in 1886 when traversing the roadless western coast of the double lake (where no communication is maintained, though there is an easy way between the lake and the western mountains). The remarkable appearance of that long promontory impressed me at the time, and the memory is 'what is called Snake's Head.' This expression suggests that it is the translation of a native name, Phrygian or Pisidian. There is no reason to think that the name was imposed by the Greek-speaking settlers in Hellenistic time.

The idea appears sometimes in the Anatolian religious beliefs that the heaven above is an ensample for the earth, that the god above is engaged in performing the same ritual act which his priest is performing on earth, and

<sup>22</sup> On p. 569 the *abānēs* carry the river between Karalis and Troglitis and between Troglitis and the plain of Iconium.

<sup>23</sup> I conjectured at first *Majeylos*, but Hirschfeld correctly restored *Misylos* from Sterrett's inscription, and his conjecture was confirmed as the probable reading on the stone partially by myself in 1886 and more positively by Professor Galland in 1905, and

was finally proved by the occurrence of a name beginning *Mis-* in another inscription (*J.H.S.* 1912, p. 164).

<sup>24</sup> It is the Pisidian *Aulan*, where Antigonus gained a victory in 310 (Polyaen. *Strat.* 4, badly misread by modern historians). Here the Turks defeated Manuel Comnenus in 1176, and Barbarossa defeated the Turks in 1196.

that guidance for mankind in all circumstances is to be found by looking upwards. Now the heaven at night was covered over with a variety of symbols, seen in the grouping of the stars, the Lion, the Great Bear, the Twins, the Balance, and a host of others, human, semi-divine and animal. It follows that there must be the same on earth, and the surface of the plateau of Asia Minor was covered with a similar network of signs constituted by the mountains and lakes and streams. A striking mountain, four or five miles S.E. of Apameia-Kelaimai, is called by the Turks the Rising Moon (Ai-Doghmarsh). This poetic name reveals an imaginative way of contemplating nature which is wholly foreign to the Turkish mind and geographical nomenclature, and I have often mentioned it as evidently a translation in Turkish of an old Anatolian name.<sup>40a</sup> This mountain is not that on which the Ark rested;<sup>41</sup> the latter is quite close to Kelaimai; it is marked by a very ancient church, probably of the fourth century, of which only the ground plan and the lowest course of large blocks of stone remain; and it was the heart and the religious centre of Kelaimai, out of its base flow the Marsyas at one point and the Laughing and Weeping Fountains at another, while 200 yards away to W. are the Therma, and the Maeander rises behind it on the S.E. The Rising Moon is a much loftier mountain, and its shape and height mark it out as a prominent feature of the landscape from a very great distance. I have seen it rising above the intervening hills from a point a few miles W.S.W. of Oushak on the road to Philadelphia. At Iconium again the twin mountains which constitute the Balance (Tekel or Takali) are the most striking feature in the landscape (see p. 163). The river Kapros was doubtless a real goat-genius to the Anatolian eye. Whether Lykos meant a wolf, or was merely assimilated to the Greek word, remains uncertain. Semitic examples suggest the latter opinion, and the names involving the stem LYK remain an unsolved riddle. [The Armenian Lykos is called in classical Armenian Gail, which has the same meaning as λύκος (Hübischmann, *Armen. Etymol.* p. 431). Kelkid = Gail-Kied, Lykos, applied to rivers liable to sudden fierce spates—the wolf-genius. J. O. C. A.]

We know too little about old nomenclature in Anatolia to trace this subject in detail, but the Snake's Head in Pisidia is an example of the native custom. The Snake is closely connected with the god who has his seat on Olympus, and the close relation between the two was revealed in the Mysteries to the initiated. The god is embodied in one form as the Bull and in another form as the Serpent, 'the Bull is the father of the Serpent and the Serpent of the Bull' (according to the formula of the Mysteries). Around every seat of ancient Anatolian religion it is probable that the local topography showed numerous manifestations and epiphanies of the divine family.

<sup>40a</sup> I quote from *The New East* 'a well-known verse' of the Japanese poet Kamo: 'How sad to see the light of the moon sinking behind the edge of the western hills. How good it would be if the light seen should remain for ever.' Ai-Doghmarsh is hardly seen

from E. (the Plateau), only from W. and N.W.

<sup>41</sup> The local legend of the Ark was adopted under Jewish influence, and is taken up in the Sibylline Books (*C.B. Ph.* II. p. 670).



The third district of the debatable land lies on the E. coast of Egerdir Lake: it is a low coast land between the Pisidian mountains of Tymbrias S. and Snake's Head N., and the principal village in modern times is Gelendos (bearing evidently an ancient name in Turkish form, and containing some remains of antiquity);<sup>42</sup> it is bounded E. by a ridge apparently alluvial,<sup>43</sup> which extends completely across the valley of the Anthios, the river of Antioch, except where this river has cut through it a narrow deep cañon. This coast-land is Ouramma and through it the Anthios flows to the lake. It has been very imperfectly examined by travellers. Arundell and Sterrett (also Calder and I) have been at Gelendos and along the road leading from Gelendos to Demir-Kapu, a difficult pass between the Pisidian mountains of Tymbrias and the S.E. coast of Egerdir Lake.

Carrying out Buckler's suggestion that Sterrett's copy implied in  $\Delta/\text{Τυμβριαδίων τ' Οραμμοα}$ , Calder pointed out that the name was connected with the Pisidian and Lycian personal name Opramoa, and this forthwith recalled an enigmatic inscription which I copied in 1882 in the land of Anaboura (E. of Tymbrias and S.E. of Ouramma), and published in *Ath. Mitt.* 1883, p. 72. In the first century A.D. two brothers, Obrimianos and Monsaios, presented to their city certain property, describing themselves as 'descendants of Manes Ourammos.' This strange expression remained for many years a problem. At the time when it was discovered it was almost unique, but one could gather that Manes Ourammos must have been some god, or king, or hero, who ranked in popular estimation as the founder of a great family of this Pisidian land, some historical or semi-divine figure, who stood in relation to heaven on the one hand and earth on the other, sufficiently human to be the ancestor of a great family, and yet sufficiently removed from humanity to be a creature of mythology, if not of religion. Nowadays, through many inscriptions, we gain a conception of the Anatolian social system which was undreamed of before. There lasted through the Roman imperial time many great families, usually representatives of old dynasties or hieratic families, tracing back their ancestry to semi-divine figures of remote mythology and boasting of this descent in public records. At Colophon the great personages connected with the temple and oracle of the Klarian Apollo called themselves 'Herakleidai, sprung from Ardyx,'<sup>44</sup> the old Lydian historical or mythological king. At Pessinos the priest-dynasts took the name Atis, and constituted a great native family which in due time gained the *civitas*. At Olba, in Western Cilicia, the priest-kings called themselves in succession Ajax and Teucer,<sup>45</sup> connecting therewith some unrecorded mythological tale, worked up in the form that Teucer, son of Ajax, departed from among the Greeks at Troy and settled in Cyprus. At Komana (Capp.) and Kastabala the priest-kings were the representatives of Orestes (as Strabo tells).<sup>46</sup> At the priestly centre Zizyma, six hours N. of

<sup>42</sup> *H.G.A.M.* p. 334, Ampelada at Gelendos? Austrian explorers found Amblada S. of Bey-Sheher: are the two identical?

<sup>43</sup> I speak without geological knowledge.

<sup>44</sup> See *Jahreshefte*, xv. 1912, pp. 46-7.

<sup>45</sup> Yavan and Teuku: see note 10.

<sup>46</sup> Orestes, native Oaris, p. 131: cp. Orkis, too, Orkarko, *H.G.A.M.* p. 229.



Iconium, Orestes was a frequent name in the great priestly family. Again, of many more examples one is very similar to the present case:<sup>46</sup> a certain gentleman in the Roman period describes himself as a descendant of Lykomedes, employing this name as so familiar to all readers that without any further title or information the whole picture of noble ancestry was recalled. M. Haussonllier, who edits the inscription, takes this Lykomedes to be the priest-king of Komana Pontica under Mark Antony;<sup>47</sup> but more probably Lykomedes was the mythical, half-historical and half-divine ancestor of the priestly family at Komana. In an inscription (*O.G.I.S.* 513, Fraenkel, No. 525, at Pergamos) occurs the expression *γένους τῶν Ἐπι(λ)αιδῶν*: the Epilaidai were some royal or priestly family.<sup>48</sup> The descendants of the old Athenian and Ionian *Βασιλεῖς* (or certain elected and representative officials in their place called *Βασιλεῖς*) had religious duties in those cities. At Skepsis there were two royal families (Strabo, p. 607), descended from Hektor and Aeneas respectively. Compare the patronymics in Lydia Labrantides and Tuteides,<sup>49</sup> which point to old pre-Roman noble families; also Thynnaridai at Synnada in Phrygia with *ΘΥΝΝΑΡΙΔΕΣ* on coins. The Abtenitae claimed descent from an ancestor Chromios (whom they styled *προπάτορα*, see Imhoof-Blumer in *Bonneler Festschrift*), and the kings of Bosphorus in Roman time from Eumolpus son of Poseidon and from Herakles (*Comptes Rendus*, 1862, p. 26).

Those great families are a feature of Anatolian history which can be traced through the centuries. They are known in the fourth century B.C. from the great inscription of the Temple at Sardis, and in the beginning of the fifth century from the case of Pythios the wealthy landowner and trader of Kelainai, who entertained Xerxes too hospitably for his own happiness; and they can be traced even earlier. In the wars among the would-be successors of Alexander the Great, they are seen in the owners of the Tetrapyrgia, the castellated residences in the form of quadrangles which gave employment to the military activity of Eumenes before 300 B.C.<sup>50</sup> While the great priestly families at the various religious centres were specially prominent, yet some of those landowners belonged to conquering tribes and nations who had successively occupied Asia Minor. They lived after the patriarchal fashion in those family mansions, with their sons and their sons' wives around them; and the word *nympha* was customarily applied to a married lady resident with her husband's family in the sense of daughter-in-law or sister-in-law indifferently. Such a lady was *nympha* of the whole household.<sup>51</sup> Further, to those great families belonged several

<sup>46</sup> *ὅς τις ἐκείνων ἀνέστηκεν* corresponds exactly to the Pindaric phrase *ὅς τις ἐκείνων Μάϊον Οἰκονόμον*. The phrase *γένος πατρὸς* *ἐκείνου* probably denotes an old priestly family.

<sup>47</sup> *R. de Phil.* xxiii. 1899, p. 149; see Wilhelm, *Neue Beil.* 1911, p. 63. W.H.E.

<sup>48</sup> The only Epilaid known to Roscher was

son of Nelaus and Chloris; an unrecorded legend may have connected him with Pergamon.

<sup>49</sup> *Bursch*, p. 8; *B.C.H.* xi. 1887, p. 84; *Sm. Mus.* No. 467.

<sup>50</sup> *C.B.Phr.* ii. pp. 419 ff. Bostockow, *Stud. i. Grsch.* d. v. *Kolon*, pp. 253 f.

<sup>51</sup> *Stud. Hist. E. Prov.* p. 71, etc.

of the most important church leaders in early Christian history. Basil of Caesarea and Gregory of Nazianzos were both sprung from aristocratic families, and they participated in the highest Greek education of the time, studying at the University of Athens in the enjoyment of abundant leisure and every advantage. In the account which Gregory of Nyssa gives of the Arian heretic Eunomios there appears the contempt of a rather exclusive aristocrat for the man of the people, who had to make his living by various shifts and employments which Gregory was too ready to regard as contemptible. The Tetrapyrgia in which such families dwelt were developed into the great early Turkish buildings in Anatolia, the colleges (*Medresse*) and the castellated *khan*s; and the typical form of the English College in Oxford or Cambridge is a reflexion of the old Tetrapyrgion.<sup>30</sup>

It is evident that Manes Ouramma is Manes who rules the land Ouramma, and consideration of the evidence accumulated in Nos. IV.-VIII. leaves no doubt that Manes is the native name of the local god adopted by the Phrygians, but really an old Anatolian deity (just as Kybele was worshipped in Anatolia millennia before the Phrygians entered the country). Now the deity who was specially worshipped in all the country round was named by the Greeks Men (also Men Askaenos, uniting a grecized Anatolian name with a Phrygian mythological name equivalent to Askanius, at Eumenia, Apollonia and Antioch). In Antioch he was the impersonation of the divine power at one of the greatest sanctuaries and religious centres of all Anatolia. In what relation are we to understand that the Men of Greek inscriptions stands to Manes, the Anatolian god of Ouramma? Is the resemblance merely accidental, or is it not evident that the word Men is an attempt to impart meaning in Greek to a native name? I cannot hesitate as to the answer;<sup>31</sup> the facts combine to make the proof irresistible. Manes of Ouramma is the Men of Antioch,<sup>32</sup> but Ouramma was less Hellenised and more Phrygo-Pisidian than Antioch. The land, being a frontier district, was one in which Phrygian and Pisidian elements were mingled.<sup>33</sup>

The spelling Ouramma is probably due to the attempt to represent either stress or accent in the original native word. We may compare the form Ziziamene, which is sometimes spelled Zizimene. The shorter form is correct, because the place was Zizima or Zizyma; the double M was an attempt to represent the secondary accent falling on the antepenult. Similarly in VIII. the spelling Mannes, Mannis, indicates that stress or accent falls on the first syllable.<sup>34</sup>

There would be much more to say about the land of Ouramma, if space permitted. Manes of Ouramma was the ancestral hero of the great family of

<sup>30</sup> See *Studies in the History of Eastern Provinces*, pp. 372 f.; *Paulina and other Studies*, p. 376; *Lives of the Phys.* p. 187.

<sup>31</sup> Manes or Mannis with long penult VII., VIII., and note 54.

<sup>32</sup> See *Ascalon notices* in an Antiochian inscription of Roman time. I regard Ascala as

an invented form, late in character, for Askuta.

<sup>33</sup> Strabo, p. 629, lays emphasis on this mixture.

<sup>34</sup> Wilamowitz in *Hermes*, xxiv, 222, takes Māns for Māvins. Wilhelm (loc. cit. No. VII.) regards Māvins as intermediate.



the district, and his descendants were important citizens of an adjoining Pisidian city, Anaboura, in the first century. The sanctuary of the district Ouramma was situated in the ridge that terminates in the promontory Snake's Head. In this we recognise the sacred snake into which the god transforms himself in the Mysteries; and that ridge seems to run down from Mount Olympus, the modern Sultan-Dagh, the sultan or king of all the lesser ridges of mountains around, which is prominent in the view as one looks from the lake or the Apollonian valley towards E.<sup>25</sup> There also lay the seat of the worship of Zeus Ourudamenos or Euradamenos. In the *Classical Review*, 1904, pp. 416 f., I argued that Ourudamenos is probably closer to native pronunciation, while Euradamenos is intended by popular etymology to suggest a Greek meaning, though incorrectly in every way; also that -ménos contains the name of the god Men. It seems now safe to infer that this epithet marks Zeus as a Hellenised form of the native god Men of Ouruda, and that Ouruda is Ourama. Manes Ourammos, the native god, was Hellenised as Zeus Ouruda-men-os.

Ourammos probably became a personal name, though I cannot quote exact proof; but it occurs in the dialectic variety Oprammos, and probably in the Anabouran family sprung from Manes the names (Obrimos and) Obrimianos were Grecised versions of Ourammos-Oprammos.<sup>26</sup> The employment in Anatolia of Greek names which had a certain superficial resemblance to native names is a large one on which it is impossible here to enter: examples see p. 169, etc. (Tarku-Teukros, Yavan-Aiant-, compounds like Menemachos, Menelaos, Tlammos-Telemachos, Iazarmas [or some other compound of Ia]-Iasôn, Oaris (-Orestes, etc.). In Cappadocia Iazêmis is father of Iason, showing the Grecising process in operation (Grothe, *Vorderasien-exped.* i. p. lxxiv).

The close connexion between local and personal names in Anatolia was a marked feature (see *H.G.A.M.* pp. 144, 189, 226, 439, etc.; Kretschmer, *Einleitung*, p. 183): the personal name was derived in some cases, and original in others: Kidrammos, Kidramouas, town Kidramos; Pappas, town Pappa; Saettas, town Saittai; Keraios, people Keraitai; Trokondas, people Trokondenoi; Midas, town Midaiôn; Kotys, town Kotyaion; Kadus (equivalent to

<sup>25</sup> In this I assume a topographical identification which cannot be fully discussed. The village Olympokoma is known, and in A.D. 733 a hermit called St. George Limnia, evidently connected with the Limnai, had his hermitage in Mount Olympus. I take Mount Olympus here to include in rough Byzantine fashion the ridge which extends from the peak of Olympus to the lake (this ridge was the Snake), and the hermitage is still to the present day an object of pilgrimage among the Greeks of Apollonia and Sparta on August 15th, the Assumption of the Virgin (instituted as a festival early in the seventh century by the Emperor Maurice). This hermitage

was visited by Miss Bell in 1907 and by Anderson and myself in 1912. Close to it there is an ancient Phrygian tomb, doubtless regarded as the tomb of some early Phrygian leader, and also a great natural monument like a rock-door on the water's edge. Nature and popular belief combined to make this place a religious centre.

<sup>26</sup> Cp. Tourammos, Sterrett, *W.E.* 330 (revised by me 1886): Laima-Tlammos. Many forms point to ovna or owna as closest to Anatolian pronunciation; but Oua is the modern name of Oña Trach., and Ptolemy has Ouranopolis.



Kotys ?), Kadouas, town *Kadoi* (*Káδοφοι*); Akkilas, Akylas, Akheles, town Akkilaion;<sup>57</sup> Atreus, town *Ἀτρεαί*; Otreus, town Otrous (*Ὀτροφός*), Otroua and *Ὀτρύαι*; Tatas or Tottes, village Tataion or Tottaion; etc.

The land or district Ouramma is called Ouranopolis by Ptolemy, who gives this as one of the nine towns in Pisidian Kabalia; all nine are wrongly assigned to this imaginary region, for Ptolemy is more inaccurate about the classification of Pisidian towns than about any other region in Anatolia.<sup>58</sup>

VII. *C.I.G.* Add. 1756; Wilhelm, *Beiträge*, p. 36, on a small marble stele, 182 m. high, in letters c. 450–425 B.C., purports to be the epitaph of a Phrygian woodcutter 'who died in the War.'<sup>59</sup>

Φρυγῶν δὲ ἄριστος ἐγένετ' ἐν εὐ[ρ]υχόροιςιν Ἀθήνα[ι]ς  
Μάννης Ὀρούμαιος, ὃ μνήμα τόδ' ἐστὶ καλόν·  
καὶ μὰ Δι' οὐκ εἶδον | ἐμνῆτο ἁμείνω ὑλοτόμον, |  
ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ | ἀπέθανεν.

Wilhelm considers that Mannes, son of Orumas, belonged to a Phrygian colony in Attica; Thucydides ii. 22, says that a cavalry skirmish occurred ἐν Φρυγίοις 431 B.C. I cannot believe that a colony of Phrygians existed in the heart of Attica. Slaves often bore the name of a king or god of their own land, e.g. Phrygians were Manes, Midas, Davos, etc. Mannes is 'noblest of the Phrygians in Athens,' a joke about his name as god and priest-king of his native land (No. VI). He is not called a slave, but the circumstances prove this. The humble and toilsome occupation of a woodchopper was suited for slaves:<sup>60</sup> in Turkey at the present day the woodcutters all belong to a despised and poverty-stricken sect, who have the outward appearance of Islam, but are regarded with horror by the Moslems as heretics. In the well-known inscription of Xanthos, the Lycian, at Sounion,<sup>61</sup> no one would have thought that Xanthos was a slave if he had not referred to Gains Trebina; but for this he would have been taken as an immigrant priest of a foreign worship, and the length and importance of the ritual document which he inscribed in two copies would have been regarded as complete proof that it did not originate from a slave. Similarly Mannes of Oruma claims to be an outstanding personality among the Phrygians in Athens. Wilhelm recognises in Orumaios a patronymic and at the same time he quotes Kretschmer, *Einkleitung*, pp. 183 and 237, in respect of the correspondence between personal and place names. In truth it is a local epithet which becomes a personal name. Mannes of Oruma is Manes of Ouramma (as in No. VI). On the spelling Mannes or Mammis see No. VIII. and note 54.

<sup>57</sup> See *Journ. R. Asiatic Soc.* 1884, p. 26; the river Akhelios is identified with Akkilaios: the personal idea of 'divine' 'genius' or protecting spirit is everywhere.

<sup>58</sup> E.g. he assigns Sagalassos to Lykia, district beside Mankytos.

<sup>59</sup> A. Wilhelm, *Beitr. z. gr. Inschriftent.*

(1900), p. 36-7. He remarks: 'In Ὀρούμαιος wird ein Patronymikon zu erkennen sein: entsprechende Ortsnamen erwähnt Kretschmer, *Einkleitung*, S. 183, 237.'

<sup>60</sup> The Achaean charcoal-burners certainly possessed slaves.

<sup>61</sup> *Fourn. Assoc. Relig.* p. 212.

There are some features in the inscription which show the Anatolian type. The variation between the first and the third personal form is frequent in Phrygian epitaphs.<sup>82</sup> Again, Mannes calls himself the best woodcutter he has ever seen. Similarly in an inscription of Balboura (as Wilhelm mentions) a dead man is described as the best of gardeners (*ἀριστος κηπουρῶν*, Heberdey-Kalinka, *Bericht in Denkschriften Akad. Wien*, XLV, Part I, p. 41, No. 59). Further, the epitaph of Mannes is expressed in a quaint approximation to metrical form, which is characteristic of Phrygian epitaphs. While some are formally expressed as hexameters, or occasionally iambs, with scansion of varying degrees of falsity, others can hardly be made into separate verses, and yet there is a distinct metrical tone in them.<sup>83</sup> This epitaph would serve as a quite fair specimen of the Phrygian semi-metrical type; after two pseudo-hexameters the rest trails off into prose.

The inscription is certainly jocular, and perhaps not really an epitaph. It is to be compared with the inscription of Isaura Nova published by Calder in *C.R.* 1909, p. 81, a joke inscribed on a scrap of stone by a wedding guest. The war in which Mannes died was perhaps a drinking-bout. *μὰ Δία* is quite out of place in an epitaph. *Ἀθήνας* is on the stone:

VIII.—*B.C.H.* vii, p. 315 (at Konia, Ramsay) now gathers fuller meaning:

Μωσῆς διά(κονος), υἱὸς Νησίου Πενπλίου πρεσβ. Ἰσαυροπόλεως, εὐχάμενος ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ [καὶ] τοῦ οἴκου αὐτοῦ, ἐκαρποφόρησεν τὸν κῆνα εἰς τὸν Ἄγιον Μάννη. M.

This was the fortieth column, M, in the church, dedicated according to a vow (which God had granted) to St. Mannis by Moses a deacon, doubtless of Iconium. His father Nesios was a presbyter of Isauropolis, i.e. Isaura Nova (Doris), subject to Iconium metropolis from 372 onwards (see note 107).

The St. Mannis who is mentioned here was apparently the patron of a church from which the column bearing this inscription was brought in the construction of the Mosque of Ala-ed-din.<sup>84</sup> The date is probably comparatively early, c. 400 A.D., as the inscription has not the fully-formed Byzantine character.<sup>85</sup> The old Anatolian divine name Mannis is to be regarded as a byform (native) of Manes (cp. No. VII), and both as the original from which the Greek name of the god Men was formed. The intention was to impart Greek form and meaning to an Anatolian name, and when the Greek-speaking church invented the Christianised form of the native god as Menas, the local belief in Lycaonia still clung to the Anatolian form Mannis (see

<sup>82</sup> In the epitaph of St. Aberkios (Avernius Marcellus) the variation has provoked some strange speculations among commentators who did not know the Phrygian custom.

<sup>83</sup> This characteristic suggests a certain musical turn in the Phrygian mind, and mythology fully confirms that impression.

<sup>84</sup> The Greeks say that this Mosque was a Christian church originally, but this is not

true. It was built as a Mosque.

<sup>85</sup> The use of the Roman praenomen Publius by the father (whose nomen is not stated), and the diames by the son of Latin nomenclature, point to the period towards 400; the son is presumably a mature man, and the father dead. The expression shows the fourth century stage of development towards definitely Byzantine forms.



No. VII.), and spoke of the saint by the familiar name, which the people had been accustomed to apply to the god. This saint is Menas, as described in Nos. VI-IX.

That the first syllable of Manes is long was seen by Wilamowitz (*Hermes*, xxxiv, p. 222), who takes it as originating from Masnes (first Lydian king, son of Zeus and Ge; Dionys. Hal. l. 27; Plutarch, *Is. et Os.* 360 n, says that Manes or Masdes was an old Phrygian king; Masnes was also a river name). The length is confirmed by the spelling Mannis or Mannee here and in No. VII.

The legends of St. Menas, which are too long to relate, connect him with Cappadocia and Eastern Anatolia.<sup>66</sup> This connexion may throw doubt on his connexion with the pagan god in the estimation of those who follow Roscher's *Lexicon*. Drexler refuses there to admit that any cult of Men existed in Cappadocia. Now the worship of Men is proved in other parts of Anatolia almost exclusively from inscriptions and coins, but in Cappadocia inscriptions are rare,<sup>67</sup> and coins were struck only at Caesarea (with very few at Tyana and Kybistra); there were in the country only three cities, no education, and rarely any suitable stone for inscriptions. The literary evidence for the worship of Men in different parts of Anatolia is very slight, but it is quite as abundant for Eastern Anatolia as for Phrygia and Pisidia; yet it is set aside by Drexler as insufficient, because he is influenced by a false idea about the nature of Men. The sole indication that Men was worshipped in Lycia is found, not in literature, nor in any monument of that country, but in an inscription at Sounion in Attica, made by a Lycian slave who set up a cult of his native god Men and stated the regulations for it at great length.

IX. *C.I.G.* 4000: instead of the text there published I give on pp. 154 f. Kaibel's in *Ep. Gr. ex lapp. cont.* 406, and a photograph of Lucas's page (which I owe to Mr. Buckler). The inscription is highly important, if my interpretation, which rests largely on considerations connected with the geographical and religious surroundings of Iconium, is correct. The name Galateia, on which I build, is regarded by Kaibel as beyond doubt, and we all accept it. The festival of Men was read in 3 by Buckler before he heard of my interpretation, which stands even without it so long as Galateia remains. I accept his reading making an addition (which is unchanged Lucas), but some prefer at this point the simple alterations of Kaibel. This text exemplifies the extreme limit permissible in altering a copy, and is correspondingly uncertain; but *C.I.G.* and Kaibel change the copy more and attain results remote from each other and from us.

<sup>66</sup> Even an Italian St. Menas at Bari has some slight Anatolian relation. There are three forms of this saint.

<sup>67</sup> The number known in the *Vitruvian tituli* *As. Min.* was 530 (see Grotius, *Vorderhausen*,

suppl. 1911, p. 122), a considerable increase from *C.I.G.* (nine) and *C.I.L.* (ninety-six); but there are far more in two towns of Lycia alone.



Lucas separates the words from one another by spaces, and his ill-success is a measure of his scanty knowledge of Greek. The first word he makes *ἀνδρείαν* instead of *ἀνδρείαντα*. The spaces between the words may therefore be disregarded, as showing merely his personal fancy.

I quote from Kaibel's notes: 2 agitur de publicis Zotici muneribus et meritis, cum Γαλατείαν mentio dubia non videatur. 3 aedificium aliquod dilapsum ruderibus egestis restituisse videtur. 4 Fortasse τὰ νενεκῶτα.

It is doubtless on account of the want of suitable type that Lucas employs the small forms ε and ω instead of ε and ω (see *C.I.G.*). I reconstruct hypothetically the epigraphic text, using common late forms of those letters. Further, it was characteristic of the inscriptions of the fourth century, to which this text belongs, that inconsistent forms of Greek letters were employed in the same inscription; generally the round epsilon, sometimes the square form, was used, and similarly varying forms of omega, sigma, etc. Examples may be found in the inscriptions of Antioch published by Anderson in *J.R.S.* 1913, p. 286f.

The copy is not excellent, but creditable in the circumstances. It is worst towards the end, when Lucas grew tired of copying this hard and long text. Besides the variation of form in the letters, some ligatures of unusual shape were employed, which puzzled Lucas and cause difficulty to the modern interpreter. We follow Lucas more closely than older editors do, and the explanation of his errors is often evident from my conjectural epigraphic copy, which should be compared with the epigram from Isaura Nova (see Miss Ramsay's article on Isaurian art).<sup>98</sup> The Iconian stone, however, had probably no ornament, but only a plain raised border (like *C.I.G.* 3964 and many others), for such ornament was an Isaurian feature. The longer verses in those epigrams often encroached on the raised border.

It is necessary first to explain the upright strokes by which Lucas generally marks the end of hexameters. (1) They may have been on the original stone and Lucas may have copied them, omitting to do so several times, and especially at the last. I have once or twice seen such upright marks at the end of hexameters, but the device is rare; and, when we look at the page of Lucas's book, it seems probable that the length of his lines was conditioned by the size of his notebook. In the numerous copies of inscriptions made by Dr. Diamantides (see *Introduction*) he often arranged his copy, not according to the stone, but according to the breadth of his notebook (especially when the lines were long). (2) Inscriptions of late date in hexameter are often arranged so that each verse gets a line on the stone.<sup>99</sup> If that were the case here, there would not be room in Lucas's notebook for such long lines: apparently he intended to mark with an upright stroke in his copy the ends of the lines on the stone. If it is objected that the

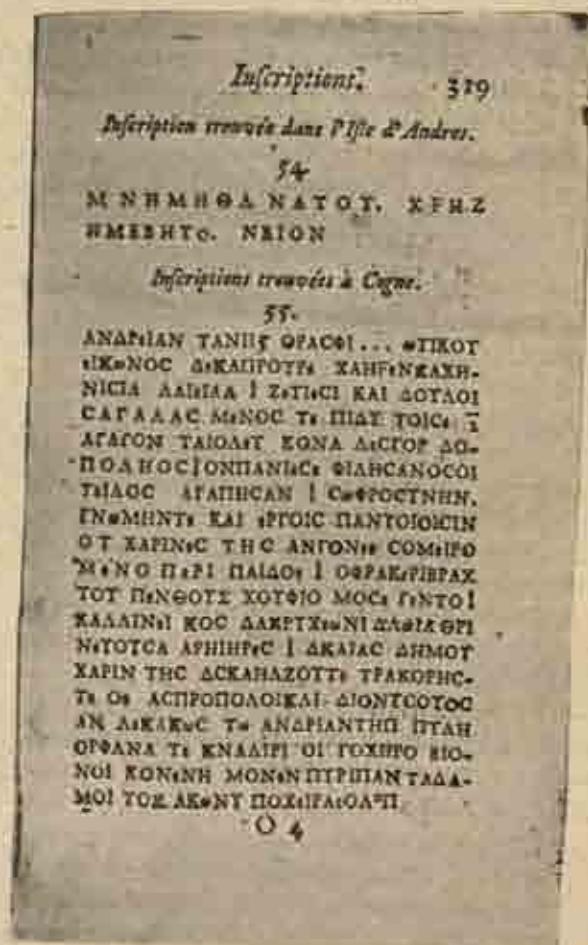
<sup>98</sup> *Studies in the Eastern Roman Provinces*, p. 47.

<sup>99</sup> Examples (besides many elsewhere): *C.I.G.* 3943, 3956 c, 3964 (ambi), 3973, 3982.

The stone disregards the metre in 3962. The epitaph of Avrelius Marcellus (*C.B.P.A.* II, p. 725) gives two lines on the stone to each hexameter: see Starrett, *E.J.* 182.

explanation is unreasonable, because Lucas did not fully carry out his own plan, the answer is that Lucas was human<sup>70</sup> and that he was Lucas. Whatever theory he adopted, the fact remains that the intention of inserting the upright strokes is not completely carried out. In *C.I.G.* 3996 the editors remark that Lucas indicates the end of the lines by punctuation marks;

LUCAS'S PAGE ( $\frac{2}{3}$  of original).



apparently the marks were placed by himself in his notebook to show the difference between his arrangement and that on the stone.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>70</sup> Personally, I always find it difficult to carry out completely any such plan; omissions and exceptions occur, and increase as one proceeds.

<sup>71</sup> This inscription is published also in *Muratorii* iii. p. iiii. c. 4. I have not seen it.

I doubt whether it is a feasible supposition in *C.I.G.* 4000 that Lucas, to show his learning, inserted marks in his copy indicating the ends of hexameters, for he had not sufficient knowledge of Greek to intend this.

Further, the reduced photograph of Lucas's page should be compared at every point with our conjectural epigraphic copy arranged as on the stone. In it the corrections that former editors have rightly made are dotted to show the true character of the original, and we add a few changes of the same simple type (according to the principles stated in the *Introduction*). Lucas's errors are also dotted.<sup>12</sup> Many things become simpler when thus brought before the eye. The forms of letters are suited to the late date,<sup>13</sup> and they vary in some degree (as already explained); the forms, and the occasional ligatures, often explain Lucas's errors. It will be noticed that the stone was

## ΚΑΙΒΕΛ

- ἀνδρείαντ' ἀν [ε]ῖσορᾶς, φί[λε, Ζ]ωτικῷ εἰκῶν  
 ὃς δεκάπρ[ω]τ[ος ἀν]ή[ρ] ἐκ [π]α[τρι]δὲ γῆ Γ[α]λα[τ]εῖα<λ>  
 ζεῖ[γ]σει καὶ δοῦλοις ἀγαλ[λ]ο[μενος τ'] ἐπὶ [α]ὐτοῖς  
 ἐξάγαγ[ε]ν . . . . . πόλῃος  
 5 ὃν πάν[τ]ες ἐφέλησαν, ὅσοι τ[ο]ῖ[ον]ς ἀγάπησαν  
 σωφροσύνην γνώμην τε καὶ ἔργοις παντοίοισιν·  
 οὗ χάριν ἐστήσαν γονεῖς ὁ[δ]υ[ρόμενο]ι περὶ παιδῶ[ν].  
 ὁφρα κ' ἐρί[κλ]α[ύ]του πένθους [κ]ρουφι[σ]μῶς ἐγέντο,  
 Καλλίνεικος δακρυχέων ἰδ' [Λ]αφ[φ]ία θρ[η]νεύουσα,  
 10 ἀρη[τ]ήρες [Ἀ]χλαίας δήμου χάριν τῆς δε[κ]α[μά]ζον  
 Τετρακόρης τε [θ]εῶς πρόπολοι καὶ Διονύσου  
 δε ἀν δὲ κακῶς τῷ ἀνδρείαντ[ι] π[ι]νῆσ[η]  
 ὀρφανα τέκνα λί[π]οιτο, χῆρ[ο]ν βίον, οἶκον ἐ[ρ]ημῶν  
 ἐν πυρὶ πάντα δάμοιτο, κακῶν ὑπὸ χεῖρας ὀλο[ί]το

injured at both right-hand corners,<sup>14</sup> and at several places there must have been slight injuries to the surface; such is almost always the case if the stone is large. Square brackets indicate those places in which letters are lost. In two cases, 1 and 4, loss is indicated by Lucas himself; in others the additions are conjectural. In 13 N was omitted either through haste or because the stone was injured.<sup>15</sup> I number the verses according to the true text of the stone.

<sup>12</sup> The presence of dots, therefore, is a signal calling attention.

<sup>13</sup> In some cases late forms are probable; I follow the common shape of letters except where there was a clear reason.

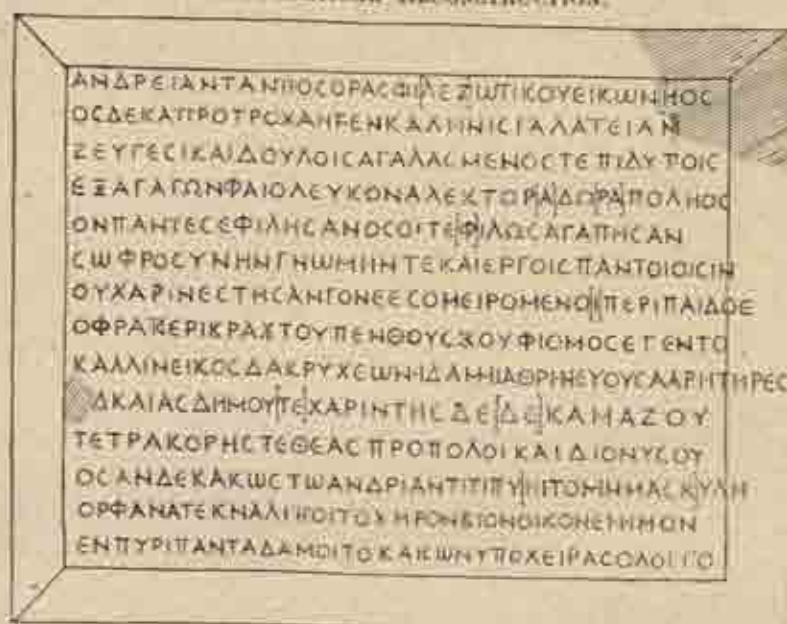
<sup>14</sup> The break at the right lower corner is accidentally omitted in the zincotype.

<sup>15</sup> This omission is certain. Lucas became careless at the end, and errors are more numerous there (see *Introduction*).



The style of this epigram, with the use of strange and rather inconsistent epithets of the goddess, remote from the simpler language of the earlier and middle Empire, confirms the late dating. We notice also that, while the inscription mentions the religion of the city, it never refers to the worship of the Emperors. This omission relegates it either to a quite early period, when the worship of the Emperors had not yet fully established itself in Iconium, or to a very late date, when the Empire in its last struggle against the Christians was trusting to the revivification of the old pagan worship and allowing the Imperial religion to fall out of notice. During the long intermediate period the Imperial policy relied on the Imperial religion as a unifying and strengthening influence, and the cities paid the greatest attention to the maintenance of this worship and enthroned the reigning emperor (with or without his predecessors) alongside of the national or

#### HYPOTHETICAL RECONSTRUCTION.



municipal cult. It is however, impossible to assign this inscription to a very early period before the worship of the Emperors was enthroned in Iconium. There was a high priest of Tiberius in Iconium (see p. 126), and already in the time of Augustus the Imperial religion was probably established there. The inscription has nothing to justify the theory of a date so early. Everything confirms the opinion that it belongs to the fourth century, when many similar inscriptions were engraved showing how various priestly families, in conjunction with the magistrates, attempted to restore the old religion in Lycaonia and Phrygia, which were already in large degree Christian. The history of one such priestly family belonging to the period 250-310 has been

traced in Central Phrygia.<sup>75</sup> The attempt was made to exhibit the old religion as the patron of literature and true morality in opposition to Christianity, and as able to do better than the new faith everything needed by religious feeling. The period, then, to which this inscription belongs is the age when imperial policy was encouraging and supporting the adherents of the old faith against the new, but not hunting down 'the Name' with soldiers.

For a time I thought of the period of Maximin, comparing such inscriptions as *C.B.Phr.* No. 467, dated 313-4 A.D., but in preparing the conjectural epigraphic copy I found that Lucas's errors imply a later date, viz. the time of Julian. On this theory the epigram explains itself completely. It commemorates the revival of an old rite in a Christian city, and it is steeped in the ideas of the fourth century.

## SUGGESTED TEXT.

- Ἀνδριάνταν π[ρο]σορᾶς,<sup>76</sup> φί[λε, Ζ]ωτικῶν Ἐκκλ[η]σ[ια]σ[ίων]  
 δε δὲ καὶ ἱρότροχα ἦγεν καλὴν εἰς Γαλατείαν  
 ζεύγσει καὶ δοῦλοις Ἀγαλας Μηνὸς τ' ἐπὶ λυτ[ρο]ίς  
 ἐξαγαγὼν Φαιόλευκον ἀλέκτορ[α], δω[ρα] πόλ[ι]τος,  
 5 ὃν πάντες ἐφίλησαν ὅσοι τε [φ]ίλος ἀγάπησαν  
 σωφροσύνη γνῶμη τε καὶ ἔργοις παρτοίοισιν  
 οὗ χάριν ἔστησαι γονίης ὁμιρόμενο[ι] περὶ παιδός,  
 ὅφρα περικραντοῦ πένθους κανφισμὸς ἔγεντο  
 Καλλίνεικος δακρυχέων ἢ ὅτ' Ἀμμία θοηρέουσα,  
 10 ἀρητήρην Ἀχαιᾶς δήμου χάριν, τῆς δεκαμῆζου  
 τετρακόρης τε θεᾶς πρόπολοι καὶ Διονύσου,  
 δε ἂν δὲ κακῶς τῷ Ἀνδριάντι φυ[γῆ]ται, ἢ τὸ μνῆμα σκ[υ]νῆται, κτλ.

Kallinikos, the author of this epigram, had some Greek education, but his reading lay in religious hymns rather than epic poetry.<sup>77</sup> His work stands on a higher level than the ordinary sepulchral epigrams of Lycæonia. He had, however, no knowledge of metre, and none of his lines scan rightly.

<sup>75</sup> Ramsay, *C.B.Phr.* II, p. 799; *Revue des Études de l'Asie*, 1903, p. 275; 1903, p. 269; *Paralipomena and other Studies in Hist.*, pp. 106-112.

<sup>76</sup> Ο would be better in brackets on the conjectural copy: it was put by Lucas in the correction in his note-book and afterwards

misunderstood. A common late form of Ω is deceptively like Ο, and was mistaken by Lucas. In the line I have not made ΕΝ in 3 right: it should be 1-Ν.

<sup>77</sup> One Homeric reminiscence is traditional, not original: see p. 155.



He was acquainted with the common Central Anatolian models for metrical funeral epigrams. 1 is a free variation of a common introduction to epitaphs. 2-4 are an individual and original touch illustrating the life of the deceased. 5-8 recur to the usual Lycæonian and Phrygian type, but alter it freely. 9 attempts in the most halting fashion to introduce the unhappy parents, but (as usual in such epigrams) the proper names wreck the metre. 10 and 11 are again an individual piece of work, attempting to describe the office of the parents and the character of the goddess with lamentable metrical results. The last three verses repeat a form of imprecation against the violator of the tomb, which is frequently used in Phrygia with varying protasis, but identical apodosis.<sup>19</sup> It is probably a rude rendering in Greek of an old Phrygian formula, but none of the Phrygian formulae which have been as yet found correspond exactly to it; the rendering was made, perhaps in the second century, by some person whose knowledge of Greek was defective, and it passed into general use. The metre would be improved by using the active *λείπει* instead of the incorrect middle form *λείποντο*.<sup>20</sup> The translator of the supposed Phrygian original seems to have understood *δαμνέτω* as passive: all the property of the violator is to be destroyed in fire. At the end the dative *χεραῖς* would be an improvement on the accusative *χείρας*. The Phrygian poet had a vague recollection of the Homeric *ἐπὶ χερσὶ δαμῆναι*, but uses it badly.

This epigram should be contrasted with the Akmonian document (*C. B. Phr.* II No. 467) as an expression of the pagan revival, engineered by priestly families in alliance with the Imperial administration; its tone differs, as it is exactly fifty years later.

1. Three symbols require correction. II followed by a complex symbol which does not occur elsewhere in the inscription. My view is that II represents a ligature of ΠΠ blurred on the stone. ΟΟΟ following was copied ΕΟ and corrected by Lucas in his notebook, but in preparing for publication he misunderstood his correction: I have known such happenings. The word was *προσοψῆς*, and the epitaph opens 'You look upon the statue of Zotikos an Iconian.'<sup>21</sup> It is of course easy to suggest *ισορῆς* and to omit *ηος* at the end; but this does not explain the complex symbol, and supposes that Lucas wrote II where he should have written I: now Lucas sometimes omits a symbol, but he does not insert one without warrant. ΕΙ is scanned as the spirant Υ. At first I thought of

ἀνδρείδηντα [δ]ν [ε]ῖσορ[α]ς, φί[λ]ε, Ζωτικῶν εἰκῶν

*statuam quam vides Zotici imago est, on the analogy of urbem quam statua vestra est*; and other forms of the verse have been suggested; but

<sup>19</sup> Iconium was a Phrygian city: Xen. *Anab.* I. 2. See my *Bearing of Discovery on N.T.*, pp. 55-63.

<sup>20</sup> On the fondness of Phrygians for the middle aorist optat. in preference to the active, see my paper in *Philologus*, N.F. I. p. 766: *C. B. Phr.* II. p. 682.

<sup>21</sup> Buckler compares the epitaph *Αλεχόλου Εὐφροσύνης Ἀθηναίης τοῦτο σῆμα. Εἰσεσέες and Εἰσεσέες both occur, the latter being late. Εἰσεσέες with ε used for σ (as often) is not allowable, as a short ε is below the standard of this inscription.*



Buckler's suggestion *Ελευ[ος]* is convincing, and it is supported by *προσ-αρως*, explaining the corruption in the middle of the verse. The corner of the stone and the ends of 1 and 2 were broken.

2. I substitute Π for Lucas's Π, and (with *C.I.G.*) Ο for Lucas's Ε (where Kaibel substituted Ω too violently); also Γ for his Ρ (where *C.I.G.* Kaibel read Ρ), and we all accept Kaibel's [Ρ]αλα[τ]εια[ν] in which the right stroke of Ν has been broken off, leaving Λ in Lucas's copy.<sup>81</sup> δε δε καί, 'who was an) Ionian, and who was . . .', καί is often used with little or no force (as *πὺν καί* for *σὺν*) in Anatolian texts. No one likes δε δέκα, and καί is an easier correction of the copy.

3. The first correction Γ is accepted by all. Lucas did not understand the ligature ΠΝ,<sup>82</sup> and wrote ΕΝ. In the last word editors correct Δ to Α: I prefer Α (Buckler), i.e. *Αύτραις*, supposing ligature of ΤΡ, which was misunderstood by Lucas. The dative *ζεύγασι κ.τ.λ.* is loosely appended. *Αύτρα* was a rite in honour of Men (see below).

The rare adjective here employed is found in the Orphic Hymn *Rhea* 2, *ἱερότροχα ἄρματα*. It is characteristic of the period, the style, and the literary knowledge of the author that he agrees with the *Orphica* in this word. The noun, which is expressed in *Orphica*, can readily be understood here.

While Kaibel's text (which suggests itself at first sight)<sup>83</sup> involves only simple alterations of the copy, all of the permissible class, I print Buckler's conjecture, which keeps closer to the copy,<sup>84</sup> and to it add that Ἀγαλας is correctly read by Lucas. The festival is celebrated to Agala and Men; Agala is the local goddess, who appears in a grecised form as the Nymph Galateia.<sup>85</sup>

4. The change of Ο to Ε is made by previous editors. The first letter of the second word in Lucas's copy is Τ, which Buckler corrects to Φ. In this inscription probably Φ had a shape which was easily confused with Τ. *φαίδλευκος* does not occur elsewhere, but this can hardly be regarded as an insuperable objection, because *λευκόφατος* is found frequently. Professor Souter quotes it from a Hibeh papyrus 246 n.c.; Athenaeus, p. 78a; Pollux, vii. 129, also in Latin letters, Vitr. viii. 3, 14, and Plin. *H.N.* xxxii. 10, 114; Martial i. 90, 5, has *leucophacatus*. For C it is easy to substitute K. The confusion between K and IC is frequent in these late inscriptions, and I have seen many cases where we could attain certainty only by consideration of the context. The substitution of Τ for Γ is made in *C.I.G.*, as also the

<sup>81</sup> Kaibel has *Galatians*: *C.I.G.* *καλαστῶν*.

<sup>82</sup> The ligature is badly drawn on the conjectural copy.

<sup>83</sup> Those who prefer this tag will find that it causes no alteration in the interpretation stated below except that a little has to be omitted regarding Agala.

<sup>84</sup> Buckler's conjecture is really closer, though it has a superficial appearance of

being more remote from Lucas.

<sup>85</sup> The personal names Galatas (masc.) and Galatis or Galateis (fem.) occur in the valley of Apollonia (see Sterrett, *W.B.* 500 and 580), but these may originate in the long connexion of Apollonia with the province Galatia. This point must be left doubtful. The personal name Tagalis (masc.) occurs at Maidan, six hours north of Konia.

insertion of A before Δ.<sup>85</sup> Lucas indicates a gap after Ο. δὲ[ρα] with Ο for omega (as is common in Lycæonian inscriptions) must be rejected: on the stone Ω was sometimes written, not ω, and miscopied as Ο by Lucas. Kaibel ventures on no restoration of this line.

5. Buckler restores δόσι τ' εἰ[δ]ος: Anderson's εἰ[δ]ο[ν] is also tempting, but makes a bolder alteration. My own belief, however, is that the letter φ is omitted, and that Lucas's copy needs the alteration of Ο to Ω. The repetition of φίλος after ἐφίλησαν was regarded by this poet as a beauty, not a fault: similarly he uses ἐξαγαγὼν after ἤγειρ. In Buckler's text and my own, δόσι τε is understood in the ordinary usage as equivalent to δόσι simply.

6. Another example of the loose dative at the end (cp. 3): interpret, 'his moral and intellectual power (which were seen) in every kind of occupation': καὶ is almost devoid of force (as in 2).

7. The insertion of I before Π and the correction to C at the end are obvious. οὗ χάριν means 'of whom a beautiful memorial.' Probably Kallinikos was here imitating a line of a model, like παῖδες ὀμειρόμενοι περὶ πατρός, or even οὗ τε χάριν καμὲ (Ζεύξιος?) ὀμειρόμενος περὶ πατρός, but in adapting it to his purpose he ruined the metre. πέρι goes with the verb, 'greatly desiring their son' (Anderson). It is remarkable that Franz and Kaibel have missed the most interesting verbal feature in this inscription, viz., the rare verb ὀμειρόμαι, which is used in I. Thess. ii. 8 (the only example in the New Testament). Hesychios has the gloss ὀμειρόντων ἐπιθυμοῦσιν.

8. Probably beta was of a form easily confused with kappa. Perhaps read [π]ερί[ε]ρα[ν]του, which Plutarch's expression περιελάλει τὸ σῶμα (Brut. 44) may justify; the use of P in place of A is frequent in Phrygian Greek, especially in proper names, but occasionally even in ordinary Greek words. As Anderson remarks, δόρα . . . ἐγένετο proves that δόρα κε was not used. The parents mourned until alleviation of sorrow was produced, and he suggests [π]ερίβρ[ε]ψ[ι]ς, 'engulfing,' a tempting conjecture.

9. The accepted correction of the mother's name is Aphia, but probably the true correction is Ἀμμία, with double M in ligature, and Lucas mistook this strange form as ω. Anderson independently restored Ἀμία. For the ligature MN Lucas reads IN, which can hardly be accepted, as the spelling of the inscription is good.

9-10. Reluctantly I differ from my coadjutors, and regard the mark at the end of 9 in Lucas's copy as correct. He might omit the mark of division, but he would not insert it wrongly, as the lines were clear before him on the stone. The meaning is 'Kallinikos and Ammia, priests.' Here, as always, proper names wreck the metre; and adjectives or participles are added, not to help the metre, but to emphasise the sorrow of the survivors. The line therefore mentions 'the sorrowful father and the mourning mother, priests.' In any case nothing can restore metrical character to 9 and 10:

<sup>85</sup> Anderson suggests εἰ[δ]ο[ν] ἑκα[ν]τα[ν]τα; this author read the *Orphica*, not literally, a poetic, rather than a religious, rarity Greek.



Kallinikos could not be brought into the metre; probably the composer felt it as a dactyl, and added the stock epithet describing his weeping. Then follows the name of the mother, and the intention apparently was to end the line with the description of their position as official priests, but in the ardour of composition the poet interpolated a participle describing the mother's vehement Oriental mourning. The word in 9 indicating their priesthood is chosen to indicate their relation to the city: they pray on behalf of the Demos and a local Ionian genius whose name is concealed in the impossible form ΔΚΑΙΑC. To my view there is the objection that it makes 9 too long<sup>28</sup> and 10 too short, and my zincotype (p. 156) employs violent means in 10, supposing that Lucas omitted two words. I now regard δῆμον χάρις as epexegetic of αὐτὸς χάρις in 9 (with a long, as in \*Απερ \*Απερ; then τε need not be inserted: the deceased is thus merged in the guardian genius of the Ionian demos (compare the Hero Pergamos in *J.H.S.* 1884, p. 262).

In the face of such a strong consensus of opinion against me, I abandon for the time my correction and interpretation of this name, until some corroborating evidence is discovered which will justify the most interesting part of the whole epigram, and illuminate further the local mythology of Ieonium; and I shift (with all editors, but wrongly) ἀρη[τ]ήρες<sup>29</sup> from 9 to 10. In 10 *C.I.G.* reads [Ἀχ]αΐας: Wilamowitz (mentioned by Kaibel, who hesitates to follow him) Μαΐας; Anderson \*Απαΐας. The correction in *C.I.G.* is possible according to the principles which we have laid down; but the second and third are excluded. [Ἀσ]καΐας also is not allowable, for Askaia belongs to Antioch and cannot be transferred to Ieonium. It is necessary not merely to find a correction of the copy which is possible on critical grounds, but also one which rests on reasonable connexion with the known or probable facts of Ionian antiquities and religion and history. In this respect Achaia fails<sup>30</sup> and could be justified only through the known feature of the pagan revival that religious facts from various nations and cults were introduced into a sort of syncretistic religion gathered round the local worship in each city or province. The Attic Achaia would be adopted in Lycania rather than an antiquarian fact like the Troizenian Amaiia. My own view is reserved.

12. The easiest alteration of Lucas's copy at the end is to change his Η to ΙΕ, Π to ΙΤ, and Υ to Χ, but καὶ ὥς ἐπιτύχῃ (w. dat.) in the sense of injuring even by chance is hardly allowable. The error lies deeper. It is impossible that the curse should omit the idea of injury to the grave and mention only the statue. Either the end of the line was defaced, or Lucas (who certainly made worse errors here than in the early lines, being tired of

<sup>28</sup> I understand that 9 continued on the border of the engraved panel (see above).

<sup>29</sup> *C.I.G.* substitutes ἀρηχόμενός for ἀρη[τ]ήρες.

<sup>30</sup> According to Hesychios the Laconians called Ἀχαιοὶ Ἀχαιοί: with Soudas and Schol.

on *Ar. Ach.* 700 he explains Ἀχαιοί as an Attic epithet of the mourning Demeter (derivation, probably false, from ἄχος or ἄχρ). So at Almassem, in the territory of Derbe, the Attic figure Daira Secure (Stearrett, *H.E.* No. 49, revised).



this long and hard text) omitted part accidentally. I suppose the latter, *C.B. Phr.* 332 has in protasis *σκόλη*. On 13-14 see *Introduction*, p. 126.

The interpretation of this epigram is assured up to a certain point, being independent of the varying conjectures, and imposed by the general situation and purport. This was the epitaph engraved on the tomb of their son Zotikos by Kallinikos and Ammia, priest and priestess of a local cult closely connected with the fate of Iconium (*ἐν ἡμῶν χάριτι*). The son Zotikos, being hereditarily connected with the cult, fulfilled certain duties subordinate to those of his parents in the ritual: the great Anatolian priesthoods were hereditary (*ἱερεῖς ἐξ ἱερέων* or *διὰ γένους*).<sup>69</sup> The generally recognised goddess of the Iconian municipal religion was the Zizimene Mother, who had her seat at Zizyma or Zizima (modern Sızma), five hours north of Iconium, but it is clear that the cult mentioned in this inscription lay near the city: a sacred place in the immediate neighbourhood of Iconium was the centre of the ritual here described. The names and the religious ritual are of the Anatolian type. Galateia is a local nymph, really a local variety of the (Orontian) Mountain-Mother, whose chief home was at Zizima, but who was manifested in other places near Iconium. According to 'the permanent association of religious awe with definite sites in Anatolia' I assume that the main centres of divine influence which are now recognised in the neighbourhood of Iconium were recognised in ancient times and are immemorial seats of religious ritual.<sup>70</sup> The most important of these are connected with the mountain which overhangs Iconium, or rather the pair of mountains, called by the Greeks after St. Philip and St. John.<sup>71</sup> These twin peaks, strikingly like in shape and very similar in every respect, lie N.W. from Iconium, and are the extreme outlying peaks of the Orontian mountains. They are visible on the central plains from a great distance, a landmark to guide the traveller to Iconium; and St. Philip (Takali), the nearest of them, bears a great fortress which constitutes it the saviour and guardian of the city. On the outer flanks of this nearer peak there are three glens of impressive character. The most northern is that in which lies the village of Tsille, which is full of churches and sites of Christian and even Turkish sanctity; the continuity of religion at Tsille is indubitable. The village is partly Turkish, but mainly Greek. South of Tsille is a narrower glen in which is situated the monastery of St. Chariton (on which more will be said below). The third glen is further south and, as I believe, no religious foundation exists in it.

The name of the guardian mountain of Iconium, Takali,<sup>72</sup> was caught from the mouths of the population by the Arabs in their invasions of Anatolia

<sup>69</sup> Aschines was minister to his mother, the priestess of Cybele: the case is typical, as described by Demosthenes, *de Cor.* 129 f.

<sup>70</sup> No one will dispute the assumption (now a commonplace): see a paper on the subject in *Past and other Studies in Relig.*, pp. 163-190.

<sup>71</sup> To primitive Anatolian religious imagination they were the divine Balance (tekeli), in

which the Greek poet saw the fate of gods and heroes weighed, while the Anatolian belief regarded it as the symbol of the fair market in international trade. The Balance was seen also at Frynassos.

<sup>72</sup> It is not pronounced Takali; there is no feeling that it is a Turkish word ending with the suffix *li*.

and is preserved by Ibn Khordadbeh (who fought in the Anatolian wars), in his geographical work during about 850, as *Dakalias*, which hardly differs from *Takalias* and may be even a mere difference of script, implying an original *Takalia*.<sup>91</sup> In the second century there grew up a legend among the Christians of Iconium which made a certain *Tekla* the first convert of St. Paul and a Saint of great power, who followed her master, lived in a tomb at Iconium for a time, and was received into the rock on the side of Mt. *Takali* as it opened to preserve her from the pursuit of her affianced lover.<sup>92</sup> The presbyter who first gave literary form to this legend was, as Tertullian relates, degraded from his office on the ground that he had composed a story which dishonoured the memory of the Apostle Paul. In order to suggest a meaning in Greek *Tekla* was modified into *Thekla*, so as to suggest a connexion with the element involved in *θεός*, and in the process of grecisation her mother was called by the more completely Greek name *Theokleia*; we have here progressive adaptation of a native name to the Greek spoken by the Christians of Iconium.

The Byzantine name of this guardian mountain was *Kabala*, which is preserved to the present day in a district *Gevale* between the twin peaks of St. Philip and St. John. It may appear remarkable that there are several names, mostly preserved to the present day, for the sacred mountain and its neighbourhood; but it is full of varying features, with deep glens, cultivated lands and two lofty peaks.<sup>93</sup> That there should be a number of names, and that sanctity should attach to many spots, is only natural. Miss Bell has an illuminative remark in her book *The Desert and the Sown*: in the desert almost every stone that offers any feature on the surface has its own individual name. The abundance of ancient names for localities around *Takali* would be multiplied by ten, if we had fuller information. *Kabala* is probably akin (1) to *Κάβδα* (*ὄρη Φρ. καὶ ἀγέρα καὶ θάλαμοι* Hesych.); (2) to the Semitic word *gebēl*, mountain. The Phrygian conquerors of Iconium found that St. Philip Mt. was called *gebēl* and *tekēl*: the names have lasted through history.

The rite in which *Zotikos* took part is described in 2-3: 'the two-horsed cars and slaves' formed a procession<sup>94</sup> in the ritual of the goddess, perhaps the last ever performed in the dying cult. The son of the priestly pair officiated in this procession (*ἱερότροχα ἤγεε κ.τ.λ.*, he drove cars-with-sacred-wheels to fair *Galateia*), in which a cock, the sacred bird of Men, was carried. This gift on behalf of the city expressed the participation of the State in the ceremony (*δ[ῶρα] πόλεως*).

*Zotikos* led the procession to fair *Galateia*. At first one thinks of the country *Galatia*, but previous to A.D. 295, while Iconium was part of the province *Galatia*, it would be meaningless and absurd to say that a procession

<sup>91</sup> The personal name *Tagalia* (nurse) occurs at Meidan, six hours north of Iconium.

<sup>92</sup> The place is still shown above Tallie: co-mark or cutting was pointed out.

<sup>93</sup> They are about 5,000 feet. Konia 3,370.

<sup>94</sup> The reading *τετράροχοι* is accepted by all editors. I tried vainly the other possible interpretation that the word referred to working land by pairs of oxen yoked to ploughs and driven by slaves, conjecturing [*τετράροχοι*] in 2.



went forth from Iconium to Galatia, and Kaibel, observing this indisputable fact, boldly corrects the text to ἐκ [π]α[τρ]ιδι γῆς Γαλα[τ]είας, in which he himself professes no confidence and the violence of which sufficiently condemns it.<sup>97</sup> On the other hand, after A.D. 295, Galatia was far distant from Iconium, the nearest point being eighteen or twenty hours' journey, and a procession to a point so distant and into a different province unconnected by racial affinity is equally absurd.<sup>98</sup> Moreover, the name Galateia is never, so far as I am aware, applied to the country Galatia. This interpretation can hardly be maintained on serious thought.

The solution of the difficulty lies in a passage indicated to me by Rev. J. M. Prendergast, Oxford, and used many years ago in my article in *Studia Biblica*, iv. p. 32. 'St. Gregorius Magnus, *Dialog.* iv. 38, says, 'Est etiam nunc apud nos Athanasius Iconiuriae presbyter qui in diebus suis Iconii rem terribilem narrat evenire. Ibi namque ut ait quoddam monasterium τῶν Γαλατῶν dicitur, in quo quidam monachus magnae distinctionis habebatur.' ἔστι δὲ καὶ νῦν παρ' ἡμῶν πρεσβύτερος τις ὀνόματι Ἀθανάσιος ἐκ τῆς χώρας Λυκαονίας<sup>99</sup> γενόμενος πόλεως δὲ τοῦ Ἰκονίου, ὅστις πρῶτα φοβερὸν ἔκασσι ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ γεγονέναι διηγεῖτο, οὕτω λέγων ὅτι μοναστήριον αὐτοῦ ὑπῆρχε τῶν Γαλατῶν λεγόμενον. The Greek (as Mr. Prendergast says on the authority of Dr. Bright) is a translation made about a century later from the Latin original. Athanasios is described in *Ep.* vi. 60, p. 842 (Migne, iii. 850) as 'presbyteri monasterii Sancti Mile cui est vocabulum Tuminaco,<sup>100</sup> quod in Lycuonia est provincia constitutum.'

There was therefore a monastery called 'of the Galatari' at Iconium at an early period in monastic history. Gregory was writing about A.D. 600, and there is no reason to think that the monastery was new then. Formerly I was disposed to think that the ancient connexion between Iconium and the province Galatia had led to a settlement of Galatians in a monastery at Iconium, but on consideration this idea had to be abandoned. There could be no monastery older than 295. After that date all connexion between the city and Galatia ceased, and the connexion, having been previously only a political one and never founded on any religious feeling (except the cult of the Emperors), did not persist. The monastery 'of the Galatari' must therefore be explained differently, and the reference to Galateia in this inscription supplies the explanation. We possess only

<sup>97</sup> He possibly had in mind vaguely the well-known inscription of Apollonia (793 in his collection; *C.I.G.* 3973; *Lebas* 1192), where the allusion to the Troceni and the Galatians implies that Apollonia was in their territory (though as a matter of fact Kaibel wrongly follows Waddington and *C.I.G.* in supposing that during famine the erecter of the dedication fled from Apollonia to Celtic Galatia). Kaibel also neglects A at the end. Lucan did not add letters, though he sometimes

<sup>98</sup> According to Imhoof, *Kleinasiat. Museum*, p. 415, the connexion of Iconium with Galatia ceased before the middle of the second century, for he thinks it was a city of the *Karia Asaniorum*, in the triple province Cilicia-Lycuonia-Isauria. This, however, is not correct. Iconium was not in the *Karia*, but remained in provincia Galatia till 295.

<sup>99</sup> The translator alters Isauria of the Latin.

<sup>100</sup> These names are certainly corrupt. See later, p. 166.



Gregory's reference, which perhaps he had not caught quite correctly:<sup>100</sup> Athanasios probably spoke of the monastery of Galateia, and Gregory calls it 'the monastery of the Galatai'; or the name 'of the Galatai' may have become popular for the monastery in some fashion which we need not attempt to speculate about. It is highly probable that this monastery close to Iconium still exists; the supposition that it was situated at Tsille may be set aside as less probable: there remains that deep glen in the outer edge of the Orontium mountains, close under the peak of St. Philip, about four or five miles W.N.W. from Iconium, in which a monastery of St. Chariton is regarded with veneration not merely by the Greeks of Iconium and Tsille, but also by the Turks. Although the monastery now has no monks, there is a lay guardian (Bekji) who is paid by the Greeks to live at the buildings and look after them. The church inside the monastery is cut out of the rock, and there are shrines of the Virgin and St. Saba and St. Amphilochios. There is also a small mosque; and the Tchelebi-Effendi, the head of the Mevlevi Order of Dervishes (whose seat is at Iconium), makes an annual donation of olive oil to the establishment. The place is holy to the Mohammedans as well as to the Christians: *i.e.* it is an ancient pre-Christian religious spot. Two festivals are celebrated by the Greeks at this monastery: one on 28th September, the day of St. Chariton; the other, by far the more important, on 15th May, lasts for three or four or even five days, during which time the worshippers live at the monastery.

This locality is the seat 'of the Galatai' at Iconium, and the local Nymph is the 'fair Galateia' of the epitaph. It is a place of immemorial sanctity, connected both with the city and with the sacred mountain that guards the city. A legend explains why the Turks respect this sanctuary. The son either of a Sultan of Iconium, or of an old Tchelebi, or even of the founder of the Order, Djelal-ed-Din, riding among the hills, fell over a perpendicular precipice on the N. side of the glen against which the monastery is built, but was preserved alive, being caught as he fell some say by the Virgin herself, and others say by St. Chariton.<sup>101</sup> The idea is embodied in this legend that the son of the priest was under the special protection of the divine power localised here, and we need have no hesitation in assuming that the place in pre-Christian religion was associated with the fortune of the city.

At the monastery 'of the Galatai' there occurred, as Athanasios reported, a terrible portent. A monk, who bore a high character in the monastery, being at the point of death, summoned his brother monks, and they expected to hear some gladdening message from the dying man; but he confessed that, when he had been pretending to fast along with

<sup>100</sup> It is clear from the various references in Gregory that Athanasios had gone to Rome to clear himself from the accusation of Manichaeism. Gregory heard him, conversed with him about things in Lycania, was con-

vinced of his innocence, and wrote to Constantinople on his behalf.

<sup>101</sup> There can be no doubt that the old legend mentioned the Virgin Mother herself, and not the Saint, who is a later intrusion.

the others, he had been wont to eat secretly; and now he was given over to a dragon to be devoured, which had coiled its tail round his knees and feet and was putting its head into the monk's mouth and drawing the breath from his body. The story turns to Christian edification the old belief in the god-serpent, which the Mystai held close to their body with its head to the face of the worshipper.<sup>108</sup> This was an act performed in the Mysteries by each devotee, and the memory clung to the holy place.

Gregory gives the name of the saint, to whom the monastery where Athanasios was monk and presbyter was dedicated, as Mile, an evident corruption of Menas. St. Menas was widely worshipped in the eastern part of the plateau. The evidence for his life and historical existence is of the most dubious character. He bears all the marks of being a mere invention of the fourth or fifth century, giving Christian colour to a pagan cult which had a strong hold on the popular mind: in short, he is merely the god Men in a Christianised form.<sup>109</sup> Menas is not mentioned in the early Martyrologies.

We gather from Gregory that already about 600 A.D. the veneration of St. Menas was firmly established in the Lycæonian church. It is also a matter of interest that Athanasios was accused of being tainted with the Manichaean heresy, but he succeeded in defeating himself against this accusation and was confirmed in his position. Later Byzantine historians speak of the prevalence of Manichæism and other forms of heresy along with Judaic religion in Lycæonia and Phrygia.

St. Chariton was a real personage, but the biographical details which are preserved about him (*Acta Sanctorum*, 28th September, p. 575) are wholly legendary.<sup>110</sup> The only facts that can be trusted are that he was an Iconian and that he founded a famous monastery near Jerusalem.<sup>111</sup> His date is stated under Aurelian about 272 A.D. by most authorities, which is impossible; under Julian 363-5 A.D. by one, which is possible.

Athanasios was intimately acquainted with incidents that occurred in the Gabatæian monastery at Iconium; and he was apparently a native of the country Isauria, but presbyter at Iconium.<sup>112</sup> That a close and ancient

<sup>108</sup> Sabunios was ὁ τοῦ εἰδωλοῦ θεῶς, ὁ πῶς διεδάδυνεν τὸν εἰδωλὸν τῆς καλῆς πόλεως (Clem. Alex. *Protr.* ii. p. 76). Men is of the same character.

<sup>109</sup> In the *Acta Sanctorum* there are three saints called Menas, two connected with Asia, and all unhistorical. The surname Tamiacus is obscure, and probably corrupt. The monastery was in the province of Lycæonia (quod in Lycæonia est provincia constituta, *Epist.* vi. 66, p. 842), but in the inscription Anastasios is addressed as 'presbytero de Isauria.' In another letter (*Epist.* vii. 3, p. 852) Gregory speaks of

Athanasios as a presbyter of Lycæonia. Yet in *Dialog.* iv. cap. 38, p. 441, Anastasios is a presbyter of Isauria, though the story which he narrates is specifically connected with Iconium.

<sup>110</sup> St. Chariton is not mentioned in the older Martyrologies on 28th September, but in the Hieronymian Martyrology there is a Chariton on 25th July.

<sup>111</sup> St. Sabas, who has a shrine in the Church, was the chief figure in the early monastic system of Palestine. Amphilochios was made bishop of Iconium A.D. 371.

<sup>112</sup> See note 104.



connection between the country Isauria and the city Iconium existed is certain; evidence need not here be recapitulated.

While it is possible that two monasteries near Iconium (one at Taile, and one 'of the Galatai' at St. Chariton) are mentioned, it seems more likely that only one is meant, popularly called 'of the Galatai,' but dedicated to St. Menas Tammacus.<sup>107</sup>

The cock was the sacred bird of the god Men. In ordinary circumstances it was a white cock.<sup>108</sup> The colour grey-white was regarded as the hue of mourning, and there seems no difficulty in supposing that at a festival of purification a grey-white cock marked the period of mourning. I would connect this with the Turkish legend of the danger incurred by the son of the priest, who at the point of death is saved by the old pagan goddess or by the Virgin Mother of God.<sup>109</sup> A festival of this kind would naturally begin as a period of mourning and end as a time of rejoicing. The grey-white gift sent from the city by the hand of the son of the priest to the sacred home of the goddess is changed to the white cock, which was the permanent symbol of the god.

There is no proof that a festival called 'Atonement' existed in the ritual of Men, yet it is in accordance with abundant analogy that there should be every spring a purification of the city and a ransoming of it from guilt by a rite. It concerned the fortunes and fate of the city that this rite should be annually performed, and it was celebrated under Julian with all ceremonial, the procession, the holy cars, the train of worshippers.<sup>110</sup> Yet the description rather suggests that the ceremony was confined chiefly to the priestly household, while the population (mainly Christian then) held aloof, though the State character was officially admitted. Perhaps this was the last occasion when the old ceremony was performed in Iconium, and the name Atonement suggests that it was worked up under the late pagan revival to compete with Christian ideas; but the pagan germ is preserved in the Turkish legend.

The 'four-maiden' goddess is the goddess with four personalities, i.e. she is the goddess of the crossroads, who looks along the four ways. The

<sup>107</sup> Even if it were allowable to alter Isauria in Gregory to Iconia, it would still be impossible to maintain that the monastery of St. Menas was at Isaura Nova in prov. Lycæonia, and the monastery 'of the Galatai' at Iconium. Under Justinian and earlier, it is true, Isaura Nova was subject to Iconium; Isaura Palata was metropolis of the large Province Isauria from 293; but in 372 Isauria was shorn of its northern bishoprics, Saluseta was made metropolis of the diminished province, Lycæonia was constituted a province from parts of Pisidia and of the old larger Isauria, and Iconium (previously a secondary capital of Pisidia, 293-372) became permanently the metropolis of the new province

Lycæonia (including Isaura Nova). But the reading Isauria, not Isaura, stands firm in Gregory's text; and the connexion of Athanasius with Iconium is clearly fixed in Gregory's mind. Isaura Palata remained *autoképhalot*.

<sup>108</sup> *ἀνδράκων* or *ἀνδράκων* is a violent change.

<sup>109</sup> As the priestly pair represent the divine pair, Father and Mother, so Zoticus plays the part of the God-Son in the ritual.

<sup>110</sup> In this case they are all household servants of the priest; others did not participate. Compare the description of a ritual procession in Igmatus, *Eph. 9* (see *Letters to the Seven Churches*, pp. 159 f.); the appearance was similar in all such ceremonies.



thought here is similar to that which occurs in a late hymn to the Moon, published in *Hermes*, iv. p. 64:

τοῦνεκά σε κληζοῦσ' Ἑκάταν, πολυνόονμε, Μήτην,  
 τετραπρόσωπε θεά, τετραώνυμε, τετραδῖτι,  
 Ἄρτεμι, Περσεφόνη, ἐλαφιβόλε, νυκτιφάνεια,  
 τρίκτυπε, τρίφθογγε, τρικάραν

where the goddess is saluted as Hekate, Mênê, Artemis, Persephone: she has four countenances, as goddess of the four ways which cross and she has three heads in her character of Hekate, presiding at a point where the road forks and three ways meet. The idea of the four-faced goddess was familiar during the early fourth century in Lycæonia, and occurs in an inscription published by Anderson, *J.H.S.* 1899, No. 237. That the four-maiden goddess also represents the year in its four seasons is natural. She also is the goddess of winter and summer in a double nature, as shown on the Boston half of the Ludovisi 'Throne,' a most instructive monument of 'Ionian' religious thought.<sup>111</sup>

X. *C.I.G.* 4008. The restoration is easy. The spelling *ιστήλην* with prothetic I is quite frequent, and the reference to the Chthonian Men is characteristic of Ionian sepulchral epigraphy. The father Manes bears the native Anatolian form of the name of the god Men, to whose protection he appeals; in dedications the name Men was customary. The order is unusual; it begins with the curse against violation of the tomb, and ends with a brief statement of the erection.

<i>C.I.G.</i> εἰς τις ἀδικήσῃ τῇ-	εἰς τις ἀδικήσῃ τῇ-
υ] στήλῃν Ἑρμίου	υ] ἰστήλῃν Ἑρμίου [κεχολω-
[εσ]τω . . . χθούνο[ς] τε	μόνον ἐχ]έτω [Μ]ῆμα χθούνο[ς] τε
ἀνέστησεν δὲ Μαν-	ἀνέστησεν δὲ Μαν-
ης υἱῶ	ης υἱῶ

The Chthonian (or Katakthonian) Men is contrasted with the Heavenly Men; the two forms are sometimes invoked in the same epitaph. Now in the inscription *C.R.Phr.* No. 467, during the resuscitation of an old Anatolian cult at Akmonia, a strange god Manes Daos Heliodromos Zena is mentioned. In him we recognise the double Men: Heliodromos is the Sun-god sweeping rapidly through the heaven; Daos is the god who lives in the earth. It is here impossible to discuss the derivation of the word Daos, whose original form on the Phrygo-Pisidian frontier (beside Antioch, Ouramma and Apollonia) was Gdawos, or Gdabos (Latin Davus, a slave name given to slaves from this region of Anatolia); Gdawos or Daos was derived from the word Gdan or Gda, meaning earth, which corresponds to the two Greek forms *χθών* and *γῆ*. Thus, like Men elsewhere, Manes is described in the archaistic Akmonian inscription as the god Chthonian and Heavenly.

<sup>111</sup> That such a monument should be a forgery is impossible.

XI. Sterrett, *Ep. J.* No. 203: *J.H.S.* 1902, p. 351: at Konia. My copy is *Μηνᾶς καὶ Περσεὶς Ποσειδῶνι εὐχῆς*. Sterrett reads *Περσεὶς*: *ι* is blurred at the top, which caused error. Poseidon is the native god in his aspect as causer of earthquakes. The dedication is by a husband and wife whose names are taken from Iconian religion and legend. Menas and Persis belong probably to a priestly family, and most Lycaonian pagan dedications have a similar origin. Perseus is a local hero at Iconium (*Chron. Pasch.* p. 71) and at Tarsus. On Iconian coins the representations of Perseus are taken evidently from a statue in the city (which Furtwängler considers to be a copy of Myron's Perseus). The cult of Men at Iconium is attested by the frequent occurrence in the priestly families of derived names and also of such names as Menneas, Menesdemos, Menemachos, etc., which substitute a Greek word of somewhat similar sound, cp. Tenkros and Aias at Olba, Orestes, etc. (see pp. 131, 146, 149, 169, 173, 181).

The popular belief among the Greeks at Iconium is that the relief on this altar (representing Poseidon on horseback, bearing the trident and galloping to the left) is an ikon of St. Menas. Poseidon as a horseman is unusual in Greek art, but the Anatolian god is usually a horseman, often carrying a battle-axe on his shoulder.

XII. *J.H.S.* 1902, p. 119, No. 44 (Cronin, from my copy 1901). I recopied the stone, June, 1902; Heberley's copy is used in *I.G.R.R.* iii. 262. All copies agree: I add that the form of letters is markedly post-Augustan. The stone is an excellent block used in construction, not disengaged, and is nearly perfect. At Konia.

Cronin restores accordingly with the addition of only a few letters; but, though this is according to Godfrey Hermann's canon (see *C.B.Phr.* ii. p. 607), and although his restoration was accepted by Mommsen, quite half of the inscription was on adjoining stones. Heberley (followed by Cagnat-Lafaye) prefers a longer restoration, which violates the necessary conditions.

Inscriptions at Antioch often extend over several stones, showing that they were engraved on a wall already built, regardless of the extent of a single stone. Probably the wall of a *stoa* was used for this purpose;<sup>112</sup> it was a public resort, and inscriptions in this situation would be *ἐν τῷ ἐπιφανεστάτῳ τόπῳ* (according to the formula). This extension adds difficulty in restoration: e.g. Sterrett, *E.I.* No. 108, in honour of Caristanius and Sergia Paula, extended over three stones, as is shown in the restoration (published in my *Bearing of Research on the New Testament*, pp. 154 f., approved in its general features by Mommsen and improved in one detail by him, when I submitted it to his judgment twenty-five years ago). Another example is the inscription in honour of P. Calvisius Ruso and his wife (*J.H.S.* 1913, p. 301). It may therefore happen that a stone is complete, and yet an inscription found on it is incomplete. That has happened in several cases: e.g. at Konia, in this case.

<sup>112</sup> *C.B.Phr.* ii. pp. 431 f.



The previous editors restore the Emperor Augustus with a governor Pupius; but the Emperor was Nero, and Pupius Præsens was procurator, and Petronius governor of Galatia, A.D. 55. Cronin remarks that the governor under Augustus and the procurator must be different persons; the other editors do not notice the difficulty. The form of letters is not Augustan, but suits the period 50-100 A.D., and is similar to No. XXVI, and the dedication to Caristanus and Sergia Paulla.<sup>10</sup> The first word may be either Tib. or Neron, the titles of the former occur in this exact form *C.I.G.* 320, 1610, 2739, 2922, 3453, 3831a16 and a17, 4956, of the latter in 2942d, 3743, 4699. The latter suits the space. In recognition of this great building (aided by imperial money from the procurator) *C.I.G.* 3991 was erected in his honour as benefactor and *κτίστης* under Nero. The correct text of this inscription is:

Νέρον Κλαύδιος Κ[αῖσαρ Σεβαστός] [Υερ-  
μανικός αὐτοκρά]τωρ ἐποίησεν τὴν σ-  
κηνὴν καὶ τὸ ὑποσ[κήριον τῇ πόλει] διὰ  
τοῦ ἐπιτρόπου Πο[μπίου], πρεσβε[ύον-  
τος Περωνίου]

*I.G.R.R.* and Heberdey restore:

Αὐτοκράτωρ Κ[αῖσαρ Σεβαστός] [θεοῦ  
νῖος αὐτοκρά]τωρ ἐποίησεν τ[ὴν σκην-  
ήν καὶ τὸ ὑποσ]κήριον τῇ πόλει τῇ Ἰων-  
ίῳ ἐπὶ Πο[μπίου] πρεσβε[ύοντος]

XIII *C.I.L.* iii. 13638: "cippus magnus" at Konia (from Professor A. Körte = *I.G.R.R.* iii. 1471): it is taken by Mommsen as broken on right in 3, 4, but no information is given.

Ιοῦ Ὀπίμο Μα[χι]μ[ο]  
et Minervae Zizi[menae]  
ἀπελευθέρους Φῶλιξ . . .  
Ζι[ζιμηνῇ] καὶ Τύχη τ . . .

It is implied that nothing is lost between 1 and 2.<sup>11</sup>

Also *I.G.R.R.* iii. 269, from Heberdey (whose restoration disregards Körte's description of the stone as a stela).

Ιοῦ Ὀπίμο Μα[χι]μο  
Iunoni reginae et Minervae, Zizi[menae] deae Fortunae Aug  
ἀπελευθέρους Φῶλιξ [Δά' Ὀλυμπίῳ καὶ Ἡρῇ  
καὶ Ἀθηνῇ καὶ θεῇ Ζι[ζιμηνῇ] καὶ Τύχη Σεβαστῇ]

<sup>10</sup> Cronin prints ΠΟΛΗ by a slip, as my first copy was his sole authority: both my copies have ΠΟΛΕ.

<sup>11</sup> Mommsen prefers to omit Ζιζιμηνῇ.

(presumably on the analogy of *Δωδωπή*, which had passed from the category of adjectives to that of personal names). In 2 he suppresses a ligature of ΕΤ, perhaps rightly.



'Supplementa non satis certa sunt.' They are obviously impossible. The copies of the two distinguished scholars differ in three points, two being serious. 1. Körte sees part of M, which Heberdey misses: presumably this was due to varying delicacy of eye, or different conditions of light. 3. Körte has ἀπεδέλερος, Heberdey ἀπελειθ. *Præstat lectio doctior*: there always is a tendency to see the common and correct form, but the difficult reading is preferable: see my commentary. 4. Körte has T where Heberdey reads Σ. The latter is probably right, and the error might be easily made at the half-obiterated edge, where the mark — alone was clear. τ[οῦ κυρίου] is rather long, and κυρ. abbreviated is not very satisfactory.

The following commentary was written with *C.I.L.* alone before me. *I.G.R.R.* 260 is so diverse that I did not recognise it at first as the same text.

The interesting document elicited in *C.I.L.* is puzzling. It is a bilingual, and yet the Latin is remote from the Greek. The two halves do not correspond, and the name of the dedicator and the fact that he was a freedman are stated in the Greek, but are omitted from the Latin. The order 'freedman Felix' requires the name of the patron; but this is omitted. The Latin is dedicated to Jupiter and Minerva, whereas the Greek is dedicated to Athena and Good Fortune. The whole makes a document which is unparalleled among Graeco-Latin bilingual documents. The truth is that there was a second stone at the left containing about the same number of letters. Then the restoration emerges, which restores the document to the ordinary class of bilinguals with correspondence between Greek and Latin, exact except in one interesting point.

A (lost).

B (copied by A. Körte).

T FLAVIVS AVG LIB FELIX IOVI OPTIMO M		M[O ET
GENIO DOMINI CAESARIS N ET MINERVAE ZIZIM		MENAE
TITOCΦAAOYIOCCEBACCTOY AΠEAE		ΘEPOCΦHAI CΔHAPIC
TΩ MEICTΩ KAIΘEAAΘHN AZI		ZIMMHNHKAITYXHT
		OCYKYP ?

The size of the gap at the right-hand side of the lines is proved by the conclusion of the Greek, where it is necessary to restore τὸν κυρ[τὸν κυρίου].<sup>125</sup> while the extent of the loss on the left is determined by the dedicant's name, which was given in complete form. The gaps must be of the same extent approximately in all four lines.

The Zizimene Mother in the Latin is Minerva, and must be Athena in the Greek.<sup>126</sup> The inscription is earlier than the time when the native title of the goddess was reintroduced in the inscriptions, i.e. it belongs to the first century or the early years of the second century. The use of Latin shows that the author was a Roman; and the general character of the lettering

<sup>125</sup> There is not room for κυρ in full (probably Heberdey's ἀλειθ[ος] is right).

<sup>126</sup> There was a trile of Athena [Polias]

and Athena often occurs on coins and sometimes in inscriptions at Iccutum.

(so far as this can be gathered from the type) points to the first century.<sup>117</sup>

The dedicator was Felix, a freedman [of the Emperor], and the Good Fortune which he invokes must be the Emperor's. With these conditions (which are obvious from the fragment that remains) the restoration is easy. Felix used Latin as his own familiar speech, but adds a Greek version, with the strange form ἀπελεύθερος,<sup>118</sup> in which the symbol ε disappears, as he pronounced the Greek word according to the modern fashion, giving to it the value EF, and this sound, having no Greek symbol to correspond to it, dropped out of the writing. Similarly in an epigram published by Miss Ramsay in *Studies in the Eastern Roman Provinces*, p. 47, the name Isaura is spelled Isāra, evidently because it was pronounced Isavra, and the V, having no Greek symbol to represent it, disappeared from the spelling.

Probably the date is under the Flavian dynasty, but the name of the Aelian or Julian family fits equally the required length. In one respect the Greek version differs from the Latin. The Greek enumerates the gods as Zeus, Athena and the Good Fortune of the Emperor, an order in agreement with Phrygo-Hellenic feeling; the supreme god and the goddess must not be separated. In the Latin the divine idea corresponding to the Good Fortune of the Emperor is lost. It came between Jupiter and Minerva. Now a freedman regarded the Genius of his master and patron as peculiarly sacred, and his most solemn oath was by his Genius, the impersonation of divine power most closely affecting himself. This imperial freedman therefore placed the Genius of the Emperor next to Jupiter O. M. In Greek Tyche Seb. seemed the best rendering of Genius Caes.

3. The name was (as usual in Greek) written in full, corresponding to the amount which has to be put into the gap at the beginning of the first Latin line. Felix undoubtedly was an official in charge of the Imperial interests on the estates (or some one of the estates) near Sizma, which extended probably to Egri-Baiyat (Kapo-Mara) or even Zazufin-Khan.

The restoration has been missed in *C.I.L.* solely because Mommsen gathered from the description of the stone as 'cippus' that the inscription must be almost complete; but 'cippus' is used in an elastic and hardly correct way. The stone was not free-standing, but part of a construction.

XIV. *C.I.G.* 3990 at Ladik, from Hamilton. This inscription has been treated frequently (e.g. Dessau, *Prosop.* iii. p. 499, No. 31, and *I.G.B.R.* iii. No. 249). These authorities assure the correct order of office, but miss the names of the dedicant and the governor, and need some improvements in spacing; also they do not observe the reason of Hamilton's few mistakes which are easily explained. I do not quote former texts.

In studying formerly the nomenclature of Lycania I was forced to the

<sup>117</sup> Latin was used in municipal documents during the years immediately following the foundation of the colony c. A.D. 125; but

this is a dedication by an individual, not by the State.

<sup>118</sup> I follow Körte, as stated.



conclusion that there was in the early first century a governor of Galatia named Calpurnius Piso Frugi.<sup>118</sup> It was customary for provincials of high standing who were admitted to the Roman citizenship to take as their Roman name the *praenomen* and *nomen* either of the Emperor or of the provincial governor. In some cases they took both *nomina*, and the enfranchisement of the family can be traced in this way to an exact date.<sup>119</sup> Sometimes they took the *nomina* of two successive governors, perhaps implying that the enfranchisement took place in a year in which both governors were in office. The name of Frugi must be restored here. In the dedication he is not styled governor of the Province, but the government of Galatia naturally followed after the proconsulate of Macedonia, and there are various cases in which Anatolian inscriptions omit the present title, assuming that this was evident to all readers (e.g. in the province Asia, *O.G.I.S.* Nos. 465 and 466). In the province Galatia there was no official of senatorial rank except the governor.

If I am right in restoring the name of the new citizen, he was appointed high-priest in the imperial cult at Iconium under Tiberius by Calpurnius the governor, and he took two *nomina* from the reigning emperor and the governor, according to a common fashion.<sup>120</sup> He had a short second *cognomen*, his native name. Probably a high-priest in the imperial ritual was required to be a Roman citizen, and this special high-priest, a friend of the governor, was elevated to the *civitas* at the time of his appointment. A high-priest of the Emperor Tiberius at Iconium is mentioned, who, in his second year of duty, made a dedication to Pluto (published by Cronin from my copy in *J.H.S.*, 1902, xxii, p. 119).<sup>121</sup> He also was a Roman citizen, C. Julius Oarios, whose grecised name would probably have been Orestes, but who preferred to keep the old Lyaconian form (see pp. 131, 146, 169). I restore this name *exempli gratia* here in the form used at Korykos.

*I.G.R.R.* improves Dessau a little, but disregards the length of the lines. The number of letters which it shows in each line varies from seventeen to twenty-four,<sup>122</sup> and in one case even twenty-eight. Such a restoration is impossible. In 14 the form appears certain and the number of letters is eighteen. 18, and probably 8, are also practically certain and contain eighteen letters. We therefore take eighteen as the normal number. In many cases the number is a matter of indifference as depending on abbreviation, but in several cases the exact length of the line determines the restoration, e.g. in 3 the article *τοῖς* must be omitted. The restoration

<sup>118</sup> Calpurnius Aspernas, 68-72, is not sufficient to explain the facts. His full name was probably (L. ? Nonius) Aspernas Calpurnius (Forquatus); the last name often occurs in Galatia, but *Serranus* does not; see *Præp. Iupp. Rom.*

<sup>119</sup> The clearest example is M. Ulpus Pomponius, who gained the *civitas* when Pomponius Bassus was governor, c. 101 A.D., and whose son M. Ulpus Pomponius Superstes

was first *dumvir* of the new colonia Icon, c. 130.

<sup>120</sup> There is an almost unrecognisable copy of the same inscription made by Diamantides and published from him by Sherrett, *E.J.*, No. 241, without transcription. See p. 126.

<sup>121</sup> The number 17 depends upon an inaccuracy in *I.G.R.R.* The number in this line should be 19.



of the personal names depends largely on the proper length of the line.

- λεύκιον? καλπούρνον  
 πείσωνα φροΥΓΕΙΔΕΚΑ  
 ἀνδρῶν ἐπὶ ΠΡΑΓΜΑΣΙ  
 δικασθησομένΟΙΣΧΕΤ (?)  
 5 λιάρχον πΛΑ[Τ]ΥΣΗΜΟΝ  
 λεγ. δ' ὁ σκυθικῇ ΣΤΑΜΙΑΝ  
 ἀντιστράτηγΟΝΕΠΑΡΧΕ  
 ιας ἀσίας? πρΕΣΒΚΑΙΑΝ  
 τιστράτ. ἐπαρΧΕΙΜΑΚΕ  
 10 δονίας δῆμαρχΟΝΔΗΜΟΥ  
 Ῥωμαίων πρΕΣΒΚΑΙΑΝΤΙ  
 στράτ. ἐπαρΧΕΙΩΝΠΟΝΘ.  
 Βιθυν. στρΑΤ-ΓΔΗΜΟΥΡΩ  
 μαίων ἀνθύΠΑΤΟΝΜΑΚΕ  
 15 δον. γ. ΙΟΥΛΙΟΣΚΑΛΠΟΥΡ  
 νιος βασις? ΑΡΧΙΕΡΑΣΑΜ  
 ενος ἐν πόλει ΕΙΚΟΝΙΩΕ  
 τείμησε τὸν ΕΛΥΤΟΥΦΙ  
 λον καὶ εὐεργέτηΝ

3. The limits of space do not admit either article. The genitive τῶν after ἀνδρῶν might be expected, but the dative after ἐπὶ would not make such good Greek. 4. The future participle is necessary both as a Greek rendering of the Latin gerundive and owing to the number of letters required. This is correctly put in *I.G.R.R.* and also by Magie<sup>122</sup>; Dessau prefers the present participle. At the end, Τ is an error of Hamilton for Ι (see Introduction). 5. Hamilton omits Τ (a rare error on his part), misled by the resemblance to the following Υ. 12. The ligature ΝΤ was not observed by Hamilton (who would not omit a separate Τ between Ν and Ο). A small Υ, inside Ο, also escaped him. 13. Hamilton has ΑΤΤ. *I.G.R.R.* and Dessau restore the title. There was a ligature Τ-Γ which Hamilton misunderstood as ΤΤ.

The expressions *strategos* and *demarchos δήμου Ῥωμαίων* suit an early date, when Greek cities retained a sense of their own dignity and pointedly distinguished between their own *strategos* and the Roman. Fragi had not attained the consulship when he governed Galatia; this excludes the period c. 74-115 A.D. (unless he was merely a *legatus iuridicus*), but other considerations show the exact date. He served twice in Macedonia in offices which exclude the period 15 to 44 A.D. A fragment at Antioch, on which a

<sup>122</sup> *De iurisdictione, vocab. in gr. astron. conversis*, p. 97.

brief commentary is published at the end of my article in the forthcoming number of *J.R.S.* 1916, mentions this same governor, and it is there shown that he governed Galatia under Tiberius. We conclude, therefore, that he quitted Macedonia and went to Galatia A.D. 12-15. Inasmuch as Tiberius was in the habit of leaving his provincial governors undisturbed for a long term of office, it may be supposed that Frugi remained long in Galatia, and on this account his name was used in a number of provincial families which attained the *civitas* at this time. There is no reason to think that the *civitas* was frequently bestowed under Tiberius, but there always were cases when families of high distinction were admitted to this honour.

This officer cannot be identical with L. Calpurnius Piso, proconsul of Asia in the early imperial time, who is mentioned at Pergamos (see Fraenkel, *Inscriptionen von Pergamon*, No. 425), at Mytilene (Paton, *Inscr. Mar. Aeg.* ii. 219) and at Stratonicea of Caria (*B.C.H.* 1881, p. 183). Two of the inscriptions omit the title, but the inscription of Mytilene mentions it.

XV. Heberdey-Wilhelm, *Reisen in Kilikien*, No. 183, furnishes welcome confirmation of a view which I have long entertained about old Anatolian religion. It is a dedication to Dionysos Archibacchos and the Mysterai, and the epithet shows the god in the character of chief Bacchos (priest). The priests were Bacchoi, and the god is their leader and chief; in the ultimate view he is the first priest who revealed the whole ritual to his successors. He is also probably the mythical ancestor of the priestly family (No. VI.) but in this matter the only argument is analogy and probability. Similarly we may presume that at Pergamos Dionysos was the Archiboukolos, who originally practised the ritual, in which the management of oxen, the improvement of the breed, and all the useful practices in that occupation were set forth and enforced by religious sanction. The original meaning of the term Bacchos in Anatolia is uncertain, but it may be gathered from this dedication that the Mysterai as they are initiated into the sacred rites become themselves Bacchoi and Galloi and Attabokaoi, etc. There was, of course, always a man as Archibacchos or Archiboukolos, just as there was a priest Archigallos; he represents on earth the god, who in heaven performs the same act which his priest is performing on earth. This ratification in heaven is shown fully in a relief at Koula in East Lydia (from Satala, published in my *Letters to the Seven Churches*, p. 63), and implied in a relief at Saghir, near Antioch, published in *Annual B.S.A.* 1911-12, p. 67 (see also pp. 144 f.).

XVI. *Ad. Mit.* 1888, p. 238 (Ramsay). The first eighteen lines of this important inscription, giving a career of municipal office in the fourth century (a period when such records are very rare), were correctly published. 19-28 are an Appendix in smaller, shallower, wavering letters; the surface is in great part destroyed; and 22-26 were left unrestored.<sup>123</sup>

<sup>123</sup> In the former publication the type did not show all the traces; and even in the zinc

I cannot imitate successfully the timid, sometimes slanting forms.

Calder and I recopied the stone in 1911, adding to the Appendix some parts of letters on the right.<sup>125</sup> The following rather bold restoration is proposed, following the natural drift of such an Appendix. First (1-18) Antonius and Frugi buried their father; later (19-28) Antonius alone buried in the same family tomb his wife Basilla, who left to him an only child aged five months.

ΕΤΙΔΕΞΕΩΡΑΝΤΩ		ἐτι δὲ ἐγὼ ὁ Ἀντῶ.
ΤΗΓΛΥΚΥΤΑΤΗΜΟ	20	τῇ γλυκυτάτῃ μὲν
ΣΥΜΒΙΩΦΑΒΑΛΙΑ		συνβίῳ Φλ. Βασίλλῃ
ΔΑΜΙΑΝΟΥΣΤΟΙ		Δαμιανοῦ [δ'] πολέιτου
ΛΑΟΩΤ		Λαοῶδ. [πρόλε] [ψ]μ.
ΣΑΝΗΘ		σαν μαρ[σ]την[η] π
ΤΑΜΗΛ	25	τάμηρον, κληθεῖσα
ΕΛΠΕ		ἐς περιποίησιν Κ[ρ]υσ[τ]οῦ
ΜΝΗC		μνήμης [αἰδίου καὶ
ΑΛΑΙ		ἀραι] πάνσεως

23, 25. Difficulty is caused by the false sequence of cases. The participles are used in the accusative after the personal name in the dative. Similarly in 8 ff. participles in the nominative follow a noun in the dative. Syntax was neglected in epitaphs of the third and fourth centuries, e.g. the inscription in my *Bearing of Research on the New Testament*, pp. 358 f.<sup>126</sup>

19. The mark of abbreviation which is regularly used elsewhere in the text is omitted here on the stone.

25, 26. The child's name might be restored here, but probably it is nameless, being only five months old. The traces would be fulfilled by, e.g., [Καλ[ό]ν]μ[η]ν followed by [Εσπε[ρά]τιον] for Σπηρίντιον, but this would not explain the letters at the end of 26, which are almost certainly part of [Κ]ρυσ[τ]οῦ, perhaps with free imitation of 2 Thess. ii. 14, ἐκάλεσεν . . . εἰς περιποίησιν δόξης Κυρ., 'called to the obtaining of the everlasting memory and rest of the Lord.' The writer was cramped by space at the end of the stone, in which the letters are crowded up, and could not finish the name of the Lord. References to the words of the New Testament are rare in Lycæonian inscriptions. Some examples are given in my article on 'The Church of Lycæonia in the Fourth Century,' *Nos. 41 P<sup>127</sup>*, and others have been found. The frequent allusion to the reader of the epitaph, ὁ ἀναγιγνώσκων (also plural), recalls Rev. i. 3, and the common formula in the concluding anathema of epitaphs, τὸν μέλλοντα (once ἐρχόμενον) κρίνειν

<sup>125</sup> The printed text in *Atk. Mitt.* shows H in 24, but both copies (1880, 1911) agree that the symbol is M badly shaped.

<sup>126</sup> The reading *παλιγγενε* (ἐξανε νέας)

*παλιγγενε* was tried, but does not suit the traces.

<sup>127</sup> *Lucy the Phrya and other Stud. in Hist. Relig.*, p. 406 f.

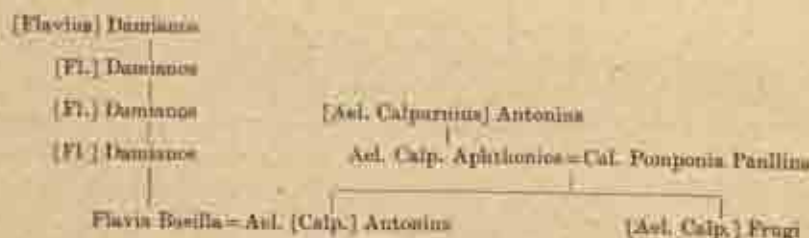


ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς, goes back to 2 Tim. iv. 1, cp. Barnabas 7. The phrase about 'the hope of the future life'<sup>122</sup> recalls 'the hope of everlasting life' in Titus i. 2 and iii. 7; cp. Barnabas 1, also 2 Clem. v. 5; and see Schermann, *Texte u. Uebers.* xxvi. Heft. I b, pp. 23 and 27. Having  $\Xi\Xi\Xi$  in mind at first in 26, we read certainly P followed by a mark (abbreviation ?), and preceded by the corner of  $\zeta$  or  $\epsilon$  or  $\gamma$ , probably  $\gamma$ .

The  $\phi\upsilon\lambda\alpha\iota$  of the Hellenised Laodiceia in the second century have disappeared, and *pagi* (the old Anatolian  $\kappa\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha\iota$  revived) take their place. The Latin term points to the continuing power of Roman organisation. The office of *pagarch* in 12 perhaps indicates not the headman of a village,<sup>123</sup> but a municipal officer charged with control of the *pagi* in the large territory of Laodiceia, where his duties would probably approximate in character to the eirenarchate of an earlier period. The *pagarchia* is mentioned after  $\xi\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\varsigma\ \pi\omicron\pi\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\alpha\varsigma$  (i.e. who six times acted as *prosecutor* *anonotae*), and it would naturally facilitate the *prosecutio*. If *pagarch* in this career meant only 'headman of his village,' he is not annually elected, but permanent head of his *pagus*, which is an oriental and non-Hellenic feature. At any rate, the Hellenistic system is breaking up (as elsewhere in Anatolia), and a different system is taking its place, probably a revivification (with differences) of the ancient Anatolian village system.

The Roman names are still fairly well preserved in the inscription, so that it can hardly be later than the middle of the fourth century. We repeat in improved form the restoration proposed formerly for the last two lines, proving the Christian character apart from the conjecture in 23-6. The date is probably about 330 A.D.

The *stemma* of the family may be restored as follows, inserting in several cases the *nomina*, which, as being hereditary in the family, are not always stated. The cumulation of noble *nomina* indicates a family of long descent, uniting several Laodiceian houses, which obtained the *civitas* at various times.



22. The symbol after  $\Delta\alpha\mu\iota\alpha\upsilon\omicron\upsilon$  is either  $\Delta$  (meaning as in pedigree)<sup>124</sup> or

<sup>122</sup> *Loc. cit.* and *Studies in the Eastern Roman Provinces*, p. 89; cp. I Pet. i. 13, iii. 17.

<sup>123</sup> The terms  $\pi\alpha\gamma\alpha\rho\chi\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$  Ael.  $\pi\alpha\gamma\alpha\rho\chi\epsilon\upsilon$  ( $\pi\alpha\gamma\alpha\rho\chi\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$ ) are found in Lycæonian and Phrygian fourth century inscriptions. Read in 12,  $\pi\alpha\gamma\alpha\rho\chi\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$  or  $\pi\alpha\gamma\alpha\rho\chi\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$ .  $\pi\alpha\gamma\alpha\rho\chi\epsilon\upsilon$  and  $\pi\alpha\gamma\alpha\rho\chi\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$  are known, but not  $\pi\alpha\gamma\alpha\rho\chi\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$  nor

$\pi\alpha\gamma\alpha\rho\chi\epsilon\upsilon$ . The possibility must always be admitted that *Pagarchia* was placed last, as outside the municipal career, and implies only 'head of a village.'

<sup>124</sup>  $\Delta$  is surpassed by E. *C.B.Phr.* No. 262. It can hardly stand for  $\Delta$  ( $\pi\alpha\gamma\alpha\rho\chi\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$ ), which is expressed by  $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$  in 6 and often in

Λ [(πρώτον) πόλε(ως) Λαοδ(ικείας) : improbable], or Λ [unintelligible] : also ἀ(πό) πόλε. Λαοδ. is improbable: ΠΟΛΕ either πολε(ιτευσαν, as in D), or πολε(ίταν), or πόλε(ως).

XVII. Sterrett, W.E. 546. Olu-Borlu in the Kale. The rest of the letters are concealed from view.<sup>120</sup> No transcription has been published. The form of Σ was misrepresented in W.E.: see No. VI.

- |                                 |                                 |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| ὁ δῆμος ὁ ἀπολλωνιατῶν          | 10 ΚΑΙ ΠΡΕΣβεύσαντα πρὸς γερμα- |
| Ετείμησεν ἀπολλώνιον δις?       | ΝΙΚΟΝ Καίσαρα ἐν ἀνατολῇ, ἐκδι- |
| Ολυμπιχον / τοῦ ἀρτέμειονος     | ΚΗΣΑΝΤΑ δις, ἱερασάμενον θε-    |
| Τοῦ                             | ΑΣΡΩΜΗΣ, ἐστίασαι τε καὶ ἐπι-   |
| Τ ἀγανοθετήσαντα ἀγῶ-           | ΔΟΣΕΙΣ Δῶντα τῷ δήμῳ, ἐν πᾶσιν  |
| 5 ΝΑς σεβαστείους καὶ τοῖς λοι- | 15 ΠΟΛΥΤΕΛῶς καὶ φιλανθρώπως    |
| ΠΟΥΣΤΡΕΙς ἐν τῇ πενταετηρίδι    | ΚΑΙ ΣΥΜΦΕΡΑΝΤΟΣ ἀναστρέφ-       |
| ΤΩΝ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΕΙΩΝ, ἀλείψαντα τὴν   | ΟΜΕΝΟΝ <sup>121</sup>           |
| ΠΟΛΙΝ ΕΚ Τῶν ἰδίων ἐξάμηνον ὁ-  |                                 |
| ΛΟΝ ΕΥΕΡΓΕτήσαντα τὸν δῆμον     |                                 |

The first dignity mentioned after the personal name 1-3 must be some typical Greek honour: either it is an agonothesia, or a statement of victories in the great games by a distinguished athlete: restoration is possible on either supposition. In my first essay I preferred the latter form, but agonothesia is more probable (following Anderson). If my old restoration, [ρεῖκνύσαντα ἀγῶνι] εἰσελαστικούς καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς τρεῖς ἰακόντα ἀγῶνι, ἀρχιερίᾳ τῶν σεβαστῶν, κ.τ.λ., were adopted, it would separate the high-priesthood of the emperors from the priesthood of the goddess Roma. These two dignities were distinct foundations. The latter was probably instituted under the Republic to express the gratitude of the State for some Roman action by which the city had benefited, possibly the freeing of Apollonia from subjection to the Seleucid kings in 189 B.C., or the expulsion of the Mithridatic power. It was as much an act of prudence as of gratitude. Such as it was, this old priesthood lasted as late as the time of Tiberius. It is possible that a high-priesthood of Augustus, instituted when the statue to Lullius was erected (No. VI), was transformed into an imperial priesthood after the idea of successive emperors was establishing itself in a public ritual under Tiberius.

8-13, which can be restored with confidence, establish the date and character: the person who was honoured had distributed oil (corn?) to the city at his own expense for a whole (year?), thereby being a benefactor of the people: he had gone as envoy to Germanicus Caesar (A.D. 19); he

Antioch in the fourth century, nor for ἡσπερ-  
πρωτον.

<sup>120</sup> The stone should be found again: Sterrett thought it was complete.

<sup>121</sup> In δ perhaps read ἱερὰς ἀγῶνας; in γ

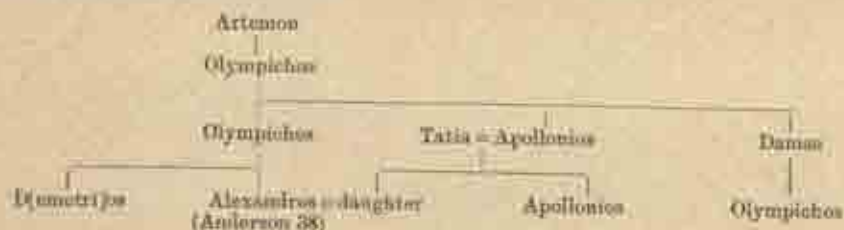
ἀγῶνας ἀγῶνι? 8 ἱερὰς ἀγῶνας? or even ταχύνου-  
σαν? 11 ἐν Ἀρμενίᾳ? ταχύν is too short;  
12 f. [ἡμεῖς ἐπὶ τῇ ταχύνει εἰς ἡσπερ ἀπὸ ἐπὶ  
ἐπὶ ἀγῶνας] κατετάλας κ.τ.λ., or some such vague  
form, is possible.



had served as Ekdikos and as priest of the goddess Rome: the last duty probably ceased early under the Empire (Anderson, *J.H.S.* 1898, p. 97, who quotes *C.B.Phr.* Nos. 199, 302, 345, also p. 365 on this cultus at Emeneia and Apameia).

If the restoration of 5 L is correct, the reference must be to a period of four years in which there occurred some specially noteworthy and brilliant games called Augustan (Sebastain). The name is common; but some special occasion is implied in the words 6-7, the Penteteris of the Sebastain, viz., when games in honour of the deceased Augustus were celebrated. The event was probably connected with the erection in Apollonia of a monument containing the Greek version of *Res Gestae D. Aug.* This *Penteteris* would be about A.D. 15 to 20, when in four successive years four festivals with games were celebrated, one the funeral games of Augustus (*ἱεροὺς μεγάλους Σεβαστείους*).

This inscription should be compared with Anderson, *J.H.S.* 1898, p. 97, No. 37, where Demetrios, son of Olympichos, gymnasiarch and priest of Rome, went twice as ambassador to the Emperor, paying his own expenses, under the early Empire (as Anderson remarks). If the present inscription relates to the same person, Demetrios, son of Olympichos, it belongs to a later period of his life, when he had served the State much longer; but the identity is hardly possible, as the gymnasiarchia would hardly be omitted. Possibly Anderson's inscription relates to the cousin of the person mentioned here. Probably Demetrios went as envoy to Augustus twice; a member of the same family was envoy to Germanicus a generation later. The family was the most eminent and wealthy in Apollonia, and is mentioned also in L.W. 1195a (Sterrett, *W.E.* 518), and Anderson, *loc. cit.* No. 38; generations of a much later period also occur. The stemma may with liberal hypothesis be restored as



XVIII. *C.I.G.* 4007 (from Paul Lucas) is maltreated thus:

Ἐλιος Γίλιος . . . . . κατεσ[κ]ε-  
 ῖασε τὴν λάρνακα ἑαυτῷ καὶ γυ-  
 νεκὶ αὐτοῦ Πιστῇ καὶ τέκνοισι· ὅς  
 δὲ ἂν ἕτερος [ἐπε]μαρτιάσῃτε, ὑποκί-  
 σετε τῇ πόλει δὴν, [ . . . καὶ τῷ] φ[ί]λ[ισ]κῳ ταῦτα.

In 1 the word omitted in *C.I.G.* is Λα[χ]αράς, i.e. λαχανοπώλης; the name of the trade had become a personal cognomen. Sellers of green



vegetables would have a good business at Iconium on the dry plateau; the vegetables were grown in the gardens on the west side of the city.

In 2 the spelling *τήν λάρνακα* ought not to have been corrected (!) by the editors; it shows the Iconian pronunciation. In 5 the copy of Lucas is complete and correct, except that he has  $\phi$  for  $\beta$ ; but it is badly handled in C.I.G. Read  $\delta\eta\upsilon. \phi. \delta [\beta] \iota \sigma \tau \alpha \upsilon \tau \alpha$ , with the common tag.

XIX. Heberdey-Wilhelm, *Reisen in Kilikien*, No. 179, a certain Tertios is commemorated in an epitaph by his mother and father and friends as 'a physician, a good interpreter of lovely knowledge,' *εὐγρη ἀγαθὸς γνώμης καλῆς ἐπεφύρτης*. This expression has an appearance of Christian doctrine, and might be interpreted as referring not to the profession of medicine, but to that of religious instruction. In the third century Christianity had to be veiled in public documents. The poetic reference to the mansions of Hades in 4 is consistent with Christian origin,<sup>122</sup> as is also the punishment invoked against violation of the tomb, which is purely legal and introduces no pagan religious power. The whole manner shows that the document belongs at latest to the third century, and it has the characteristic Anatolian variation between the first and the third person. The first six hexameters, very halting in their metrical character, speak of Tertios and his wife Ammas in the third person; the last four lines are expressed by 'me Tertios' practically in the form of a last will and testament.

Physicians are mentioned in various inscriptions of Anatolia, mostly late (cp. Sterrett, *W.E.* 407, 424). This and the next are doubtful.

XX. Sterrett, *W.E.* 253 (R. 1901).

	ANXA	[Πετρῶν]
	PHNAKOYIN	ία] Ἀρχα
	I I A A A K	ρηνα Κου ω
	ANXAPH	τ]ίλλα K.
		Ἀρχαρή
5	NΩΠΕΤΡΩ	νφ Πετρ ω
	N I Ω T Ω KAI	νίφ τῷ και
	ANNIΩ	Ἀν[η] μίφ
	H M E N	Kλ]ήμεν [τι
	EPICΔE	π]εριοδε[ν
10	Η Ε C T Η	τ]ῇ ἔστη-
	KAI	σέ] και
	Ι Ο Ι	
	YE///P	

An expression of relationship, such as *ἡ θυγάτηρ*, is probably lost at the beginning. 7. There is a space between N and N, but no letter except,

<sup>122</sup> *U.R.Ph.* ii. pp. 387, 518; Lebas, 2145; Leblant, *Ins. Chr. O.* ii. p. 406.

perhaps, a dot or hyphen, giving Aneninus (Animius). 7-8 κεκλημένω is not impossible. 11-13 were copied only by Sterrett; the stone suffered between 1885 and 1901. 13 ε[ὐ]ε[ργ]ή[τη]!

Q. Petronius Anchareus, otherwise called Aninius(?) Clemens<sup>129</sup> was a practising physician at Lystra, περιδευτής in this sense is mainly Christian,<sup>130</sup> and almost all the Lycæonian inscriptions that refer to physicians are Christian (see No. XIX.), but this epitaph has no appearance of Christian character or late date; the lost conclusion (which, perhaps, may be restored by some reader) might give further information. If κεκλημένω could be read, the meaning would be 'popularly called "the traveller".'<sup>131</sup> The names indicate the aristocratic position of a leading colonial family at Lystra.

XXI. *Studies in the Eastern Roman Provinces*, p. 40, read εὐμ(οί)φ(ε)ι Πατρία, καλὴ ὀμφακᾶλ[ι], οὐδ(ε)λε γὰρ ἀθάνατος. Previously we imagined a feminine name Opphis. This rendering of the Latin *Officiale* is interesting: the title was pronounced by Isaurians in such a way that the second I became the spirant Y, for which Greek has no symbol. The very frequent use of the spirants W and Y in Anatolian speech caused great difficulty to Greek mouths and to Greek writers. The date can hardly be later than fourth century (as shown there).

XXII. *Studies, etc.*, p. 41. The strange name Κουζαπτεας or Κουανζαφτεας recalls Κοζαπίγραμις in an inscription of Alexandria in Egypt, which contains only names from this region.<sup>132</sup> The first element is in its simplest form Koza, nasalised Kouza and Kouanza (i.e. Kwanza). The second element, Pees or Phees, perhaps is a lengthening of Pas, one of a large group of monosyllabic names, such as Tas, Bas, Zas, Klous, Lous, Mos, Plous, Glous, Tous, and many others, sometimes reduplicated as Tottes, Tatus, Tetes, Dazas, Thouthous.

This class of names is sharply to be distinguished from the long compound names, involving names of gods like Tarku (Troko) or Ia, and unknown forms, possibly divine, such as Ros or Ro, Koza, Opra or Oura (which is local), Tarkundberras, Roudberras, Iazarinas, Trokozarnas, etc. The two classes of names belong to two strata of population. The compound names are the nobler in type, suited to a conquering people, while the simple names belong to the older population; but the two groups are mixed in a gradually unified population, and appear side by side in the great list of priests inscribed on the ante of the Korykian temple. The name Pigramis is involved also in Trokoubigremis, Roubigremis. Many of the humbler

<sup>129</sup> The second Roman name may come from his mother.

<sup>130</sup> The word is quoted from Athanasius of a doctor making his rounds (similarly the verb). It is also used of a spiritual visitor almost in the sense of *episcopatus*; Canon 57 of *Synod. Laodic.* provides that in the villages and country districts not bishops but *κλεις*

*κλεις* should be appointed, in order to prevent the term bishop from falling into low esteem.

<sup>131</sup> See the *Thousand and One Churches*, No. 8, p. 518, and *C.E.Phr.* No. 420, *C.I.G.* 3928.

<sup>132</sup> Wilhelm, *Beitrag*, p. 224.



class of Anatolian names were taken over by the conquering Phryges, but not the aristocratic compounds: this seems to imply either that the humbler population lived on under the Phrygian domination, whereas the aristocratic families fled (or became thoroughly Phrygianised), or that the aristocracy of the south-east and the Taurus regions never conquered Phrygia proper, and probably came into Asia Minor only at or after the irruption of the Phryges. In the later period, when the word 'Phryx' meant slave, the old class of true Phrygian noble compound names, as found on the early royal tombs, disappears.

XXIII. *Studies*, p. 32. Kell and Premerstein (*Reise I. in Lydien*, p. 69) quote Savignoni in *Jahreshefte Ost.* vii. 1904, p. 79f. with regard to the meaning of the common ornament on Anatolian gravestones, two birds. They consider that these were not to be taken as pets of the deceased, but point to the continued life of the deceased in the Elysian fields, and they publish a good example on a tombstone at Philadelphia. That there is some mystical meaning in this ornament used so frequently in Isauria and Lycania on Christian tombstones may be taken as certain, as is proved by the familiar analogy of the fish (a common Isaurian and Lycanian ornament on tombstones), which, as Origen says in his Commentary on Matthew xiii. 10, was τροπικὸς λεγόμενος ἰχθὺς, caught upon the hook of Peter through its own kind intention. Usener, *Sinfathungen*, p. 227, and Bratke in *Texte u. Unt.* N.F. iv. p. 182, n. 3, also quote the expression that Mary 'hath a fish which is caught by the hook of divinity,' and the epitaph of Avirena about 192 A.D. speaks about the fish which a pure virgin caught.

XXIV. *C.I.G.* 3995 b (Iconium: from Hamilton).

ΑΥΞΑΝΩΝΚΑΙΖΩΤΙΚΟCΔ	Αύξανον καὶ Ζωτικὸς Δ.
ΟΚΙΜΕΙCΤΕΧΝΕΙΤΑΙ	οκιμὸς τεχνεῖται
ΕΥΧΑΡΙCΤΟΥΜΕΝΟΙC	εὐχαριστοῦμεν τοῖς
ΤΕCΑΡCΙΝCΤΕΜΜΑCΙΝΘΙΟΙΚΟC	τέσσαρσιν στέμμασιν τῆ[ς] οἰκ[ᾶ]δο-
5 ΝΙΑCΚΑΙΗCΥΧΙΩΘΕΟΔΟCΙΟΥΤΩ	μίας καὶ Ἡσυχίῳ Θεοδοσίου τῷ
ΠΡΟCΤΑΤΗΚΑΙΜΕΤΑΠΛΗCΕΥΝΟ	προστάτῃ καὶ μετὰ πλε[ίστ]ῃς ἐννο[ίας]
ΕΠΙΜΕΛΗCΑΜΕΝΩ	ἐπιμελησάμεν

This text, as given in *C.I.G.*, is meaningless. I give a drawing of the stone as it was seen by Hamilton, necessarily conjectural; for all restorations are conjectural, until they are proved by rediscovering the stones. Some day this stone will be found in pulling down an old house at Konia; and perhaps there may be someone there to see and take note; but the only person in the city that interested himself in inscriptions, our practised Greek servant, either is killed or has succeeded in making his way to the British lines. The restoration and interpretation here proposed seem certain and self-evident:





<sup>127</sup> Auxanon and Zotikos, Dokimian artists.

we express our gratitude to the four stemmata that constitute the Colonia and to Hesychios, (tribal) prostates and who has superintended<sup>127</sup> the work with all goodwill.<sup>1</sup>

The circumstances in which the dedication was erected are evident. Two artisans from Dokimion<sup>128</sup> were employed by colonia Aelia Hadriana to do certain skilled work. They, having the artist feeling, did not speak merely through words to the mind; they also appealed to the eye in artistic forms. When they mention four crowns, they presented them to the eye, as shown in the zinc, in the four corners of the monument: that position is deduced from the fact that the lines varied in length, being written partly in the free space in the middle, and partly in the narrower space between the pairs of crowns. The monument begins at the top in shorter lines between the two top crowns, and ends in one short line between the two lower crowns.<sup>129</sup> This monument was not merely an expression of gratitude

<sup>127</sup> Or *xai* compare No. VIII. 1. 2.

<sup>128</sup> Stonemasons or artists, trained at Dokimion to do high-class work in any kind of marble, were widely employed. At Ptolemais Antioch in the second century A.C., Menander, son of Diogenes, of Dokimion signed his name on the seat of a statue of Zeus rather larger than human size (the ordinary type of Zeus seated, as on coins of the Seleucid and other kings). Dokimian workmen were employed

at Laodicea (*Ant. Mus.* 1888, p. 237). References to the use of Dokimian marble occur at Apollonia (*C.I.G.* iii. 3973; *L.W.* 1192) and at Hiampolis (*C.I.G.* iii. 3922).

<sup>129</sup> Of course, the final line is often short, apart from any constructional reason. I have, however, placed it between the crowns symmetrically, as this was likely to suit the taste of the artists.





might be used on the popular theory that a tribe springs from a definite ancestor according to the common genealogical fiction. Certainly in various cases the tribes in a Hellenic city of Greece or Asia Minor had an ethnic character, and one nationality was often enrolled in a special tribe. This classification was often carried out in a very arbitrary fashion; e.g. Josephus mentions that all the Jews in Syrian Antioch were enrolled in the tribe *Makedones*, which was of course the most honourable of all in a Seleucid city. There is no improbability in the supposition that each of the four tribes in Iconium possessed theoretically a certain ethnic character, e.g. that all Roman citizens were assigned to one tribe, that all the old Phrygian population were assigned to a second tribe, and so on; but this principle would be a later innovation, for the old Asiatic and Anatolian division was by occupation.

While it is evident that the advertisement of the two artists was ornate and intended to strike the public eye and please the public taste, the ornament remains conjectural. All that we can say with confidence is: (1) the crowns occupied the four corners; (2) there was an elaborate border surrounding the whole panel, and also some ornament in the middle, of which we have suggested in the zincotype one probable feature. A common class of ornament on gravestones in Lycania and Isauria shows two vines or trailing plants growing out of a central vase. The natural place for this ornament would be between 2 and 3, separating the names of the artists from the rest of the advertisement, and thus giving prominence to them.

In 4 the restoration in *C.I.G.* is impossible. It gives no meaning, and alters Hamilton's copy in unlawful degree: he is not apt to omit letters, and he would not mistake  $\mathbf{N}$  for  $\mathbf{M}$ . In 6 *C.I.G.* restores  $\pi\lambda\epsilon[\iota\sigma\tau]\eta\varsigma$ , assuming that Hamilton missed out three letters without indicating the loss, an error to which he is not liable. To restore the usual formula needs only two slight and permissible corrections.

Two of the tribes of Iconium are mentioned in an imperfect inscription (of which only the concluding part remains) published by Wiegand in *Ath. Mitt.* 1905, p. 325 (copied also by me in 1905); and if, as is probable, all the four were mentioned, *Athena Polias*<sup>12</sup> and *Augusta* were last in the list. A third tribe is mentioned in another inscription, viz. *Hadriane* of *Herakles*. It is possible that the *prostitutes* of each tribe was required to be a Roman citizen. That of course was necessary after the city was made a *colonia*, but even earlier this important position was perhaps entrusted to a *civis*; offices like the headship of the four philosophic schools in the University of Athens, and the administration of the Museum at Alexandria, must be filled by *civis* (as was provided by a decree which probably dates from Augustus, though it was relaxed by Hadrian in respect of the chief of the Epicurean School

<sup>12</sup> The tribe of *Athena* is in genitive: Zeus is so frequently named on coins and compare  $\phi\alpha\lambda\lambda\epsilon\ \Delta\omega\delta\iota$  at Amorion. The missing inscription. tribe at Iconium was perhaps ( $\phi\omega\alpha\lambda\lambda\epsilon\ \Delta\omega\delta\iota$ , as



in a decree which has been commented on by various scholars, e.g. Mommsen, *Gesammelte Schriften Jurist.* iii. p. 50.

A good example of the use of an inscription as the advertisement of an enterprising professional man occurs at the sanctuary of Men above Pisidian Antioch. The most conspicuous of many dedications to the god which are engraved at the outer wall of the sanctuary, within view of the processions or of single visitors, was placed by the physician Hygeinos. It is engraved in larger characters than any other, and is so placed on the side of a buttress that everyone who approaches the sanctuary from the city must see it. It was evidently designed to increase the medical practice of Hygeinos in the city, but it takes the form simply of an expression of his gratitude and devotion to the god. Again it is well known that certain of the general anathemas, consigning to the gods of the lower world anyone who fails to return a certain lost article to its owner, were really advertisements of lost property; and No. XXIX. gives a further illustration of the custom.

Such then was the real character of the gratitude expressed by the two artisans of Dokimion. It expresses a lively hope of future favours from the State or from individual citizens of the Colonia Iconiensium.

XXV. *C.I.G.* 3990b at Iadik; also *Ath. Mitt.* 1889, p. 239, No. 12 (Ramsay), is repeated here, because the errors in *C.I.G.* can be in part corrected, but still more in order to direct the attention of scholars to the problem of restoring l. 7, where a short word containing from two to four letters is required. I can think of no suitable word beginning with the letter Σ, the only one that survives in Hamilton's copy: I have seen only the right-hand part; Hamilton saw both fragments at a fountain. The most natural supposition is that the word which is lost specified the total number of the tribes, implying that the entire State, as consisting of a certain number of tribes, erected the honour to Epagathos. Possibly Hamilton erred in the first letter and Σ should be corrected either to Ε, implying ἐπτά or εἴς, or to Δ, implying δέκα.

Α)λκον [N]αίου-	προστ[άτ]αι φυ-
οἱ ἐπ[ὶ] ἀγ[α]θῶν ἀ-	λῶν Σ . . . τὸν ἐ-
γορα[νο]μήσαν-	αντῶν [πᾶ]τραν
τα ἐκ[τ]ὸς ὡς νῦν	9 καὶ ἐκ[τ]ὸς ἑτη. <sup>10</sup>
5 Αὔρ. Τρ[αία]νοῦ αἱ	

The nomen Naevius (Νέουιος) is given at Antioch (Sterrett, *E.I.* No. 150); but Calder in *J.R.S.* 1912, p. 89, Ramsay, *J.R.S.* 1916, *ad fin.*, read Νόουιος.

XXVI. As I have been obliged to differ from Professor Wilhelm in regard to the interpretation of No. VI, I add that his *Beiträge* has taught me much; but it is more instructive in respect of Greek than of Anatolian

<sup>10</sup> Formerly I suggested [τῶν] αἰών instead of Αἰών. The space does not permit, and Αἰών is secured from a newly found text.

inscriptions.<sup>127</sup> Where the Greek spirit rules, there his suggestions are extremely valuable, but the mixture of Greek and Anatolian thought does not appeal to him, and his corrections are sometimes deteriorations of the text, leading in a false direction. In this Graeco-Anatolian world he does not always fix on the right, or detect the point where error has crept in. I mention two cases.

*J.H.S.* 1902, p. 349, published by Cronin, is practically re-written in his *Beiträge*, p. 221, and the correct first half of the text is mangled.

ΥΑΛΕΡΙΟΥ ΦΡΟΝΩΝ	<i>Cronin,</i> Οὐαλέριος Φρώ[τ]ων
ΦΙΛΗΤΗ ΜΑΡΣΟΥΛΛΗ	Φιλ[η]τη Μαρσαύλλη
ΕΙΣΤΗ ΜΕΝ ΖΩΝ ΦΡΟΝΩΝ	θ[ε]ω[ς] μ[ε]ν ζ[ω]ν φρον[ω]ν
ΙΟΥ ΤΑΦΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΝ ΠΕΡΙ	τ[ο]ν τάφον καὶ τ[ο]ν περὶ
ΒΟΛΟΝ ΕΧΕΙΝ	β[ο]λον· ἔχειν
ΔΕΞΕΟΥΣΙΑ	δὲ ἐξονσία·
ΤΙΝΑΔΟΥ	· ὅ[τι]τινα βού·
ΛΟΜΑΙΔΕ	λομαι δὲ
ΤΡΟΣΟΔ	πρόσοδον [μ]ετά
ΟΝΕΤΑΤ	τ[έ]κε[ν]τον
ΕΚΝΩ	

The meaning is 'I Valerius Fronto consecrate to Phileta Marsulla the grave and the surrounding precinct, etc.' Wilhelm substitutes [θ]εω[ς], and looks out for a son, whom he finds through the supposition of a false reading on Cronin's part. No progress can be expected in elucidating the inscriptions of Central Anatolia so long as scholars, instead of understanding the ancient formulas and local customs, resort to conjecture: 'when you do not understand the words, alter the text,' is not a safe method. It is admitted that the flood of conjectures which has been poured forth upon the Greek authors has been in large degree harmful, and that little progress can be made in this way. The same applies in respect of inscriptions: it is sometimes necessary to resort to conjecture, but the limits should be set as narrowly as possible, and the principles should be defined. By conjectural alteration of existing copies anything can be produced, and only error will be achieved. On the other hand, in the latter part of this inscription Wilhelm's suggestion is perhaps correct, because he accepts Cronin's copy and fills up the gaps in allowable fashion, and I would almost withdraw my own restoration in his favour.

<sup>127</sup> In respect of Anatolian antiquities and expression it stands in contrast to the admirable work of Keil and Premarstein, who have studied Anatolia carefully.

Still I give my highly conjectural text (agreeing in 1-4 with Cronin) and Wilhelm's side by side—

Οὐαλέμιος Φρόσι[τ]ων	Οὐαλέμιος . . . . . <sup>185</sup>
Φιλήτη Μαρσούλλη	Οὐα[λ]ητ[ι] Μαρσούλλη [ὁ]
θειῶ μὲν ζῶν φρονῶν	ειῶ μὲν ζῶν φρονῶν
τὸν τάφον καὶ τὸν περί-	τὸν τάφον καὶ τὸν περί-
5 βολον ἔχειν [μηδέ-	βολον ἔχειν
τα] δὲ ἐξουσίαν [πλήρ-	δὲ ἐξουσίαν
εἶν τινα βου[ληθῶν] ἐπαγ-	εἶν τινα βου-
γελ[ομαι] δὲ [μένει-	λομαι. (βούλομαι) δὲ
ν ὁ]προσόδ[ευτον] τὸν	Πρόσοδ-
10 τοπ[ον] μετὰ τ[ελευτήν]	ον μετὰ τ
τῶν τ[έκνων] μου	ἐκ(ω)ν

I was inclined at first to prefer Wilhelm's restoration of 7-11 as shorter rather than my own, in accordance with the canon of Godfrey Hermann (quoted already on No. XII, p. 169); but his arrangement rouses suspicion, because it makes the lines very short at the end, and it ignores the probability that at least one letter is lost at the beginning of 10. It is, of course, possible that an inscription on a round cippus should trail off into short lines at the end, but such arrangement is unusual. It seems, therefore, permissible for me to suggest a possible reading on the supposition that the lines were of the same length throughout. On the other hand my restoration in 6 places δὲ third, an unusual order.

Further, with regard to Wilhelm's text in the last lines there seems to be a distinct improbability that on the gravestone of his wife Phileta Marsulla he should express his desire that Prosodos also should be buried there with children, for Prosodos would have to be interpreted as a concubine. There is no possibility of regarding her as a second wife added in an appendix (cp. No. XVI.), for the whole is written by one hand. I remember no similar case, and the suggested reading seems incongruous with the feeling shown in epitaphs of this country. It would be in keeping with analogy that a separate tomb should be prepared for Prosodos. Of this I have met several examples.

Wilhelm is gently sarcastic about Cronin's text, wrongly taking *θειῶ* as equivalent to *θεῶ*! Cronin was surely justified in believing that any epigraphist would understand *θειῶ* as the ordinary form of *θεῖος*, but this assumption was evidently mistaken. The marks at the end of l. 2 are not part of Υ (as Wilhelm assumes). Incidentally it may be noted that the use of this verb implies some ceremony of purification and fumigation which was performed to consecrate the tomb. The tomb is the temple and residence of the new god and must be treated with every respect according to an established ritual.

Wilhelm finds fault with Cronin for saying that the letter Τ is perhaps on the stone, without indicating it in his epigraphic text. It is not easy to

<sup>185</sup> Wilhelm seems doubtful whether *φρονῶς* (repeated by error in 3) or *φρονῶν* should be read.



get type to indicate the mere possibility of a ligature; even in the zinc I find it difficult to attain this result. Wilhelm does not, however, explain how the feminine Marsulla can be a second name of Valens whom he conjures up in 2. I take it as a græcised feminine from Marsus.

The last seven lines present great difficulty on account of their irregularity. The stone is a round rough cippus without ornament, and the surface is much injured. There was no trace of lost letters on the right, but I noted that certainly letters are lost on the left in 1, 2, 7-10, and, considering the state of the cippus, it seems possible that some letters have been lost on the right, although no appearance remains that they were there, except in 10 f.

The verb *προσοδεύωμαι*, 'gain an income from,' is quoted from Strabo, Philostratus, and Josephus; and the expression *προσοδεύμενα χρήματα*, with regard to money received as income, is also used. Josephus, *Ant.* xv. 5. 3. has the expression *γῆ προσοδεύουμένη*, 'land from which profit is gained.' In the present inscription there was a plot of land (*ὁ τόπος*) and a sepulchral building of some kind upon the land; such a *τόπος* is mentioned in many epitaphs. Sepulchral inscriptions are to be looked upon as testamentary regulations with regard to property. The *τόπος* might be turned to profit by growing *λάχανα* for sale in the city (see No. XVIII.), but this, according to my proposed restoration, was forbidden in the testament of Valerius Fronto even after the death of his children. It can well be imagined that the respect paid to a grave and its surroundings would diminish in the lapse of time, and that while there was little danger that the land should be used as a kitchen-garden during the lifetime of the children of Fronto, he was anxious to guard against profanation in a later generation. Even although the plot of land continued in the possession of his family, he dreaded that his later heirs should turn the land to profit; and in the neighbourhood of a great city there was a temptation to grow vegetables for sale.<sup>100</sup>

The shape of the lettering leaves no doubt in my mind that the inscription belongs to about 90 A.D., and Valerius Fronto belongs to a family which took its name from officials of the province of Galatia. Hirrius Fronto Neratius Pansa governed Galatia-Cappadocia 78-80 A.D. His cognomen Fronto occurs very often, and both Neratius and Pansa are also used in South Galatia.

XXVII. Wilhelm, *Beiträge*, p. 222, No. 223, quotes an inscription from my *C.B.Phr.* p. 157, No. 67, *εἰ δὲ τις τῆς στήλης καθέλῃ ἢ μανίσει, ἔξει τοὺς θεοὺς ἐναντίους* and says that he has shown (*A.E.Mitt.* xx. 86) the true reading to be *[ἀφ]ανίσαι*, but in that place he merely puts the question whether the one word should be substituted for the other. The question grew into a proof in the mind of the distinguished scholar as time passed.

The inscription is on a small marble tablet and is perfectly preserved. I never saw an inscription in more perfect condition. Seeing a word new to me, I naturally examined it with most scrupulous care and can guarantee the reading. It might be supposed that there was an error of the stonecutter;

<sup>100</sup> Flowers or vegetables in grave-plots at *ἑρπιδανίαις ἐπὶ*, *C.B.Phr.* II p. 563. Akmonia, *Rev. Et. Arc.* 1901, p. 275 (read

this is possible, but (as I think) improbable, because it reads two alternative verbs both meaning 'to destroy.' Now the common custom was to guard against destruction or injury. The first verb *καθαίρειν* sufficiently guards against destruction, and the second verb should be some word indicating slight injury, not a word implying total destruction.<sup>129</sup> It is true that *ἀφανίζειν* is used in the sense of 'to obliterate' or 'obscure' but these cases, so far as I have examined them, seem hardly to justify in this place the translation 'to disfigure.' If, however, that translation could be justified, then the alternative would be good, as the prohibition would be against the destruction or disfiguring of the *stèle*. The question, however, is whether there results from Wilhelm's conjecture sufficient improvement to justify the hypothesis that the engraver made an error. Except on really serious grounds mere hypothesis ought to be avoided.

I therefore maintain that the reading as published is correct, and not an error of the stonemason. Although the verb does not occur elsewhere, the adjective from which it is derived in quite correct fashion is used in Attic prose. It is possible that the use of *μυρίζειν* in a Phrygian epitaph was encouraged by the use of a similar word in the Phrygian dialect. The Phrygian language was probably spoken in the district at the time, though Greek had established itself in all known written documents (often hardly intelligible Greek).

XXVIII. *J.H.S.* 1883, p. 424. I may be permitted to call attention once more to the epitaph of St. Aberkios (Avireus Marcellus), as it continues to be restored by some on the supposition that Sterrett and I misread it in one important detail: it is stated that, inasmuch as the Η (which we read in βασιλῆ[ας] l. 2) comes at the edge of an old break in the stone and is non-existent now, therefore there can have been no Η on the stone in 1883. This argument is emphasised by Monsigneur Duchesne and by others; but, if they had more experience of the fate of marbles in Asia Minor, they would know that a heavy stone like this could not be carried by Turks nearly thirty miles across the mountains to the railway and then transported by rail and steamer to Rome without the edges suffering slightly. Now we read on the stone quite certainly in 1883 the left-hand half of the letter Η. It was not Ε, because there were no cross strokes at top and bottom, only the beginning of a cross stroke in the middle. As the Η was certain, and as the text had to be reproduced by type, I thought it best to give the letter complete in order to avoid uncertainty. This ought to have been stated in the text of my article, but it is not easy in writing a long article amid many impediments to remember everything, and I had only scanty opportunity of correcting proof sheets in those days. The article was merely a first sketch of a future book (now published in part as *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*). The most important thing at that time seemed to be to place before the public, even in a form far

<sup>129</sup> The alternative *ἀσθενείν* & *ἐπαισύνειν* (ἐπαισύνειν) is correct (*B.C.H.* 1883, p. 33), as stating two widely diverse ways of violating the grave.



from satisfactory to myself, the numerous discoveries that were made from day to day. This I explained at the time in private letters to various scholars interested, but the false opinion, having been established by such high authority as that of M<sup>onsieur</sup> Duchesne, maintains itself in some circles. When Sterrett and I found this stone in 1883, directing our journey specially (see *J.H.S.* 1882, p. 351) to look for the hot springs produced by the Saint's prayer, and well aware of the exceptional importance of his epitaph, we were not inclined to neglect the reading. We arrived late and camped beside the hot springs, which the Saint is said in the legend to have produced by his prayers, and whose existence was the confirmation of my published argument. Sterrett, being first ready in the morning, looked into the bath-house, and reported that there was inside only one fragment of a 'written stone.' We took breakfast, happy to have discovered the hot springs and proved the historical character of the Saint. Soon we had a joyful surprise, for that stone was the altar that stood over the Saint's grave. Sterrett had never seen the inscription composed by the Saint and preserved in his legendary biography, whereas I had written about it, and knew it by heart, though I had never even ventured to hope that we should be so fortunate as to find it. At a glance I recognised the familiar words, and we devoted a long time and the utmost care to getting every scrap of information about the text that could be obtained. In these circumstances I have no hesitation in saying that the reading ΒΑΣΙΛΗ is certain, and all discussion must start from this.

XXIX. *J.H.S.* 1884, p. 253: at Kara-Hodja, 5 miles S.E. of the hot springs, now Merkez (Headquarters) of the Haimané; *Θερμά Μυρικίων*.<sup>128</sup> The surface is worn and part of the text obliterated. To the epitaph of Statilia her husband engraved the following remarkable appendix. The text illustrates excellently the principles of this article; the copy by Sterrett and myself is right and my distrust of our accuracy concealed one remarkable feature of a unique inscription.

Στατιλία ζῶσα προνοῦσα παραθήκην ἔδωκε τῇ ΕΡΕΑΝ π[ρ]άσινον καὶ ψέλλια δύο ἀργυρᾶ κα[ὶ] μὴ ἀποδιδῶ, Ὅσιον Δείκων, Ἦλκε Κύριε, ὑμεῖς ἐκ[δ]ικῆσατε αὐτὴν νεκρὰν καὶ τὰ τέκνα ζῶντ[α].<sup>129</sup>

Statilia died after pledging (as security for a loan, doubtless) an emerald and two silver armlets with 'a certain person,' whose name, as I fancied, was intentionally concealed, but on whom divine vengeance was invoked if the pledge were not returned. I conjectured that an adjective describing the emerald was misread. Buckler justifies the copy and makes the text vastly more important by reading *ἔδωκε τῇ ἑρέαν*.<sup>130</sup> The jewelry was pledged with

<sup>128</sup> *H.O.A.M.* pp. 226, 227. The form is doubtful: it was the seat of St. Agapion. The resemblance Merkez-Myrika seems accidental, as the Haimané was made Merkez of the Kalymnakian only about 1880.

<sup>129</sup> I change the published spelling to follow exactly that on the stone. [M] was a

ligature of NM, misread in the copy. Λ was misread instead of Δ.

<sup>130</sup> I change his text in one detail, as stated later. Perhaps ΤΙΝ should be 'corrected' to Τ+Ν, ε[ι]ς; but it is safer to follow the copy. Ε for ε in *ἑρέαν*.



'the priestess' of the local smetnary at the hot springs the seat of the Anatolian Mother. The priestess is not named because she acts in her official capacity, i.e. the loan was made by the temple on security, and a copy of the deed was kept by each party. When Statilia died, the transaction was recorded on her tomb, her new home, where she speaks to all. This form of appeal was to Anatolian feeling the most solemn adjuration, but usually it was written on lead and placed in the grave.

That temples engaged in finance on a large scale has long been known; this epitaph proves that they did not despise the humbler rôle of a *Ment de Piété* on the central plateau, the goddess's own land. Buckler prefers  $\epsilon\delta\omicron\kappa'$   $\iota$   $\tau\iota\varsigma$   $\iota\epsilon\pi\epsilon\alpha\upsilon$ , taking  $\iota$  for  $\iota\varsigma$  ( $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ ): he quoted four cases of suppression of final sigma (one in the case of  $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ ) in *J.H.S.* 1917, p. 93. I cannot follow him in this one detail. (1) It is true that final sigma sometimes disappears, as he has shown, but  $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  does not drop  $\varsigma$  before the article; on the contrary, the  $\varsigma$  there had strong vitality (while the vowel often disappeared, as in *Stangia*, *Stambol*, etc.): cp.  $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$   $\tau\alpha\varsigma$   $\epsilon\iota\kappa\omicron\sigma\iota$  on the 20th day of the month, a common late expression. (2) The use of double accusative instead of accusative and dative is common in Central Anatolia from c. 200 or earlier. Examples are collected in my *Studies in the Eastern Roman Provinces*, p. 278: they could be much more than doubled now. This usage was a symptom of growing confusion of the cases. Whereas the force of the tenses was well observed in late Anatolian Greek inscriptions, the cases were jumbled, cp. No. XVI.

This Appendix in Buckler's text suggests so many interesting lines of thought that I cannot enter on them at the end of a long paper. I only confirm what was said in the previous publication and add that the divine power is appealed to impersonally as  $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\iota\omicron\varsigma$   $\Delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\tau\omicron\varsigma$ .<sup>122</sup> This power is often mentioned personally in both singular and plural; it exemplifies and thereby teaches men the principles of right conduct towards the dead and the living. The all-seeing witness Sun is often appealed to as avenger of crimes, cp. *Domine Sol tu iudices eius mortem* quoted by Leblant *Inscr. Christ. de la Gaule* i., p. 296, from *Ficoroni la Bolla d'Oro*, p. 38: also *Studia Pontica* iii. No. 258, p. 229, and *C.B.Phr.* No. 187 (in the latter Buckler justifies my copy against my 'correction' reading  $\Gamma\eta$   $\Lambda\lambda\omicron\epsilon(\iota)\pi\tau\omicron\upsilon$   $\gamma\upsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ ).

W. M. RAMSAY.

<sup>122</sup> Acts xvii. 29:  $\epsilon\delta$   $\Theta\epsilon\iota\omicron\varsigma$ .

## NOTICES OF BOOKS.

**Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire: Papyrus grecs d'époque byzantine.** Par M. JEAN MASPERO. Tome III. Pp. xxix+230, with 8 Plates and Portrait of the Editor. [*Servire des Antiquités de l'Égypte.*] Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1916.

When the late Jean Maspero began the catalogue of which the present is the concluding volume, he intended to include in it all the papyri of the Byzantine age (an age which, contrary to the usual contemporary practice, he dates from A.D. 395) in the Cairo Museum; but it appears from the introduction to the present volume that this intention was subsequently abandoned, perhaps in consequence of the editor's removal from Egypt to France. In any case the third volume would actually have been the last to be produced by him; for while it was passing through the press the war broke over Europe, and seven months later, on February 17, 1915, the gifted editor, who had already done so much valuable work and gave such promise of yet more, fell, at the age of twenty-nine, in the French attack on Vanuquois. In the three volumes of his catalogue are included, not all the papyri of the Byzantine period as defined by him, but only the sixth-century papyri from Kôm Ishigau (Aphrodito), the first, though by far the largest, of the three groups into which, in the Introduction to his first volume, he divided the Cairo Byzantine papyri. Jean Maspero did not live to see the publication of volume III. It was issued under the supervision of his father, Sir Gaston Maspero, so soon to follow him to the grave, who has prefixed to it a most interesting memoir of his son, with extracts from his diary during the war and two specimens of his poems, besides a bibliography of his work.

It is a testimony to the wealth of the Kôm Ishigau find that this third bulky volume of texts drawn exclusively from it, in addition to the numerous papyri of the same provenance at Florence, London, and elsewhere, shows no falling off in interest as compared with the two earlier volumes. It contains several texts of quite unusual interest; the most remarkable is 67295, previously published separately by the editor, the principal text in which is the *derisive* *λογισμός* of Horapollon son of Asclepiades, a professor of philosophy at Alexandria, whom Maspero identifies, no doubt correctly, with the pagan philosopher mentioned by Suidas and others, the reputed author of an extant treatise on the hieroglyphic script. The document is not an original, but a copy probably made for, or bought by, the Aphrodito notary Dioscorus because of Horapollon's literary reputation; but it is none the less valuable as bringing us for once into direct touch with an extant author, concerning whose life and fortunes it furnishes us with some interesting details. Another notable text is 67283, the petition of a large number of representative villagers of Aphrodito to the Empress Theodora, under whose patronage the village had placed itself.

In comparison with these outstanding texts the others are of less general interest; but they contain much material of great value to the papyrologist and the student of Byzantine legal, social, economic, and administrative conditions. Special mention may be made of the original prefectal *προστάγματα*, a *communitorium* of the prefectal *officium* to a subordinate official, two documents of *emphyteusis*, a lease of a wagon with a



generous list of its appurtenances containing many unusual words, a curious apprenticeship contract of a hybrid kind, a marriage contract of an unusual type (the rough draft of a document preserved in its final form in a papyrus of the British Museum), an interesting will, two partitions of property, a series of contracts of surety (*εγγυαί*) for rural gentlemen (*αγορίαι καὶ ἀγροφύλακες*), addressed to a riparius, and the minutes of a legal process: all these in addition to numerous texts of more common types. There are besides some literary papyri, mainly poems by Dioscorus, yielding nothing in business to his other efforts in this line.

The editorial work is, as usual, well done, though no doubt the volume has suffered to some extent from not having received the author's final revision; the last text in the volume, for instance, a register of the Arab period, included for the sake of completeness as it came from Aphrodito, is obviously capable of improvement. But an examination of the volume as a whole will only increase the regret papyrologists must feel for the untimely death of so brilliant a worker in their field.

**The Oxyrhynchus Papyri. Part XII.** By BERNARD P. GRENFELL and ARTHUR S. HUNT. Pp. xvi+362, with 3 Plates. London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1916. 25s.

This volume illustrates afresh the almost inexhaustible riches of the Oxyrhynchus finds. It has not indeed quite the general interest of some other volumes of the series, since it contains no literary texts (its predecessor consisted entirely of literary or quasi-literary papyri); but for the papyrologist it yields in importance to but few of its predecessors, and it goes without saying that it is edited with all the thoroughness, acuteness, and wealth of knowledge which we expect from its editors.

The texts which have attracted most attention are the series 1412-1419, which concern the senate of Oxyrhynchus, and particularly 1413-1415, which are actual reports of proceedings in that body. These documents are indeed of exceptional interest, as throwing light on the procedure not only at Oxyrhynchus but no doubt also in other cities; but there are many other texts in the volume which contain important evidence on other points or are made by the editors an occasion for valuable discussions on vexed problems of papyrology. The documents reporting the proceedings of the senate are unfortunately by no means complete, and though in many cases the editors have arrived at practically certain restorations, in others they have perforce to leave problems unsolved, while in some their solutions are open to question. On 1412, 1-3 the editors have an extremely important note on the municipal *corvus honorum*, tending to modify considerably the views on the subject hitherto held. It may be remarked that in 1413, 8 the editors' alternative reading *ἐγγυαί* is perhaps more likely than the *Σαλευαί* adopted in the text, the exegetae trying to justify their own nomination of *Serenus*.

The first document in the volume, 1405, is of considerable importance owing to its bearing on the *corvus honorum*. It is of quite special importance if the editors' view, that the cession in this case was of the whole property, not merely of two-thirds, be accepted; but this is by no means certain. It is, however, impossible, as the present writer satisfied himself on a recent visit to Oxford, in l. 6 to read *τὸ πλῆρες οὐκ ἔφησε*, which might be suggested. Another interesting document is 1408, which contains a circular of a *dicastus*; and another is 1411, relating to the coinage. 1425-1427, referring to the requisitioning of workmen for service outside their own nome, are also of interest; reference might be made to the procedure in Arab times, seen in the fourth volume of the *London Papyri*. Several of the documents relating to taxation are of some importance: in 1444, 19, 21, 29 it may be suggested that *ἡ ἀρχή*, despite the case, perhaps refers to the village (*τῶμας*), not to a taxpayer. There are some good epistolary documents and also several valuable notifications to archidionetai. The papyri which, after the texts referring to the senate, have attracted most attention are the horoscopes



(1476, 1563 sq.); the editors' introduction to 1476 is epoch-making for the chronology of the period referred to. Even among the 'minor documents' at the end there is a good deal of interesting material: it may be noted, by the way, that *ἡσυχία* (1568) is not really a new word: it occurs also in P. Cair. Masp. ii. 67166, 9, where Maspero, incorrectly, as it now appears, explains it as miswritten for *ἡσυχία*.

**From Pericles to Philip.** By T. R. GLOVER. Pp. xi+495. London: Methuen, 1917.

Mr. Glover presents his learning, which is deep, with a geniality that makes this book more pleasant to read than any work on Greek history that has come into our hands for many years past. It is all the more pleasant because, without indulging in excessive hero-worship, he is able to see the good in most of the men whom he picks out to illustrate the period. In other words, he has the gift of sympathy, without which the writing of history is better left alone, unless it is desired to produce merely reference-books of the type of Bunsell or Niese. His method—which is to make particular men or phases the subject of essays—of course makes it easier for him to avoid the monotony of completeness, though we fancy that he could hardly be dull even if he were writing an annalistic account of the period. And as his sole object appears to be to evoke the spirit of the time, and not to prove some theory of his own, the reader is not troubled with any suspicion that the facts may be consciously or unconsciously distorted for the benefit of some theory. Thus as to the real cause of the Peloponnesian War, we are not quite sure whether Mr. Glover has made up his mind; but what he does seem to make us realise is that there were many views as to the cause even at the time, and that probably there was something in most of them. One cannot read any historical work at the present time without being struck by analogies between the past and the crisis through which the world is passing. Some of the analogies are trivial—one can hardly, for instance, fail to think of the phrase *τοὐτοῦτον ἐξέτερος ἀντιπρόσωπος* in connexion with the attitude of Germany to certain other nationalities. But there is a deeper analogy than this in the general resemblance between the experience of the Greeks in the Peloponnesian War and our own, which Mr. Glover, as his Preface shows, has been quick to grasp, though he never tries to press it in his text. In the time of the great struggle between Athens and Sparta there were many men who were sure that the Spartan constitution was the more 'efficient', and later, Isocrates was sure that the salvation of the world was to come from the man against whom Demosthenes fought in vain. 'It is hard to imagine anyone who (in Longinus' phrase) would choose to be Isocrates rather than Demosthenes; but the course of events fulfilled the dreams of the smaller man, so far as the outward look of things went.' So, too, is there anyone who, in spite of the end of the Peloponnesian War, would choose to be a Spartan rather than an Athenian? The question may help to provide us with an answer to those who tell us, with a certain measure of truth, of the greater efficiency of the system of our enemies.

It is characteristic of Mr. Glover's catholic treatment that, although he is on the side of the angels all the time, Xenophon, whose sympathies as a soldier and a statesman were with the Spartans, is his favourite. We confess to a whole-hearted agreement with him in his admiration of Xenophon as a writer, and are sure that if the *Anabasis* and the *Cyropaedia* were not used as instruments to torture youth, they would be much more highly appreciated in after life than they are. In his chapter on Persia (with Greece playing the second part) Mr. Glover has attempted a difficult task: it is much more difficult than writing a history of the Crusades from Arabic sources, because we know practically nothing of Persian history at the time except what the Greeks tell us, and one of the chief authorities, at least, commonly used to fatten, and to write devices of his own hand. But he has made a very interesting chapter out of his material, such as it is. We should much have liked a chapter on the Greeks in Sicily, the lack of which is the only fault in the proportions of an admirable and inspiring book.

**A History of Ancient Coinage, 700-300 B.C.** By PERCY GARDNER. Pp. 391 + 463. With 11 Plates. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1918. 18s.

Professor Gardner's recent articles on certain chapters in the history of Greek coinage, published in this *Journal* and in the *Proceedings of the British Academy*, known as they were to be of the nature of probouleumata for a fuller discussion of the whole subject, raised high expectations of the book which is now before us. From one—but not from a scientific—point of view, it may be a mistake to serve up the titbits of your feast in advance. You may disappoint readers who expect the whole to be equally succulent. The brilliant identification of the coinage of the Ionian Revolt set a standard which the author has naturally found it difficult to maintain. Nevertheless, even in those parts of the book which have the air of having been written rather in order to complete the survey than because the writer had any new discovery to impart, his characteristic qualities of shrewdness of observation and evenness of judgment are everywhere apparent.

It is impossible in a review to give even a summary idea of the main argument of a book which covers, in a series of closely reasoned chapters, the whole subject of Greek coinage as illustrating economic relations during the period concerned. It is probably, however, not unfair to say that one of his main objects is, by tracing the distribution and modification of the various coin-standards, to show how these were affected by, or how they illustrate, not merely the course of trade, but also the political relations between the various states of the ancient world. The book is most concerned with such questions of coin-standards, though the valuable chapter on the Athenian Empire shows how the Athenians, not content with enforcing the use of their standard on the unfortunate 'Allies,' actually caused them, in most cases, to dispense with their local coinages altogether. As a general criticism we may hazard the remark that the author is sometimes too much inclined to connect identity of standard with political relations. Where the weights are not adjusted with the accuracy to which moderns are accustomed, standards may appear identical though they are quite different in origin. Another point to be remembered is that coins of a convenient weight travel much farther than commodities of any particular kind. The fact that Maria Theresa dollars are the staple silver currency of Arabia and Abyssinia does not prove direct commercial or economic, much less political, relations between Austria and those countries.

As regards method, the most important feature of the book is its treatment of the subject, so to speak, by horizontal instead of vertical sections. That is to say, instead of giving the history of the coinage of one state from beginning to end, it surveys the whole Greek world by periods. The method, though it has been employed before for a single country, is new on so large a scale. It has the defects of its qualities. It brings out many new facts; but owing to the discontinuity and inequality of distribution of the material, it produces a scrappy effect, and the gaps in the structure are too often not merely apparent (to which, scientifically, there can be no objection), but distracting. Unlike every other book by the same author, this is anything but easy reading.

An Introduction of sixty-six pages deals with a number of general questions, on some of which we wish more had been said. Thus the discussion of the primitive predecessors of coinage proper is rather slight. (On p. 27 the electrum dumps from Mycenaean Salamis are wrongly described as being of silver, like that from Cososus.) We should have welcomed some criticism of the recent wholesale identification of various objects as primitive money, such as the gold disks from Myosau, the copper ingots from various places (which are quite absurdly supposed to represent a primitive axe-currency). As it is, the only things of the kind which receive consideration are the iron obelisk from the Argive Heraeum, as to the identity of which with Phenon's dedication Professor Gardner is sceptical. On the electrum and gold coinages there is much that is illuminating; the way in which the Croesean coinage superseded the electrum coinage about the middle of the sixth century, and in which the latter was revived during the Ionian Revolt, and then



continued by the Cyrenaic and other electronic coinages of the fifth century, is very well brought out, and much that was before confused becomes clear. We doubt, however, whether any Persian darics were struck before the reign of Darius Hystaspis. The Persians were very conservative folk, and having done without coins so long would not have thought it necessary to continue the economic policy of Croesus after his fall. As to the beardless king on a rare variety of the daric, it is hardly possible, on stylistic grounds, to bring it down so late as the time of Alexander the Great. On the early Argimetan coinage, a good point is made in showing how the origin of the silver standard seems to be due to adjustment to an earlier standard of bronze. (The *trilamp*, by the way, must have been a round 'cake' of metal, not a spit, like the obeliskos, although its weight may have been the same.) The vexed question of the Athenian coinage is of course dealt with in detail. It is impossible to go into it here. But Professor Gardner entirely misrepresents Head's view in saying that he assigns the earliest coins with the head of Athena to the early years of the sixth century, and to the reform of Solon. They are distinctly classified (*Hist. Num.*² pp. 308-9) in the Post-Solonian and Pente-traitid periods, circa 566-514 B.C.³ In fact, I believe nearly all numismatists are agreed in accepting the Pente-traitid origin of the 'owls.' In regard to the Attic coinage, Professor Gardner's emphasis on the distinction between the Euboic and Attic weights, here and elsewhere, is very valuable. We have already mentioned the important chapter on the coinage of the Athenian Empire. In reply to the question on p. 227, why Aristophanes introduces the *ὀλοφύρα* in the decree about weights and measures (*Birds*, 1040), we may hazard the conjecture that it was a mild joke—Aristophanes used the first ridiculous name that came to mind. The 'gold tetradrachm' mentioned on p. 235, from the inventories of the Parthenon, can hardly have been a double stater of Cyzicus or Lampasos (which would have been called a distater). It was nothing less than a reproduction in gold of an ordinary Attic silver tetradrachm.⁴ The statement on p. 263 that the drachms of Sinope ('seldom exceeding 94 grains') must have been reckoned as equivalent to Persian drachms, though they usually decidedly exceed them in weight, is hard to accept. There was no such excessive plenty of silver in the immediate neighbourhood that we know of to justify this reckoning on the same grounds as we explain the high weight of the gold staters of Panticapæum. The puzzling question of the coinages of New Sybaris and Thurii might have received fuller treatment. The date of the first Athenian foundation at New Sybaris was probably 445 (not 443, which was the year when Thurii was founded). In regard to certain gold pieces of small denomination Professor Gardner exhibits a good deal of scepticism. Thus, to him the little gold coins of Cumæ are suspect (though the helmet-type of one of them would be very apt if it were issued immediately after Hieron's victory in 474); so is the gold attributed to Corinth. And he ignores altogether the rare piece of Sicilian Messene, which, if genuine, belongs to the same period as the Cumæan coins.

The identification of the head on the gold staters of Philip as Arce seems to me to be fallacious. We cannot possibly argue from the head inscribed ΑΡΕΟΣ on coins issued more than fifty years later by the Manerines, because that head is copied directly from

¹ Cp. the Hebrew *ḥēleq* (חֶלֶק, *shyga*, Joseph. *Ant. Jud.* iii. 6. 7; *Cl. Rec.* xix. p. 256), which means both a round cake and a weight of 3000 shekels.

² Head says the coins extend "from the earlier half of the sixth century," which is not the same thing as saying that they begin in the early years of that century. In my *Historical Greek Coins* (1896), which Professor Gardner does not cite, I have adopted a chronology much closer to that which finds favour with him than the one proposed in 1897 in my

article on Solon's Reform. But I confess it seems to me to be very arbitrary to assign to Athens only the owl and the amphora (Head takes only the owl) out of a series of 'Wappensteinzen' which are all of the same fabric. This question is still far from settled.

³ I have given the proof of this in *Hermes*, 1891, p. 317. The statement in Roberts and Gardner, *Guide to Greek Numismatics*, p. 200, that the weight is too high in proportion, is incorrect. The weight, by comparison of the sp. gr. of gold and silver, is exact.



the head called Zeus Hellenios on coins of Syracuse, which itself is copied from the coins of Philip. Since the god on the Philip is sometimes represented with long hair, we may continue to call him Apollo.

In conclusion, a few small points may be noted for correction or explanation in a second edition. P. 19: Not eight, but six obois to the drachm. P. 37: Where are the 'sacred coins' struck by the Jews for offerings in the Temple? Surely they used, except in times of revolt, the coinage of the Gentiles, possibly melting it down, but so far as we know, not restriking it. P. 41: The absence of small Attic silver in Sicilian or Asiatic hoards has nothing to do with the right of coinage of Sicilian or Asiatic cities; it is simply due to convenience of trade that only the larger denominations travelled so far. P. 133: Wroth's article on Papparchus was published in this *Journal*, not in *Cosmopolitan*. P. 172: For *E.M. Ost. Cilicia and Cyprus*. P. 205: The forgeries referred to as bronze 'washed' with silver are not washed, but thickly plated. P. 292: The statement that the Persian darics were the only coins of pure gold in use in the world before the issue of Attic gold ignores the Crousian staters and earliest Cyrenaic gold. P. 308: 'The Hirsch sale,' without indication of date or number, misleadingly suggests a sale of the famous Hirsch collection (which we trust was removed from Brussels to some safe place in 1914), instead of one of the periodical sales of stock conducted by a Munich dealer. P. 342: 'Mel-Karth' (for Melkarth or, better, Melgarth) suggests a false etymology, connecting with Carthage. P. 345: tribal is stated to have been within the circle of Persian influence; but, as is shown on p. 342, it used the Phoenician standard, like Tyre and Sidon. P. 359: The Boeotian Chalcopros belonged to the second century B.C. The name XAPO on the fourth-century coins is more probably that of Charis.

G. F. H.

**Traité entre Delphes et Pellana.** By B. HANSCULLIER. [Bibliothèque des Hautes Études.] Pp. viii+180. Paris: H. Champion, 1917.

This is the first edition of fragments found at Delphi in 1893-6 of a treaty (*synthekai*) made about 290 B.C. between Delphi and Pellana for the judicial settlement of claims by citizens of either state against those of the other. The text is based on: (1) a copy by Bourguet printed in uncial, (2) a revision by Hanscullier made from photographs, printed in minuscule, and in some lines (*s.g.* I a, 3 and 6) differing from Bourguet's copy. It seems possible that study of the originals may lead to further emendation. There is a good facsimile of fragment II a.

That the document is an important addition to the forty-seven similar treaties collected by Hitzig (*Altgr. Staatserträge über Rechtskräfte*, 1907) will appear from this synopsis (the Greek terms within brackets are new): I a (15 l.): institution of action; number of judges and their oath; order of pleadings; objection to evidence (*epiokrisis*); voting of judges; execution; arbiters in event of retrial (*exophoros dikai*). I a (17 l.): sale of objects seized or stolen; procedure against the thief (*phoraios*); his obligation to give security. II a (27 l.): procedure in demurrer; damages due for theft; warranty of movables alleged to be stolen; recovery of runaway slaves. II a (25 l.): appeal and execution; delays through suspension of tribunals.

Having been established in Part I (pp. 7-54), the text is in Part II (pp. 55-134) illustrated with a masterly array of literary and epigraphic material. In Part III (pp. 135-172) are collected the *testimonia* which throw light on the history and institutions of Pellana.

There follow a Conclusion (pp. 173-182) and indices (pp. 183-189). But for Hanscullier's brilliant restoration and interpretation the scientific value of these mutilated fragments would have been almost negligible. His book is a model of how so difficult a task should be performed.

**Ptolemy's Maps of Northern Europe.** A Reconstruction of the Prototypes. By GERHART SCHUTTE, Ph.D. Published by the Royal Danish Geographical Society. Pp. xvi+150+xxxiv (Illustrations). Copenhagen: H. Hagerup, 1917.

Within the past fifteen or twenty years an entirely new battle has developed in the field of Ptolemaic criticism. Up till about 1900 those scholars who busied themselves with the *Geographia* *ὑπόμνημα* were practically unanimous as to the worthlessness of the maps that accompany a number of the codices. Professor Carl Müller, for instance, whose unfinished edition represents the last great renaissance of the text, openly regretted the time he had wasted on the collation of what he had come to regard as mediæval compilations. Since Müller's death the discredited maps have found some doughty champions, the protagonist being Father Fischer of Feldkirch. Relying on proofs which are still for the most part unpublished, Fischer and those who think with him maintain that the view propounded by Brehmer a century ago was fundamentally sound, and that the maps as they have come down to us are genuine ancient documents, that they constitute in fact Ptolemy's veritable atlas.

Those of us who are not yet definitely committed to one side or other of the controversy will probably be content to suspend judgment until the new evidence is produced. Schütte feels no such need of hesitation. He has been in close communication with Fischer, and is a convinced believer in the authenticity of the maps. Taking their genuineness for granted, he finds it a factor of immense importance in the determination of Ptolemy's 'sources.' It is generally agreed that the great *Geographia* is a patchwork; here and there its statements are absurd or misleading, while at the opposite extreme are sections conveying information that is positively amazing in its accuracy. It would obviously be interesting and instructive, if we could dissect it and ascertain the materials of which it is composed. Hitherto all that has seemed indubitable is that the account of some districts is based upon Roman official maps or at all events upon maps of Roman roads. Schütte now claims that it is possible to go much further, and to draw confident deductions as to the 'prototypes' out of which each of the originals of 'the Ptolemaic constructor,' as he calls him, was built up. He chooses the maps of Northern Europe as the *corpus vici* for a detailed example of the application of his method. His results are not always easy to follow; 'prototype' is lumped upon 'prototype' with almost bewildering profusion, each being assigned to its approximate date and its probable 'literary influence.' The magic wand by which all this is achieved is the scientific classification of error.

The general effect of the whole is unconvincing. At the same time the book is one with which all students of Ptolemy would do well to make acquaintance. Apart from the fact that it is an interesting experiment, much of the detail deserves careful study. There is nothing quite so brilliant as Hermann Müller's discovery of the Ptolemaic town of *Zarmeranda* in the '*ad rem latenda digressio rebellibus*' of Tacitus. But the suggested explanations of blundered names are almost always acute, and are very often sound. Curiously enough, Schütte does not seem to have realised that the weapon he employs has a double edge. In an article recently published in this *Journal* <sup>1</sup> Tudor used it with very considerable success, to throw doubts on the authenticity of the very maps whose genuineness Schütte takes as the foundation of his argument. The truth is that an immense amount of 'spade-work' has still to be done before we are within measurable distance of certainty. Incidentally it may be mentioned that Schütte gives 140 A.D. as the *flourish* of Marinus. This may be suitable enough for the particular maps which he selects for discussion, but it cannot be reconciled with Ptolemy's silence as to the Wall of Hadrian. That the book should be written in English is a great convenience for readers on this side of the North Sea. From this point of view it is an extremely creditable performance. But, in fairness to his own arguments, the author should have had it carefully revised by an English friend. Every now and again one is pulled up sharply by expressions that are intelligible only to those familiar with foreign idioms. M.



**Plotinus: The Ethical Treatises.** Volume I. Translated by STEPHEN MACKENNA. 11 x 8. Pp. viii + 158. London: P. Lee Warner, 1917. 16s. n.

This beautifully printed volume contains the First Ennead of Plotinus, preceded by Porphyry's Life of Plotinus, and followed by notes on bibliography and terminology and a rendering of the Plotinian extracts in Ritter and Preller. Mr. Mackenna has aimed at producing a translation 'literary rather than literal, and he has attained his aim with conspicuous success. It is no easy task to achieve a smooth, graceful, and invariably lucid rendering of an author so crabbed and difficult as Plotinus often is. Those who estimate him mainly by the splendid passages in Caird's *Evolution of Theology* should be reminded of the story how the critic Longinus could not make head or tail of copies of Plotinus' works, which, Porphyry assures us, were faithful reproductions of the author's own manuscript, and begged to have 'correct copies' sent him. Porphyry, we know, edited the works of his master, who cared nothing about literary form and 'whose one concern was for the idea'; but they still retain traces of a hurried and careless method of composition. It is true that Plotinus' mystical vocabulary, full of light and colour, his reminiscences of Plato, and his outbursts of ecstatic eloquence at times afford good opportunity to a translator. But Mr. Mackenna has thrown a graceful literary form over all his material, however intractable, and the result is one of the pleasantest philosophical translations we have ever read. Well equipped philosophically and linguistically, he has followed with admirable skill the intricacies of Plotinus' dialectics. We have never any doubt as to what he thinks that Plotinus means, and we nearly always feel that he has seized the meaning correctly. The luxurious paragraphing which Mr. Mackenna permits himself is a great assistance in following the argument.

To turn to details: Porphyry's interesting and well-written life of the philosopher who 'seemed ashamed of being in the body' is gracefully rendered, but in a few passages a marked desire for conciseness has led the translator into unnecessary compression or inadvertent omission, e.g. at the end of c. 14 and c. 23. In c. 2 'maligna diphtheria' is an unsafe translation for *ῥῆς τοῦ συνόχου ἀφύκτης*; the medical details suggest a lingering malady. In c. 10 'Libya' should be read for 'Lydia,' and in c. 18 *ἐν βίβλιν ἐν Πλατωνί* *ἐνταύθα* must mean, not 'I put faith in,' but 'I was entrusted with Plotinus' writings' (cf. the end of c. 7). Near the foot of p. 20 the words 'content with setting aside the most generally adopted theories' reverse the meaning of the Greek, which says 'not even troubling to collect...'. The passage is not really inconsistent with l. 9 of the same page.

We cannot help feeling that the translation of the First Ennead is sometimes unnecessarily free in passages where a more exact rendering would have resulted in equally good English. Mr. Mackenna's metaphors are sometimes more vivid than those of the original: cf. p. 84, 'a life smouldering dully under the crust of evil'; p. 87, 'spurning the world of sense from beneath his feet'; p. 95, 'by consecration to this Absolute'; p. 109, 'can no longer hold its guest' (where the Greek has *ἐδέξαι*), *ἐπει* and *ἀλλοιῶς* are somewhat wilfully turned by 'in times of stress' and 'when we are at peace,' p. 102, l. 18; and *ἀπο γυμνῆς εἰδῆς* is not represented by 'all other conditions perceptible to sense,' p. 101, l. 14. Definite errors of translation are rare, but p. 91, l. 1 and p. 95, l. 7 we cannot reconcile with the original, and at p. 103, l. 1, 'Are we able to affirm vice by any vision we can have of it?' the translator seems to be taking the parenthetical *ῥῆς εἰς αὐτὴν ὁρᾶς* as though it were *ῥῆς εἰς αὐτὴν ὁρᾶς*. There are many passages in the original where sense and construction are obscure, and Mr. Mackenna is to be congratulated on his skill in dealing with them. We have noted a number of small omissions, as on pp. 41, 47, 62 (in each case near the foot), and p. 100, ll. 24 and 26. On p. 64, the printing '... Zeus ...' at first sight suggests a lacuna, not an exclamation, and at p. 109, l. 11 it is not very clear that the second 'it' refers to suicide. Mr. Mackenna's c. 10 of Treatise 8 embraces four chapters according to the ordinary reckoning.

In an interesting note on the 'method of the present translation' Mr. Mackenna



lets us into the secrets of his own work. Pedants are anathema to him, and we have a suspicion that he has rendered Greek futures by English presents, where English futures would do just as well, for the express purpose of annoying them. A useful account of previous translations and commentaries is followed by eight pages on the terminology of Plotinus, which afford a brief popular introduction to the Plotinian system. Mr. Mackenna severely taxes M. Jules Simon for his 'most unphilosophical scorn where Plotinus' magnificent attempt to explain the Universe is found to involve the contradictions—perhaps inevitable to all such efforts.' Both M. Simon and Mr. Mackenna are deserving of sympathy. It all depends on the point of view. The world seems incomprehensible: so, certainly, is a philosophy which, undertaking to explain it, contains manifest contradictions. And are two incomprehensibles better than one incomprehensible? At the same time the system of Plotinus is the most impressive and, historically, the most important exposition of philosophical mysticism in the world's literature. It must always appeal to the mystical type of mind, and we look forward to the day when the whole of it will be accessible to English readers in Mr. Mackenna's delightful translation.

The last thirty pages of the volume are devoted to the Ritter-Priller extracts, which are translated 'in somewhat rough-and-ready fashion,' says Mr. Mackenna, for the benefit of the novice. He has added and omitted freely, and there are some instances of rather loose paraphrase. Still the translation is adapted to its purpose and rises to real eloquence in the famous passages on the 'Vision of the Supreme' and the 'flight of the Alone to the Alone.' Several references are incorrectly given, e.g. v. 3. 9 for v. I. 3; iii. 8. 9 for iii. 8. 10; iv. 8. 5 for iv. 8. 8; iv. 5. 9 for v. 5. 9, and misplaced inverted commas sometimes assign to Plotinus what is really comment by Ritter and Priller, e.g. p. 128, l. 7 and l. 12, p. 150, l. 12.

J. H. S.

**The Communings with Himself of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, Emperor of Rome, together with his Speeches and Sayings.** A revised text and a translation into English by C. R. HAINES, M.A., F.S.A. Pp. xxii+474. [Loeb Library.] London: Heinemann, 1916. 5s.

This edition of Marcus Aurelius may be taken to mark a great advance in general usefulness over any yet issued in England. It was a good idea of Mr. Haines's to complete the picture of Marcus's personality by including in the volume not merely the *Meditations* themselves, but also a record, drawn from a variety of sources, of the Emperor's speeches and sayings, while the detailed index of matters, proper nouns, and Greek terms adds very considerably to the value of the work. The translation, if it marks no new departure, is at any rate quite up to standard from the point of view of readableness and has proved itself commendably close to the original wherever the present reviewer has tested it more exactly.

**Theophrastus: Enquiry into Plants.** With an English Translation by Sir ARTHUR HORT, Bart., M.A. 2 vols. 8vo. Pp. xxviii+475, 499, with Frontispiece. [Loeb Library.] London: Heinemann, 1916. Price 6s. per vol.

It may perhaps not be amiss to refer to the fact that botany has a literature. In view of the great advance which the science has made during the last half-century, and the many new points of view which have been established, the modern student is apt to overlook the work of the earlier botanists, or to pass it over as of little value. Linnaeus for him is archaic, and pre-Linnaean work non-existent. At the best his interest is satisfied by the perusal of Sachs' *History of Botany*, in the Clarendon Press English edition, a book which starts at the Continental herbalists of the sixteenth century. Those who would like to regulate the course of study for the present-day candidate may be asked to

bear in mind that botany has many sides and appeals to differing temperaments, also that there is a literary side which may attract to the service of the science a type of mind that might otherwise stand aloof.

For the first time the English student has the opportunity of reading in his own tongue the earliest systematic treatise on botany. Sir Arthur Hort has done good service in rendering into English the Greek text of the old philosopher: the two versions appear in parallel pages, and the reader is to be congratulated on the handy form in which the work has been issued, in two pocket-volumes, as one of the series of the Loeb Classical Library. In his preface the translator remarks that he is not a botanist; but he is known as a lover of plants, and has also had the help of the expert knowledge of Sir Wm. Threlton-Dyer in the difficult task of identifying the plants mentioned by Theophrastus and expressing them by an English equivalent.

The text of the original is mainly that adopted by Fr. Wimmer, published about 1870. In the Introduction Sir Arthur gives a brief account of the various textual authorities, editions, and commentaries, and also a short notice of Theophrastus' life and work. According to Diogenes Laertius, who wrote 400 years after Theophrastus' death, this father of botany was born in 370 B.C. at Eresos in Lesbos. He went to Athens at an early age and became a pupil of Plato and subsequently of Aristotle; the latter at his death bequeathed to Theophrastus his books and his garden in the grounds of the Lyceum. Sir Arthur refers to this garden as the source of many of the observations which Theophrastus records in his botanical works. Our author also enjoyed the patronage of Alexander of Macedon, who took with him to the East scientifically trained observers whose results were at the disposal of Theophrastus, and to whom he owed his accounts of such exotic plants as cotton, banyan, pepper, cinnamon, and other spices. Sir Arthur also suggests that students of the Peripatetic school were employed in the collection of facts and observations—an assumption which will explain certain local touches in the text.

Theophrastus died about 285 B.C. He was a voluminous writer, and Diogenes gives a list of 227 treatises, comprising, besides the natural sciences, religion, politics, ethics, logic, education, mathematics, astronomy, and other branches. These still extant include the nine books of the 'Enquiry into Plants,' and also six books on 'The Causes of Plants.' There are also fragments of treatises, two of which, on 'Odours' and 'Weather-signs' respectively, are included at the end of the second volume of Sir Arthur's translation.

The botanical student will be impressed with the great amount of first-hand information contained in the nine books of the 'Enquiry,' and with the remarkable observing powers of the author and his skill in systematising the results. He will be fain to remark not only 'what a great number of plants Theophrastus knew,' but 'what a great deal he knew about them.' Right at the beginning the difficulty arises as to the comparison of plants with animals. 'We must not assume,' writes Theophrastus, 'that in all respects there is complete correspondence.' Book I., 'Of the parts of plants and their composition,' should interest the morphologist; the classification adopted is the familiar one, which still persisted in a modified form even in John Ray's great work, 2000 years later, into trees, shrubs, undershrubs, and herbs. The class undershrubs includes some plants which we should hesitate to classify as such—for instance, *εμπεραλλος*, translated *am-tagon* lily, though Linnaeus' *Hemerocallis* represented the day-lily, of which one species is a native of South Central Europe and might have been known to Theophrastus. The need for an ecological view is insisted on. 'We must take into account the locality. . . . Such differences [of locality] would seem to give us a kind of division into classes—for instance, between that of aquatic plants and that of plants of the dry land. . . . For there are some plants which cannot live except in wet; and again these are distinguished from one another by their fondness for different kinds of wetness; so that some grow in marshes, others in lakes, others in rivers, etc. A true morphological conception presents difficulties. 'It is not right to call all that which is underground root. . . . for we must base our definition on natural function and not on position.'



Obviously there is much that is quaint or erroneous in Theophrastus' conception of plant organs and functions, but on the other hand the careful student will find the germ of many comparatively modern ideas in plant life and in horticulture, agriculture, and forestry.

The treatise on weather-signs embodies a good deal of local lore and also much that is common property. 'When the kermes-oak fruits exceedingly well, it generally indicates a severe winter' is a maxim with a familiar sound.

A useful feature is the Index of Plants at the end of the second volume. Of this Sir Arthur remarks:—'A considerable number of the identifications may be accepted as certain, many are probable, some no more than possible.' The student who has the happy combination of a knowledge of Greek and of the flora of South-East Europe and the Near East may find an interesting task in further investigating the identity of the doubtful species.

A. B. RENDLE.

**Rapport sur une Mission en Crète et en Egypte (1912-1913).** Par M. L. FRANCHET. [Nouvelles Archives des Missions Scientifiques xxii. 1.] Pp. 131, 6 plates, 31 figures in text. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1917.

M. Franchet, author of a monograph on *Céramique primitive* (Paris: Gauthier, 1911), was commissioned in 1912, by the Minister of Public Instruction, to study the primitive pottery of Crète and Egypt; in this concise preliminary report he presents some of his observations and conclusions, promising to follow it with a fully illustrated treatise. On the question of interaction between these two seats of early civilisation his verdict is decidedly negative: 'ces deux peuples n'ont exercé l'un sur l'autre aucune influence appréciable dans le domaine des arts industriels' (p. 8). Elsewhere, however, he appears to admit direct influence in respect of decorative design.

The Cretan section, comprising nearly two-thirds of the pamphlet, is mainly devoted to justifying a new system of chronological classification, for the author has chosen to discard the familiar Minoan periods. He has made a systematic and intelligent study of the material exhibited in the Candia Museum, but seems to be imperfectly acquainted with the literature of the excavations; consequently he propounds conclusions which are true but not new, though he supposes them to be original discoveries, and others which are new but not true. As regards his predecessors the author's tone is curiously peevish. 'L'industrie de la Pierre n'a jamais été étudiée en Crète avant mon arrivée' (p. 15). As for the Bronze Age, excavators were 'uniquement préoccupés de la recherche des objets d'art' and did not record the circumstances under which bronzes were discovered; 'c'est pourquoi l'étude chronologique du Bronze est, pour la Crète, entièrement à faire' (p. 11). It is the same with the pottery of the Early Iron Age: 'sous prétexte qu'elle n'appartient plus à l'époque dite "Minoenne," ou plus exactement à l'âge de bronze, elle a été fort négligée.' It was necessary, therefore, for M. Franchet to begin at the very beginning and save what he could from the wreck. He finds that whole classes of objects have received too little attention, and oddly enough selects as an example the limstone figurines which give their name to the House of the Fetish Shrine at Knossos. He thinks the excavator would have thrown them away if they had not happened to be found *in situ*—'mais combien d'autres ont été rejetées, lors des fouilles, dans les divers édifices Crétois.' If he had read Sir Arthur Evans' account of this important find he would know that the first of the series was found not in the sanctuary at all, but outside it, and was instantly recognised as a fetish image (*B.S.A.* xi. 8). 'Il y a une autre catégorie d'offrandes qui a été plus négligée encore—oddly shaped stones, coloured pebbles, shells, and so forth. He is puzzled by the rarity of 'les représentations sexuelles si communes en Egypte': obviously, excavators must have overlooked them and thrown them away (p. 62). Italians, Americans, and British are equally guilty; 'there is none that doeth good, no, not one.'



The author is at his best in discussing the processes used by the Cretan potters. He gives some interesting pages to the discs of stone and earthenware, a foot or more in diameter and furnished with a central socket, which have been found at Gournia and other sites, and shows convincingly that they are potters' wheels, citing modern instances from India. A later section gives an excellent account of the turn-tables and kilns used by the itinerant potters who made the great jars which are found in every Cretan cottage; the diagrams may be compared with a set of photographs in our Society's collection, made some years ago to illustrate the same point, the probable survival of Bronze Age technique. He did other useful work outside the Museum by exploring the coast east of Candia, noting possible sources for some of the variegated limestones and breccias used in the manufacture of stone vases, and excavating some early house-foundations on the plateau adjoining the Tripiti caves. Bronze Age remains are certainly abundant there, but it is doubtful whether the extremely true and regular rock-cuttings of which M. Franchet gives plans were the work of neolithic man, as he believes. If they are of that age, the superstructure is more likely to have been of stone or sun-dried brick than mere 'hutes en pailles ou en branchages.' Mr. Dawkins' discoveries at Magasa prove that even on that remote upland stone huts were used in the neolithic age. Obolidian is abundant at Tripiti, as on many other coastal sites, but the specimens here figured as evidence of a microlithic industry may be of very different periods. Some resemble the neolithic finds of Magasa, others are Bronze Age types. The author is mistaken in thinking that secondary chipping does not occur on obolidian of the latter period. As regards the implements of limestone on which he relies for the 'Campignian' character of his settlement, we must await further publication of his actual finds. The regional and chronological range of the Campigny types is not so well determined, even in Northern France, as to justify the extension of the name to Cretan and Egyptian strata—for M. Franchet, who has made a special study of those forms at home, claims to have discovered them also at Karnak. On the Rousses plain, which lies about a mile east of Candia and south of the hamlet of Kneades, he opened a number of low mounds containing rectangular stone enclosures (like the enclosures of Palaiostro) or stones arranged in concentric circles. There was an abundance of broken pottery, belonging to the Middle Minoan I period—M. Franchet would say 'Bronze I'—but no trace of human remains: he asks doubtfully whether they were sanctuaries. In the same region he began the excavation of a kiln over 20 ft. in diameter, containing vitreous masses resembling the green glaze of the serpent goddesses and other objects found with them at Kneades. The completion of this piece of work and the analyses will be awaited with interest.

The latter part of the report deals with Egypt. An excavation at Karnak enabled him to study the pottery of successive strata, and the spot chosen happened to be rich in votive offerings of the Middle Empire. The discussion of the technical peculiarities and evolution of Egyptian ceramics is novel and suggestive. He thinks that the black glazed shoulder of pre-dynastic red-ware was obtained by placing the pot to be fired mouth downwards in a larger bowl and packing powdered charcoal round it, a procedure for which there is a modern analogy on the Congo. After tracing the survival of primitive methods through the Graeco-Roman period, he discusses the processes used by the modern potters of the Fayoum, who make the well-known tables of offerings surmounted by fixed leaves, cups, and decorative figures: some are illustrated in Plate VI., with part of an ancient prototype for comparison. At Nag-el-Fakhour, near Karnak, there is a community of potters where the men have adopted the wheel, but the women mould the pot wholly by hand. Before being set to dry in the sun the wheel-made pots are strengthened by having a cord of palm-fibre twisted about them; without it they would be liable to crack, while in the case of the hand-made pots, made with a paste containing less water, the precaution is unnecessary. Evidence of this device, actual cord impressions and derivative ornaments, have often been noticed on early pottery, but the original motive has not always been understood.

**Theophrastus and the Greek Physiological Psychology before Aristotle.**

By GEORGE MALCOLM STRATTON. 8½ x 5½. Pp. 227. London: George Allan & Unwin, Ltd.; New York: The Macmillan Company, 1917.

This volume contains the text of Theophrastus' *Ἡπὶ αἰσθητικῆς* with a translation and commentary, preceded by a detailed statement of Theophrastus' own views on sense perception and an account of his expository and critical methods. Prof. Stratton has produced a most scholarly and readable translation. By enclosing within brackets the numerous words necessary to complete the sense of the Greek, he shows at a glance how much the curt style affected by Peripatetic writers leaves to the imagination. The notes, which necessarily contain much that is highly technical and controversial, owe a great deal to Prof. A. E. Taylor, who wrote for Prof. Stratton a running criticism of his translation and commentary. The author's obligations to Prof. Beare's *Greek Theories of Elementary Cognition* are handsomely acknowledged.

Theophrastus starts his treatise with the remark that some investigators ascribe sense perception to similarity, others to contrast, and thus indicates at the outset the *a priori* character of Greek attempts to bridge the gulf between stimulus and sensation, a character inevitable in the absence of exact experimental methods. His procedure is first to give a statement of doctrine, and then to show that the doctrine fails to explain the facts or contains 'contradictions.' Thus, Democritus, the great apostle of subjectivity, after declaring that tastes are subjective effects, goes on to distinguish them by the varying figures of their objective stimuli; in other words, Democritus wants to have it both ways. Plato is censured for holding that a substance is hot 'because of the sharpness of its angles' and then adopting an entirely disparate explanation of cold. The most effective of Theophrastus' criticisms are perhaps those levelled against the theory of atom-pictures. The number of colours mentioned in cc. 76-78 as derived by Democritus from blends of his four primaries may come as something of a surprise to those who believe that the Greeks had little power of discriminating colours. Theophrastus' treatise is too technical to appeal to a wide circle of readers, but the historian of psychology may well feel grateful to Prof. Stratton for his valuable translation, notes, and essays.

J. H. S.

**The Use of ΦΥΣΙΣ in Fifth-century Greek Literature.** By JOHN WALTER

BEARDSLEE, JR. 9½ x 6½. Pp. 126. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1918.

Dr. Beardslee has undertaken 'to trace the history of the Greek word *physis* as known from its actual occurrences in the extant literature.' With this object he has minutely examined and interpreted all the instances of the use of the word in non-philosophical as well as philosophical writings of the fifth century. His results are decidedly interesting and tend to upset several commonly accepted theories. Among his conclusions are the following: that the 'natural history' sense of *physis* as a general term including all the characteristics and qualities of an object deserves to be called original and fundamental; that the meaning 'origin' is rare, though indubitable, as in Euripides' *physis albeia* *leues* *ambrax*; that there is no definite proof that any of the pre-Socratic philosophers, e.g. Heraclitus, prefixed the title *peri physis* to his book, though they may have referred to their studies as *peri physis*; that they did not use *physis* as a technical term for their primary substance, as Professor Burnet maintains (*E.G.P.* p. 12). Dr. Beardslee, we think, proves that the evidence for Professor Burnet's view, which has become orthodox, is anything but strong. He shows too that *physis* almost always means the nature of some particular thing, and that the sense 'universal nature' is much less common than is supposed, the first occurrence of the word as equivalent to *ἐσάρπας* or *τὸ ἅλιν* being in Euripides, *Protes* 886. Dr. Beardslee's discussion of the Sophists in his chapter on *signa* and *physis*



is perhaps the most interesting part of his book. He shows conclusively that there is no real evidence as to who first opposed conventional and natural morality (an opposition generally supposed to have been invented by Hippia), and makes a shaming attack on the theory that the Sophists were divided into two schools, Naturalists (Hippia, Prodicus) and Humanists (Protagoras, Gorgias, Socrates, Thucydides). Dr. Beardslee has done a piece of work which was well worth doing, and has done it very skilfully and conscientiously. If he does not always convince, he at least chastens us with the thought how slight is the evidence on which some of our favourite theories rest. The book concludes with a valuable index of fifth-century occurrences of *phron*.

J. H. S.

**Studies in Greek Tragedy.** Founded on lectures given to six students of Newnham College. By LOUISE E. MATTHEW. Pp. x + 220. Cambridge University Press, 1918.

This book comprises studies of the *Prometheus Bound*, the *Ion*, the *Hippolytus*, and the *Heracles*, with a concluding essay on Accident in ethics and literature. The lectures on which it is based were doubtless found stimulating and instructive by their original audience. The essays on the three plays of Euripides provide the reader with a sound and useful analysis in each instance; that on the *Prometheus Bound* is largely taken up with an attempt to extract the *Prometheus Unbound* out of a very close analysis of the surviving play, and though generally on the right lines, it has its full share of the hazards involved in putting such uniformly heavy pressure on the language of a dramatic poem. Incidentally, the author at one point relies on the authority of Probus (ad Verg. *Æd.* 6, 43) for a certain development in the Prometheus story, but Probus's short abstract of the myth is surely very inconclusive evidence for its handling by Aeschylus. And is it really true that Prometheus's *teie (teie) taphros* (l. 268) is an acknowledgment of 'sin,' as the author, following Mr. J. T. Sheppard, assumes? Need *taphros* imply much more than simple disobedience to Zeus, involving risks which Prometheus says he took with his eyes open?

**Aspects of Death and Correlated Aspects of Life in Art, Epigram, and Poetry.** By F. PARKES WEBER. Third edition, revised and much enlarged. With 143 illustrations. Pp. xl + 784. London: T. Fisher Unwin and Bernard Quaritch, 1918.

Dr. Parkes Weber's third edition appears (with an expanded title) only four years after his second, which was noticed in this *Journal*, vol. xxv, p. 152-3. In this period—and that the period which has meant death to so many adventures in publication—the number of pages has grown from 461 to 784, and that of the illustrations from 126 to 143. The bulk of the book, thanks to the use of thinner paper, remains almost exactly the same. It has reached us too late to admit of our doing little more than refer to our previous notice. Among the new illustrations from the antique may be mentioned the green-glass cup from Pella in the Berlin Antiquarium, another green-glaze amphiarus with dancing skeletons in the Louvre, the British Museum diptych with the Apothecosis of an Emperor, the Hellenistic or Roman stamped clay drinking vessel at Orleans with skeletons, and—to be quite up to date—a number of the most recent efforts of German humour in the way of macabre medals. The author would be interested in the stamp of Louis Demoulin de Rochefort, the sixteenth-century physician, now in the Historisches Museum at Basel, and recently published in the *Festschrift für Schweizerische Altertumskunde*, on which the letter D (the *Schmerz*) is enclosed in a pentagram, around which is written the word *YFIEIA*.



**Metropolitan Museum of Art. Handbook of the Classical Collection.**  
By GISELA M. RICHTER. Pp. xxix + 276. 159 illustrations. New York, 1917.

The reviewer who had undertaken to notice this volume having made default, we must be content at the last moment to do little more than call attention to its existence. It deserves a longer notice, for it is the best general introduction to Greek and Roman art that has come into our hands for some years. The New York Collection is small but, considering that it has been created in the last twelve years, very fairly representative, except of pre-historic art, and in this it shares its defect with most other museums outside of Greece. The special feature of the collection is its arrangement by periods, although this plan is not carried out, for obvious reasons, in respect of the large sculptures. The book is well written, with sound judgement, and produced with excellent taste; it ought to find a good public quite apart from visitors to the Metropolitan Museum.



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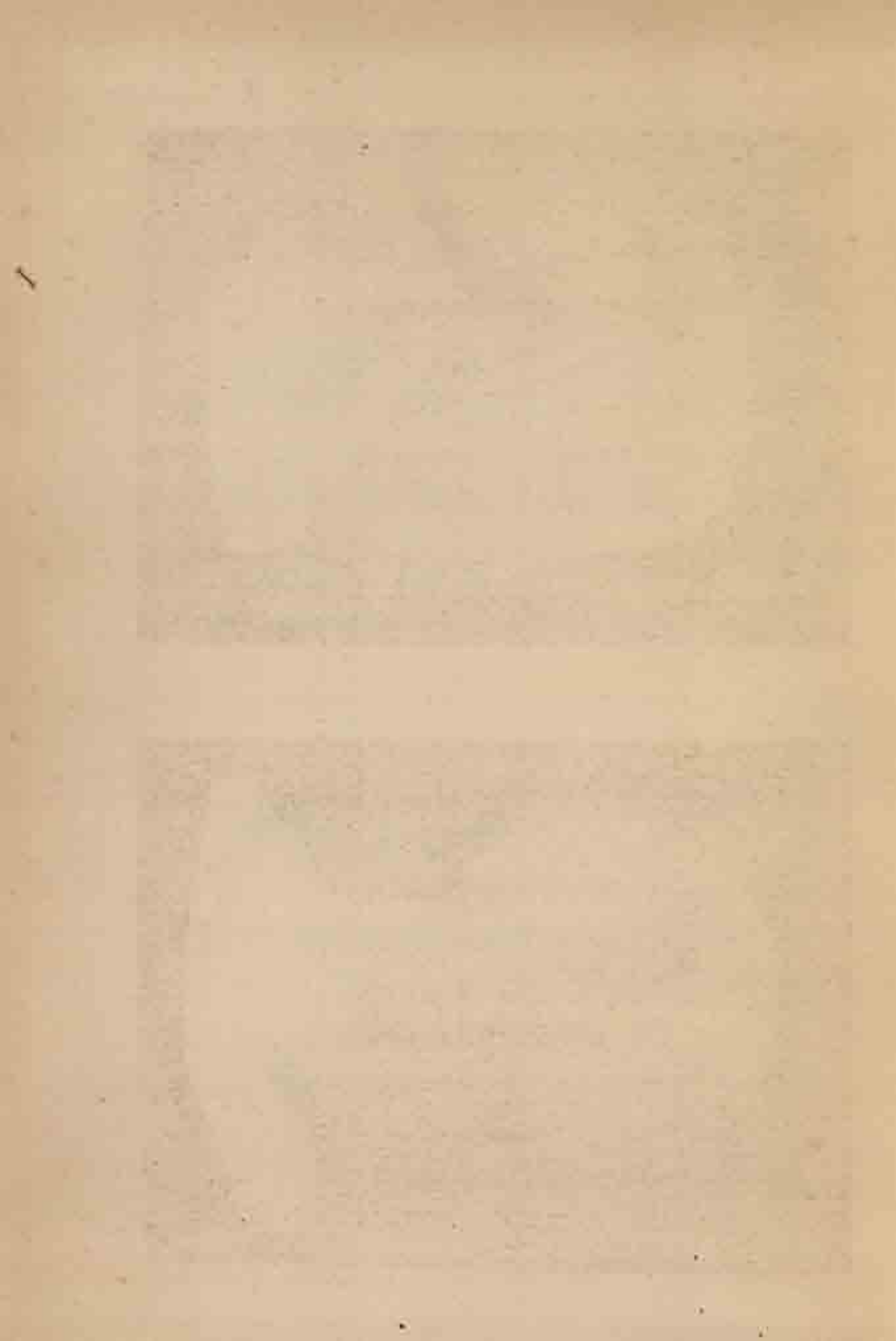
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FEMALE FIGURE OF PHEIDIAN STYLE.





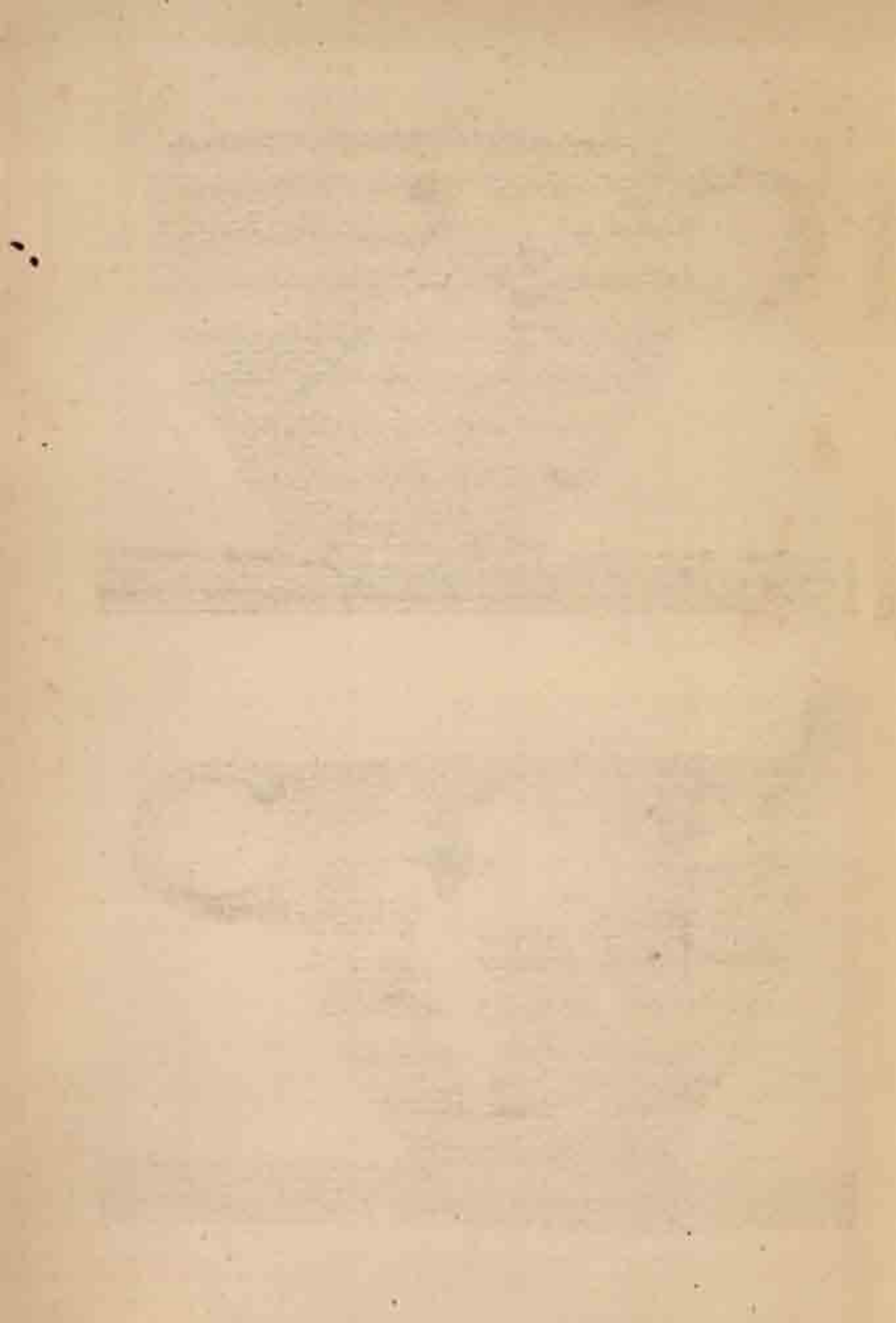
HEAD OF FEMALE FIGURE OF PHEIDIAN STYLE.







THE OXFORD BUST.







KOTYLE IN THE STYLE OF BRYGOS.

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