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ALEXANDER'S ἑπτάνήματα AND THE 'WORLD-KINGDOM'

So far as authority goes, Kaerst founded his theory of Alexander's world-kingdom on two passages in Diodorus and on nothing else. The first, 17, 93, 4, alludes to Ammon having conceded to Alexander the power over the whole world, τὴν ἀπάνθησιν τῆς γῆς ἔχοντας; the reference is to 17, 51, 2, where Alexander says to the priest of Ammon, εἰπέ μοι τί μοι δέσσω τὴν ἀπάνθησιν ἐγώ ἄρχω, and the priest replies that the god grants this. The second passage is 18, 4, 4, the story of Alexander's supposed plan to conquer Carthage, etc., and go to the Pillars, from his alleged ἑπτάνήματα. Every one will agree with Kaerst when he says that the political information in the Arrian tradition is imperfect, and that it is very desirable to supplement it; but the real question, which has to be faced, is, are we in a position to supplement it? It is no good using unsound material as a supplement; it is better to say we do not know, if it comes to that. My object here is to examine the Diodorus passages and see what kind of material they offer.

The Ammon oracle may be briefly dealt with; for it is only Egyptian ritual. No doubt the oracle, as we have it, came through Cleitarchus, as is shown by the agreement of Diodorus, Justin, and Curtius; Cleitarchus may or may not have got it from Callisthenes, who may or may not have been at Siwah with Alexander. Against Callisthenes' authorship is the fact that Strabo (17, 814), the only writer who professedly cites Callisthenes' account, though he gives much detail, gives only part of the Diodorus oracle, the item that the priest hailed Alexander as son of the god. This item is true, for the priest could not do otherwise; but the other items of the oracle, including the promise of world-dominion, are more than doubtful. Callisthenes possessed in fullest measure the vice of writing for effect;² and in his history he added to the Ammon oracle an oracle from Didyma (Strabo Lc.) which was certainly a pure invention. For, first, the Didyma oracle is based on a story that Didyma was sacked by the Branchidae in Xerxes' time, which is simply untrue (Herod. 6, 19); and, secondly, it prophesied the battle of Arbela and the death of Darius, i.e. it was composed after 330. Consequently, the promise of world-dominion, if from Callisthenes, does not necessarily stand on any better footing than the Didyma oracle. But if it be not from Callisthenes, the case is even worse; for Cleitarchus is poorer authority and was not even contemporary

² See e.g. Strabo 17, 814 (possibly Didyma, Mém. de l'Acad. des Insr. 1907, Eratosthenes' criticism), and the very 130 sqq., on Callisthenes' panegyric on just remarks of P. Foucart, Étude sur Hermias.
with Alexander. As Callisthenes is quite clear that Alexander went into the oracle alone, and as the same thing is implied in Arrian’s account, then, if the world-dominion promise were not invented by Callisthenes or Cleitarchus, it can only have come from one of two sources, Alexander or the priests. But Arrian and Plutarch both say that Alexander told nothing. If, then, it were not invented, it came from the priests. And if it were invented, the material was equally supplied by Egyptian priests.

For in fact the ultimate source of the Ammon oracle is not history but Egyptian ritual. In one of the hymns to Amon which formed part of Amon’s daily service, Pharaoh (i.e. the priest representing him) thus addresses the god (Moret’s translation): Le Pharaon est venu vers toi, Amon-Ra, pour que tu lui donnes qu’il soit à la tête des vivants. This is precisely Alexander’s supposed question. The god, of course, accepted the appeal, and there are many references to his conferring the gift sought. E.g., when Khnum fashions Hatshepsut, he repeats the instructions he has received from Amon: ‘I have given to thee all countries, all peoples.’ The hymn of victory of Thutmose III (Amon speaks): ‘I have come, causing thee to smite the uttermost ends of the lands; the circuit of the Great Circle (Okeanos) is enclosed in thy grasp.’ In the Harris papyrus, Ramses III says: ‘Thou didst assign to me all the lands as far as the circuit of the sun.’ This is the supposed answer to Alexander. Sir G. Maspero, though he did not give the details, long ago pointed out with great emphasis the exact agreement of the story of the Ammon-oracle with the ritual; and Mahaffy followed him. Certainly Maspero believed that Alexander did in fact go through the ritual; but that is another matter. Neither Callisthenes nor Cleitarchus is good enough evidence to prove this; all they prove is that some one knew what might be expected to happen, i.e. knew the Egyptian practice. Besides, Alexander, some years later, did tell one thing that passed, and it has no connection whatever with Diodorus’ story; he said that Ammon had told him to what gods to sacrifice (Arr. 6, 19, 4). Personally, therefore, I do not believe that Alexander went through the ritual; but that is not the real point. The point is, that once we see that we are dealing with a ritual, with its roots far down the centuries, it matters nothing whether the thing happened or not, or what Greek historian first

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8 A. Moret, Le rituel du culte divin, Journalier en Egypte; Annales de Musées Guimet, Bibliothèque d’Études, 14 (1902), p. 128. Moret mentions other hymns to the same effect.
9 Drexler, Ancient Records of Egypt, II, 283.
10 ib. 11, 285.
11 Th. IV, p. 142.
12 Comment. Alexandre devint dieu en Egypte, 1897; republished in his Études de mythologie et d’archéologie égyptienne, vol. 6 (1912). See esp. p. 265. ‘Cérémonial et discours, tout y est conforme au rituel des temples pharaoniques,’ etc.; and p. 274. ‘Il serait difficile de rencontrer roi si père que les dieux me eussent fait la même promesse’ (world-rule) ‘à raison: Ammon terminait son entretien avec Alexandre comme il l’avait commencé, par un emprunt sur le rituel; un usage depuis le commencement de la monarchie égyptienne, et qui n’avait rien que d’ordinaire dans son esprit.’
13 A History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty, 1899, p. 10.
related it; for it has ceased to have any bearing on what we want to know—what did Alexander intend or plan or claim? Because a Pope-granted to a series of monarchs the title of 'Most Christian King,' we do not deduce therefrom the personal attitude of this or that one toward religion; and if an Egyptian liturgy promised Alexander, as it promised many other Pharaohs, world-dominion, we must not on this ground attribute to him claims to world-dominion or plans for world-conquest. The promise of world-dominion was of no more importance outside of Egypt, than the claim attributed to the McNeils of Barra was of importance outside Barra. In this respect, it is very important to note that what Alexander asks for, and what the god grants, is not 'authority over all men,' but 'the authority, τὴν ἐξουσία, τὴν ἐξουσίας (twice repeated), a known thing; it had been known in Egypt for many centuries.

The other passage, Diod. 18, 4, 4, goes to the root of the whole matter; and the first thing any one has to do, in considering Alexander, is to make up his mind about the vital matter of Alexander's ἐποιήματα; is he, with the majority—e.g. Kaerel, E. Meyer, Jacoby, Schubert, Endres, and Kornemann—to assume that they are from Hieronymus and to treat them as history, or with Niese, Beloch, and I imagine one should add Wilamowitz, to reject them altogether as unhistorical? Personally, I agree in substance with Niese; but the story has never been analysed—both sides merely make assumptions—and it is high time that somebody tried to analyse it. I hope first to prove that a great deal of Diodorus 18, chs. 2–4, is not from Hieronymus, and that therefore we cannot assume that the ἐποιήματα are from him; then I will consider what the ἐποιήματα were; then I will analyse the contents, which is the really important thing. I use two premises. One is that Schubert, whatever we may think of his details, has proved that Diodorus books 18–20 is a composite work, containing a good deal which is not Hieronymus; the other is that we cannot, as a rule, detect Hieronymus by phrasology, but only by substance. If any one will trouble to read through (say) those books of Diodorus which deal largely with things Macedonian, 16–20, he will find the same favourite words and phrases throughout, whatever author

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* The story is that, after McNeil had died, his piper used to proclaim that now the other kings of the earth might die. Marco Polo has a similar story of a chief in Central Asia.

* The Latin versions (Curtius, Justin) cannot, of course, represent this; and neither Arrian nor Strabo gives the world-dominion promise of the oracle. Plutarch has kept τὴν ἐξουσία, but has interpreted it away.


* Historionmus* in Pauly-Wissowa (1919).

* Die Quellen zur Geschichte der Diadochzeiten (1914), p. 29.


* Die letzten Ziele der Politik Alexanders der Großen," Kleis 10 (1929), 269. Kornmann professes not to go the whole way with Kaerel, but he goes a pretty long way.

* Alexander der Große, in Ruben aus der Kriegzeit 5, XI. (1916), p. 18, 5, for die phantastischen Pläne, die man ihm damals und heute unterzieht, spricht es nicht, dass die nachweisbaren Unternehmungen Nützlichkeit und Entdeckungsfahrten in grossen Stile sind.
Diodorus be copying; and it is obvious that a phrase which occurs in 16 or 17 as well as in 18-20 cannot be used as a test for Hieronymus. I shall give one or two details in their place.

A. ITEMS IN DIODOrus 18, 2-4, WHICH ARE NOT HIERONYMUS.

(a) 18, 2, 1. After the reconciliation of cavalry and infantry, they make Philip king; no mention of any reservation of the claims of Roxane's child, as in Arr. Diad. (Hieronymus with λεγόμενα) and Justin (usually supposed to be from Hieronymus). Contemporaries, we know, found it difficult to understand who was king; for three inscriptions 18 give Philip alone, while O.G.I.S. 4 gives Philip and Alexander; but there is no question that Hieronymus regularly gave οἱ βασιλεῖς (Diod. and Arrian psaxin). This passage, then, is not Hieronymus.

(b) 18, 2, 4. They then make Perdiccas ἐπικράτησις (regent). In Arr. Diad. there is no regent appointed; § 3 Perdiccas becomes chiliarch, which carries the guardianship (ἐπιτροπῆς) of the whole kingdom, and Craterus προστατής τῶν Φιλίππων βασιλείας, executive of the idiot's kingship (not kingdom)—i.e. Craterus was meant to have Philip's person and seal.19 In plain English, the regency was (very naturally) put into commission; Perdiccas had the effective power, but could only lawfully act on Craterus' countersignature. (Of course the system never came into force.) But much more important here is Diod. 18, 23, 2. This chapter, 23, with its intimate knowledge of the minds of Perdiccas and Antigonus, and its praise of Antigonus, is Hieronymus beyond question (cf. Schubert, p. 46); and it says that at first Perdiccas' position was not secure, but later he took over the royal army and the προστασία τῶν βασιλείας,20 i.e. became executive of the two kingdoms; this means that, events having put into his possession the persons of the kings and Philip's seal, he attempted to legalise his position by getting his army to make him προστατής, a thing, of course, not recognised by Craterus and Antipater. Hieronymus then flatly contradicts the statement (b), that Perdiccas was at once made regent.21

(c) 18, 2, 4 (Perdiccas) to whom Alexander dying gave his ring. The ring

18 O.G.I.S. 8 (v) and Sylpr. 311 (his first year); i.e. Π. 401 (before Antipater's death).
19 An enormous literature. Much the best is H. Laqueur, Zur Geschichte des Kretos, Hermes 54 (1919), 293, who saw in effect that the regency was put in commission.
20 So Parisinus R; βασιλείας only in the inferior MSS. (Laqueur).
21 The other passages usually quoted for Perdiccas being regent merely show some form of power, which nobody doubts: Curt. 10, 10, 4, general of the army; Nepos, Num. 2, 1 and 2, summa, i.e. de facto power (vague); Just. 13, 4, 5, Meleagor and Perdiccas generals with regnum cura jointly. Cont. 13, 6, 10 (Perdiccas when in Cappadocia has regnum cura) and App. Syc. 52 (at some time before his death he was προστατής τῶν βασιλείας) agree with Diod. 18, 23, 2, i.e. Hieronymus; Mommsen § 4, τὰ τῶν βασιλείων, also refers to this later period. The only document which, for what it is worth, agrees with (b) is the Heidelberg Epitome, where Perdiccas from the start is εἰσπροστάτης τῶν βασιλείων προπάδων.
story is inseparable from other stories; that Alexander at the end bequeathed his kingdom ἑπτάπλους, and that he said he foresaw an ἑπτάπλους ἄγωνων. These two stories are untrue, as he could not speak; they come together with the ring story in Diod. 17, 117, 4; Justin 12, 15, 6; and Curtius 10, 5, 5; the concurrence of these three sources shows that all three stories are from Cleitarchus. Arrian, 7, 23, 6, does not give the ring story, but says that its two adjuncts did not come in Ptolemy or Aristobulus. The ring story, then, has nothing to do with Hieronymus. Diodorus repeats it here of himself from book 17, just as, of himself, he has repeated the two adjuncts in 18, 1, 4, his personal preface. No deduction need be drawn from 18, 1, 4 τῶν ἄριστῶν as against 17, 117, 4 τῶν ἑπτάπλους, for Curtius also has qui esset optimus; it may show that there were two versions of the Cleitarchean tradition, but equally it may only illustrate the common habit of quoting by substance and not by form.

(d) 18, 2, 4. The rest is not Hieronymus, because of τῆς Βασιλείας.
(e) 18, 3, 1. The first three lines cannot be Hieronymus, because Perdiccas has τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἱέρουλοι, i.e. is regent, and in Hieronymus he is not—see (b). Then Perdiccas gives the satrapies as regent. This again cannot be Hieronymus, whose version was that Perdiccas gave the satrapies on Philip's (pretended) orders. In fact, of course, it is obvious that there must have been a bargain between Perdiccas and Ptolemy; Ptolemy's price for recognizing Perdiccas was Egypt and the appointment of Arrhidæus to control the funeral arrangements. Curtius, who occasionally represents Hieronymus, does say (10, 10, 1) that the division was made by the generals in council; and it may be that Hieronymus' complete version was that Perdiccas called a council, alleging Philip's orders, and the council bargained the matter out. The phrase (Perdiccas) συνεδριάσας μετὰ τῶν ἤγειρέων cannot be used to prove that (e) is from Hieronymus, as does Schubert, p. 29, comparing Diod. 19, 48. I συνεδριάσας μετὰ τῶν φίλων; for the phrase is Diodorus' own.

(f) 18, 3, 4, a well-known crux which needs a little care. It says that Perdiccas gave Seleucus the hipparchia of the Companions, being the most illustrious; Hephæstion had been its first commander, then Perdiccas, and Seleucus third. It has to be considered together with Duris ap. Plut. Kōm. 1: Perdiccas on Hephæstion's death succeeded to his ταξίδιον (probably meaning his hipparchia), while Eumenes took over Perdiccas' hipparchia. In both accounts, then, Perdiccas succeeds to Hephæstion's hipparchia on his death, in direct contradiction to Arrian 7, 14, 10.—First of all, there never was an office called the hipparchia, though some modern writers discuss it quite seriously. I had better take out the facts in Arrian, as this has never been done; they

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22 He does repeat from himself; e.g. 17, 114, 2 from 17, 37, 5.
23 This phrase, though Diodorus' own (17, 23, 5 and 6, of Memnon's extraordinary command), is used regularly in book 18 as equivalent to ἑπτάπλους, the regency; see 18, 36, 6 and 47, 4, where the two are formally identified each time. Cf. 18, 23, 2 and 3.
24 Arr. Diod. 3, 5, ἅπασας εἰκόνας.
26 Diod. 10, 11, 4; cf. 10, 53, 4 and 17, 9, 1.
27 ἕπώτ = hipparchia; Arr. 6, 21, 1; 7, 14, 10.
are quite simple. On Philotas' death the Companions were divided into two hippocarizes, commanded by Hephæastion and Cleitus the Black (Arr. 3, 27, 4); they are called hippocarizes, but as each nominally commanded 1000 men they could, no doubt, also be called chiliares, like many other commanders in the army. At the Hydaspes battle, beside the agēma (the old royal ἀγα), now commanded by Alexander personally, we find 5 hippocarizes, commanded by Hephæastion, Perdiccas, Craterus, Demetrius, and Coenus (Arr. 5, 11, 3; 12, 2; 16, 3); as Hephæastion's command could not have been reduced, each hippocarize nominally contained 1000 men, though not, of course, Macedonian aristocrats; this agrees with the number that crossed the Hydaspes, some 5000 horse (5, 14, 1), viz. 4 hippocarizes, 1000 horse-archers, and the agēma, perhaps 250. The hippocarizes had now each one Macedonian ᾿Αγα; the rest were Bactrians, Arachosians, etc. When Alexander set out homeward through Gedrosia, he took the Macedonian ᾿Αγα from each hippocarize with him (Arr. 6, 21, 3), and returned the native cavalry to their satrapies. The break in Arrian obscures the next step; but probably what remained of the original Macedonian Companions were collected into one hippocarize and placed under Hephæastion (Arr. 7, 14, 10). There were, of course, other hippocarizes formed, probably entirely of Asiaties; but when Hephæastion died he was called chiliares of the Companion cavalry, which was, however, only one ταξις of the cavalry (7, 14, 10). Arrian (ib.) states that no new command of this ταξις was appointed, but it continued to bear Hephæastion's name; this statement is certainly Ptolemys', for Curt. 10, 4 is in verbal agreement, a clear proof in a military item. Consequently the statements of Diodorus and Plutarch (above) that Perdiccas succeeded Hephæastion in command of his hippocarize cannot represent the facts, and therefore cannot well be from Hieronymus. As Plutarch is Duris, so is (ultimately) Diodorus. Duris is worth little enough. Let us suppose, however, meanwhile, that he is correct in this, that Perdiccas succeeded Hephæastion in something, and that the term he (Duris) uses, ταξις, perhaps may not here mean a hippocarize.

The whole trouble has arisen, both in Duris and some moderns, from a confusion of the Macedonian military chiliares with the Persian official whose title the Greeks unfortunately translated as 'the chiliares,' an official who was originally commander of the Guard (the full phrase was apparently ἀρματογιός ᾿Αγα, ᾿Επαυ), but had become a sort of vizier. Alexander had revived

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27 The commanders of the battalions of the hippocarizes (Arr. 1, 22, 7; 4, 30, 5; 5, 23, 7) and of the archers (4, 24, 10) are called chiliares. See generally 7, 25, 6.

28 This comes out clearly in Arrian's account of the Hydaspes battle. It is given formally Arr. 7, 9, 5-4, where it (like Alexander's Persian dress) relates to past events. Droysen's theory of 8 hippocarizes was a mere misunderstanding of araxes in 4, 22, 7; araxes means 'some of,' as Droysen himself saw clearly in 9, 15, 1, where no doubt is possible.

29 This follows from Diod. 18, 7; Perdiccas can only spare Peithon 800 horse, but orders the eastern satrap to give him 8000, which they do.

30 E.g. Kallines', Arr. 7, 14, 8; cf. Arr. Diod. § 33, ταξις. The statement in Arr. 7, 6, 4 that the fifth hippocarize, formed after the others, was not entirely 'barbarian,' points to the existence later of hippocarizes that were entirely Asiatic, like many of the cavalry formations of the Sasanians.
the Persian office (Diod. 18. 48. 5); and, if so, he revived it for Hephaestion, who was his second in command qua the Persians as Craterus qua the Macedonians (Plut. Alex. 47). This office is what Hieronymus \(^{22}\) means by *'Hephaestion’s chiliarchy,* of which he says Perdiccas was made chiliarch after Alexander’s death. But as Perdiccas had to be *made* chiliarch (vizier), he was not vizier at Alexander’s death. We can now see what did happen. Hephaestion at his death held two separate offices; he was commander of the hipparchy which comprised the original Companions, and he was vizier; to both offices the term *’chiliarch* could be applied. The hipparchy in question remained unfilled till Alexander died, when it was given to Seleucus. The vizierdom may have been informally filled by Perdiccas between the deaths of Hephaestion and Alexander; i.e. he did the work without the title, he was *οἱωνίζος.* Duris may have been trying to say this; but he mixed up the two chiliarchies and did say *ταξις,* which might mean anything, but which Diod. 18. 3, 4 very naturally turned into hipparchy. Duris’ statement that Perdiccas gave up his own hipparchy and Eumenes succeeded,\(^{23}\) though immaterial, can hardly be true; for Eumenes’ mediation between cavalry and infantry shows that he belonged to neither.—(f) then is not from Hieronymus.

(g) 18. 3, 5. Preparation to take Alexander’s body to Ammon. Alexander’s wish to be buried at Ammon (Curt. 10. 5, 4) comes in the middle of the three stories considered under (e) and is clearly Cleitarchus. Schubert, p. 181, recognised this, but suggested that the generals did in fact select Ammon as a neutral spot. But it was no more neutral, in actual fact, than Memphis; and the passage in which the idea of taking the body to Ammon again occurs is quite late, as shown by the statement that Alexandria ‘is almost the most illustrious city of the world’ (Schubert, p. 186). (It cannot be Diodorus’ own comment; he would not have so phrased it with Rome before him.) Consequently the reference to Ammon in 18. 3, 5 must be also much later than Hieronymus.

(h) 18. 4, 7. Perdiccas slanders Miletus. Not Hieronymus, who favours Perdiccas except where Antigonus is concerned. It comes from the ‘infantry source’ (Schubert, p. 115).

(i) 18. 4, 8. Revolt of the Greeks in the upper satrapies and sending of Peithon. A short duplication of the account in ch. 7, which is admittedly Hieronymus, and which formally introduces Peithon, who has therefore not been mentioned before. But I lay no stress on this duplicate, as it is obviously Diodorus’ own anticipation of a future narrative; \(^{25}\) and *των εὐσπανον αὐθόν* is his own phrase, too common to call for references.

(k) 18. 4, 1 (Craterus to Cilicia) is a similar anticipation of 18. 12. 1, where it is in place.

I come now to the passages that may be Hieronymus.

18. 2, 1. Alexander dies δραμα. The source here is one which recurs several times later and treats Alexander as having one son only, Roxane’s.

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\(^{22}\) Arr. Diod. § 3; Dexippus fr. 1.

\(^{23}\) He often anticipates. See the reference to the argyraeida, 17, 57, 2, and the long reference to Agathocles, 17, 23, 2.
I am examining this at length elsewhere; there is no reasonable doubt that it is Hieronymus.

18, 2, 2 and 3. Generally supposed to be Hieronymus; but so colourless that there is no certainty. There is, however, one definite argument against it. The reconciliation between cavalry and infantry is brought about by οἱ καρδισταὶ τῶν ἰππῶν, a phrase of Diodorus' own, whereas Hieronymus almost certainly named Eumenes. If Diodorus were here copying Hieronymus it is difficult to see why he omitted Eumenes' name and substituted a vague phrase.

18, 3. The satrapy list as settled at Babylon must have appeared in every writer, and may have rested ultimately on an official document. Diodorus' list may be derived through the medium of Hieronymus, as there is a certain resemblance between 3, 1 ἀλήθειαν ἐπὶ ἐπὶ ὀλίγας καὶ ἐπὶ ἐπὶ ὀλίγας καὶ ἐπὶ ὀλίγας καὶ ἐπὶ ὀλίγας καὶ ἐπὶ ὀλίγας, and App. Mith. 8 = Hieron, fr. 14; but the resemblance is not close.

The result, then, is this. There is only one phrase of which we can say with reasonable certainty that it must be from Hieronymus, while there are many passages which are certainly not. This proves my preliminary point: we cannot assume that the story of the ὑπομνήματα, Diod. 18, 4, 1-6, is from Hieronymus; it must be examined on its merits.

B. THE ὙΠΟΜΝΗΜΑΤΑ.

First, the form of the story. Craterus, when sent off to Cilicia (some months before Alexander's death), received written orders (ἐπιτροπικαὶ) which Alexander gave him to carry out, but on Alexander's death the Successors decided not to carry them out. For Perdiccas found in the king's ὑπομνήματα certain plans (ἐπιτροπικαὶ), etc.—Endres, p. 441, says that the word 'for' identifies the orders and the plans; this is true. He then says they are identical; a very different thing. For the identification is made by Diodorus whose language is his own throughout. As many of the plans relate to Asia, it is clear that they cannot represent orders given to Craterus, who was sent to take Antipater's place as viceroy of Europe; moreover, in Diodorus' narrative, the orders are set aside by the Successors, the plans by the army on Perdiccas' reference to them. Diodorus' identification then is prima facie wrong, a matter which shows at the outset that the whole story requires careful investigation.

There is another reason why the plans cannot be identical with Craterus' orders; we know what Craterus' orders were. He was to govern Macedonia,
Thrace, and Thessaly, and preside over, or order (ἐγγραφαί), the freedom of the Hellenes.\footnote{Whatever be the right reading (see A. \textsuperscript{17}; V. Wikeou, Τραγωδια τον Πτολ. Wilhelm, 	extit{Attische Ursachen} 1, 1911, p. 106).} Antipater had not thought much about 'freedom'; he had kept the peace of the League with his oligarchies and garrisons; but Alexander's exiles' decree had altered all that, and the new policy required a new man; the returning exiles, mostly democrats, were not likely to trust Antipater. It is the standing antithesis of the two policies—the Antipater-Cassander policy of oligarchs and garrisons, and the Alexander-Antigonus policy of democracy and 'freedom' (more or less)—which divided the world down to 301, not to mention later offshoots. Craterus, in effect acting President of the League vice Alexander, was going to have his hands full, and could hardly prepare world-conquests in addition. In the face of Arrian's statement it is impossible to identify the plans and the orders.

Endres accordingly, though he does not notice Arrian, tacitly drops this identification, and proceeds to identify the ἐπιγραφή with Alexander's ἐφημερίδες. Certainly ἐπιγραφή can mean a king's Journal;\footnote{\textsuperscript{17} V. Wikeou, Τραγωδια τον Πτολ. Wilhelm, 	extit{Attische Ursachen} 1, 1911, p. 106.} but whether it does so in any particular case is a mere question of fact. It is a common word at every period, applied to many sorts of documents. Were Aratus' argumentative ἐπιγραφή, for example, ἐφημερίδες, or those of Polybius I, I, 1\footnote{53 (1894), 80.}? In the present case, it is impossible to contend that the ἐπιγραφή τοῦ Θανείου of Diod. 18, 4, 2 were Alexander's well-known Journal, because they are mentioned again in 18, 4, 3 in a context which absolutely precludes their being anything but the ἕμβολος; they are identified with the ἕμβολος, the plans, i.e. they are the written plans. But there is, of course, a much stronger argument against identifying the ἐπιγραφή with the Journal; the Journal itself. Endres' argument is, that Alexander during his last illness discussed things with his generals, and \textit{must} therefore have discussed the Carthaginian expedition, etc., and this \textit{must} have appeared in the Journal. This, of course, frankly begs the whole question; but apart from that it is refuted by the Journal itself, as given in Arrian (7, 29) and Plutarch (\textit{Alex.} 76) with considerable minuteness. It shows that what Alexander did do was to give orders connected with the Arabian expedition, once concerning the land forces and twice concerning the fleet; to discuss with his generals the appointments to vacant commands; and to listen to some things Nearchus had to tell him about his voyage and the 'great sea.' Arrian used Ptolemy's excerpts from the Journal, and Plutarch (or his sources) some one else's. Now I think no one can read Arrian and Diodorus 18-20 consecutively without noticing how (what we think is) Ptolemy and (what we think is) Hieronymus agree in little things and compliment each other; and I note that Schubert (p. 35) has evidently felt much the same thing. Yet what Endres (who assumes the ἐπιγραφή story to be Hieronymus) asks us to believe is in effect this: that these two capable men, both experienced soldiers and administrators, excerpted the Journal for the few days of Alexander's illness without taking out the same facts in any one single case; that Ptolemy,
who found and gave three notices of the Arabian expedition, absolutely overlooked the far more important schemes of conquest in Africa and the Mediterranean and everything else in Diod. 18, 4, 1-6; while Hieronymus, professing to give Alexander's plans, left out the Arabian expedition, of which Alexander spoke at least three times and which was just ready to start. I do not think I need go further.\(^{36}\)

We have seen that the ἀπομνήματα, according to Diodorus, are the written plans. Now the word ἀπομνήματα, in and after the third century, had one very common meaning; the term was often applied to a book of extracts or stories on this or that or any subject, the sort of thing we call a commonplace book, full of snippets; Aelian's Varia Historia is a late surviving specimen. A few instances are the ἀπομνήματα of Hegesander of Delphi, the ἀπομνήματα of Στράτινης of Pergamum, the Στράτινης of Euphorion and of Hieronymus of Rhodes, the Στράτινης of Persaeus, the Στράτινης of Herodicus of Babylon, the Στράτινης of Άθανάτα of Συνερκτία of Istrus, the Θεοφάνης of Περσέας of Nestor; and we meet with at least two volumes of Στράτινης whose compiler was uncertain, one collection being attributed to Aristotel or Theophrastus, the other to Callimachus or Zenodotus. There were many other such collections bearing special titles; and sometimes we get both sorts of titles; for instance, Persaeus' book is called both Συμπτωτικὰ ἀπομνήματα and Συμπτωτικὰ διαλογία. I am not going to suggest definitely that there was a book of ἀπομνήματα going about called 'Αλεξάνδρου ἐπιθελαι or Βασίλειον ἐπιθελαι\(^{38}\) or something of the sort, because I know of no proof; but as there was certainly a collection (or collections) of Alexander's letters, partly forgeries, and similar collections of other people's letters, Olympias', Antipater's, Eunenes', etc., some of which were probably forgeries also, there is no inherent improbability in the supposition of a collection of royal plans; and it may be that this would be a useful line of research for some one whose knowledge of Alexandrian literature is greater than I can lay claim to.

C. The Plans.

Here I drop Craterus and his orders, and consider our document (18, 4, 1-6) on its merits as a collection of plans attributed to Alexander, its source being (so far) an open question. I note first that Arrian knows of a number of plans that Alexander really had in hand when he died, and that work had been done on all these and all were dropped; such are the rebuilding of the temple of Bel at Babylon, the formation of a mixed phalanx, and the Arabian

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\(^{36}\) If Lehmann-Haupt (Hermes 36, 319) were right in attributing Plutarch's excerpt to Hieronymus, my argument would be greatly strengthened. But this depends on his belief that there were only two copies of the Journal in existence, an idea entirely in the air.

\(^{38}\) There were, of course, many other 'plans' besides Alexander's, as can be seen from writers like Pliquy. Some were extremely wild, like Seleucus' alleged intention to cut a canal from the Caspian to the Black Sea.
expedition, i.e. conquest for settlement of the west coast of, and the islands in, the Persian Gulf. It is, of course, a strong argument against the genuineness of the ἰστομήματα that they do not give a single one of the plans known from Arrian, though certainly the rebuilding of Ἑσσαγία and the Arabian expedition were μνήμης ἄξια.

To take the plans in the ἰστομήματα in order.

(1) The completion of Hephaestion’s pyre at Babylon. The pyre was already finished; the elaborate description of it as a work of art in Diod. 17, 115 cannot be pure invention. Endres, p. 413 (if I understand him aright), implicitly suggests that συντέλεσις refers only to ρύγμα for the work. This is impossible; for συντέλεσις refers to συντελεσις and συντελει in two lines before, whose meaning is not in doubt; and in fact συντελει, always in the sense of ‘do, perform, complete,’ is extremely common in Diodorus. The first plan, then, is a historical absurdity.

(2) Building of six temples in Europe at a cost of 1500 talents each. This might be true; for Alexander had already ordered two temples in Asia, of Zeus at Sardis and Bel at Babylon. In Plutarch de fort. Alex. 345b this building is alluded to, with a round figure for the whole (10,000 talents); this may be confirmation, or may merely be the same source.

(3) πόλεων συνοικίσμου. No synoecism of cities by Alexander, done, begun, or planned, is known. Those of his cities of which anything is known were mixed settlements of Europeans and Asiatics or Egyptians; there was no place in his system for synoecism as practised by his successors.

(4) Interchange of peoples between Europe and Asia. So far as sending more Europeans to Asia goes, Alexander must certainly have thought of it, or even begun it; for the original settlers in his cities in Asia, so far as they were Europeans, had native wives, and European women were an absolute necessity, if the cities were not to become purely Asiatic. The intention of Craterus and Antipater to transfer the Aetolians bodily to further Asia is, however, no confirmation; for what they intended was punishment, after the fashion of Darius I. At first sight it looks as if the words ὂς καὶ δῆμοι καὶ συνεφοδιασθήσανται support the genuineness of this plan, as they rather recall Alexander’s prayer at the banquet at Opis for δῆμοι καὶ κοινωνία τῆς ἀρχῆς. But no stress can be laid on this; for καὶ δῆμοι is a known phrase of Diodorus. It is, however, probably safe to believe that this plan, at any rate in part, had genuine tradition behind it.

(5) A great temple at Ilion. Strabo 13. 383 may be evidence that Alexander had thought of this years before.

(6) A tomb for Philip πυραμίδος παραπλασίαν μεῖος μεγάτα τῆς Αἰγίπτου, which they call one of the seven wonders of the world. In Diodorus 16–20 παραπλασίαν regularly means ‘like’ (in shape, etc.) and not ‘as large as.’ The idea of reproducing the Great Pyramid at Aegae

44 Art. 7, 11, 9; cf. Plut. de fort. Alex. 390 B. ἡ διαμέτρου καὶ συνεφοδιασθήσανται πρὸς Ἀκρόπολις.
45 16, 20, 6; 60, 3.
46 It is supported, for what it may be worth, by Curt. 9, 7, 1. Graeci milites, super in colonias a rege deducti.
is one that a sense of humour should have prevented any one ever taking seriously. This ‘plan’ originated in Egypt, and bears with unmistakable clearness the stamp of that sphere of ideas which produced the Graeco-Egyptian Alexander-Romance. Diodorus knew and used that half-way house to the Romance, the Letter to the Rhodians.44

So far, then, the plans given in the ἐκπομπήματα are a mixture of things very possibly true and things certainly false. Of the latter, one is obviously of Egyptian manufacture; while the former relate to building and colonization.

(7) We come now to the thing that matters. 18, 4, 4.—1000 warships larger than triremes to be built in Phoenicia, Syria, Cilicia and Cyprus for the expedition against Carthage and against the other maritime peoples of Libya and Spain and the coast co-terminous with these countries as far as Sicily (i.e. Gaul and Italy), and a road to be made along the Libyan coast as far as the Pillars of Hercules.—Note especially that it is not an expedition, as often represented, but the expedition, a thing settled on and known, though there is no reference to it anywhere in the good tradition—a strange thing, seeing that Ptolemy of the Staff must have known, had an expedition on such a vast scale been already planned. It can, I think, be shown that this ‘plan’ is only part of a legend which exhibits a regular growth from small beginnings. The legend is primarily based on three things that are facts: the Amon ritual already noticed; embassies from afar did come to Alexander at Babylon; Alexander did build ships in Phoenicia. There is, of course, a fourth fact, that Alexander’s enemies at Athens, even as early as 350, were alluding to him as lord of the ‘inhabited earth.’46 This is mere rhetoric, and not only has no bearing on Alexander’s acts or intentions, but did not (so far as I can see) influence the growth of the legend; but it may show that the world was ready enough to absorb the idea of Alexander’s world-kingdom, once that idea got started.

First of all, to the certain embassies46 some one, almost certainly Cleitus, added a number of others (Diod. 17, 113, 2; Carthage, the Liby-Phoenicians, and all the African peoples as far as the Pillars; and beside Greeks the Illyrians, Thracians, Macedonians, and Galati. Illyrians and Thracians are possible enough, though quite immaterial; but Macedonians did not send an embassy to Alexander, while Galat (as distinct from Celtae) were not known to the Graeco-Macedonian world till 279. These mistakes, of course, would discredit the whole list, even if Cleitus were respectable authority; and they make it very difficult to believe in the embassy from Carthage, which otherwise is possible enough; for one did come to Athens towards the end of the century (I.G. ii 418). The vulgate indeed has a story, very strange in its detail, that an embassy from Carthage came to Alexander during Parmenion’s life-time (Just. 21, 6); but it must be remembered that

44 Diod. 20, 81, 3, Alexander’s ‘Treaty’ deposited at Rhodes; see Antfeld, Rh. Mus. 56 (1900), 517 seq.
45 Demosth. de Corone 270; Hyperides, Epitaph., 29.
46 Libyans, Bruttians, Lucanians, Extran- 
ceme; Arr. 7, 15, 4. As all embassies ap- 
ppeared in the Journal, it is difficult to credit 
any not in Arrian.
CLEITARCHUS and the vulgate are rather obsessed throughout by the idea of Carthage. The Carthaginian embassy, then, is possible, but not proven. The peoples of Mauretania are frankly impossible.—Other writers proceeded to improve on the list: Spain and Gaul were first added, Gaul being manufactured out of the Galat (Just. 12, 13, 1; Arr. 7, 15, 4 λέγεται); with these were conjointed Sicily and Sardinia (Just. i.e.) or the Ethiopians and European Scythe (Arr. i.e.); last of all was added Rome. The view of these embassies given by Cleitarchus and the vulgate was, that they came from nearly all the inhabited earth (Diod. 17, 113, 2), and that their states entrusted Alexander with the composing of their differences, so that he did seem to be lord of the earth (Arr. 7, 15, 5 λέγεται). Here we have both the reason for, and the refutation of, this tremendous extension of the certain embassies; Cleitarchus was committed to the statement that Ammon had said that Alexander was to have the power over the whole earth, and if this was to mean anything outside of Egypt, it was necessary to show that Ammon had delivered the goods. In this working over of the Cleitarchean embassies the vulgate makes Alexander lord of the earth by those from the ends of the earth submitting their disputes to him.

But this was not enough: to be lord you must conquer. Here comes in Alexander’s shipbuilding (Arr. 7, 19, 3, cf. Strabo 16, 741), which was actually a modest affair: 2 quinqueremes 3 quadriremes 12 triremes and 30 triakontors were built in sections in Phoenicia, carried to Thapsacus, and brought down the Euphrates to Babylon; while at Babylon he was (when he died) building a few more from such timber as could be collected from the parks in the district. On these two considerations, becoming lord and the shipbuilding, is based the invaluable story preserved by Curtius (10, 1, 3), in which the embassies have become a scheme of conquest of the same countries. Curtius says that, after Nearchus rejoined in Carmania, Alexander planned to conquer Carthage, march to Cadiz and the Pillars, go to Spain, and thence cross the Alps into Italy; therefore he ordered his generals in Mesopotamia to build at Thapsacus 700 hepteres and bring them to Babylon. This extraordinary patchwork attempt to press a real fact (the shipbuilding) into the service of the idea that Alexander was to be lord of the earth is most illuminating; for it is hardly necessary to remark that if you are going to the Pillars you do not begin by sending your fleet to Babylon. The 700 hepteres alone are a sufficient absurdity to discredit any story; incidentally, hepteres were not invented till nine years after Alexander died, and were first used at Salamis in 306.

[Curt. 4, 2, 11 and 3, 10; Just. 11, 10, 12; Diod. 17, 40, 3.
Arr. 7, 15, 3. If he came in Cleitarchus, as Pliny says, it is impossible to see why Leos or inscribes it. The new theory advanced by B. B. Steele, Class. Philol. 13 (1918), p. 302, does not meet this difficulty. The Pliny passage contains another gross (under Schnabel, op. cit., p. 49) and is quite untrustworthy.

[The largest fleets of the 4th and 3rd centuries are: Dionysus I. (reputed 600); Athens, 413 in the docks in 323; Persia in 334, reputed 400; these largely triremes. For fleets of a larger average size: Demetrius in 306, about 330, not all at sea; Ptolemy II. 296, some 330 (on paper); Rome in 298, 295, all at sea. Reference, etc., in Tarn, Antigonus Gonatus, 82 sqq., 154 sqq.]
The legend now bifurcates. One branch, represented by our passage, Dio. 13, 4, 4, agrees with the Curtius story as to the round Alexander is to take, but throws over the last link with reality, the fleet at Babylon, as being unworkable; Alexander now builds and keeps his fleet on the Mediterranean, in Phoenicia, etc. The fleet has naturally grown from 700 to 1000 ships—"greater than triremes"; but looking at what happened to Xerxes' fleet, one is astonished at the author's moderation. The reason for it is simple; the author has recollected an innocent remark of Aristobulus that the basin which Alexander was digging at Babylon was large enough to hold 1000 warships—a simple method of indicating its size. These 1000 ships, designed for the conquest of the west, turn up again in a very curious context; in Just. 13, 5, 7, Alexander orders them, not for the conquest of the world, but for the Laconian war! Incidentally, we can now see why Dio. 18, 4, 4 gives the expedition to Carthage and not an expedition; the writer is referring to previous stories, such as Curtius 10, 1, 3, and who knows what other intermediate developments of the legend; it proves that the Diodorus story is, as we have already seen, part of a chain or sequence in the development of the idea which it handles. The other branch of the legend is determined to keep Babylon in the picture, and therefore throws over the march to the Pillars along the Libyan coast; instead, it makes Alexander plan to circumnavigate Africa with his army and fleet (like the Phoenicians in Herodotus; only they had not an army and fleet to feed), conquer Carthage from the west, and from Sicily go on to the Euxine and Maeotis (stories collected in Arr. 7, 1, 2). And the last stage of all is the Romance, which gathers up all the "plans" and turns them into accomplishment; here Alexander does conquer Carthage and Rome, does sail through the Pillars, and does go north far beyond the Maeotis. There is thus a perfectly complete sequence of development in the story from the Cleitarchean embassies to the Romance.

This sequence of development precludes any possibility of Dio. 18, 4, 4 being from Hieronymus. But in fact we can get one date in the growth of this sequence. In the Curtius story, Alexander's plan to march from Spain to Italy over the Alps is obviously taken from Hannibal's march, and this story therefore is later than 219; and the story in Dio. 18, 4, 4, which is still later, cannot therefore be earlier than the very end of the third century and may be much later. We shall see (§ D) that this terminus ante quem non can be confirmed.

Herewith falls to the ground the whole story of the ἐρωμαία, as history. We have already seen that they are a compilation, composed of...
things possibly true and things certainly false; we see now that the compilation cannot have originated, at the earliest, much before 200, and is probably later, as time must be given for development. Hieronymus is utterly out of the question. And this is, after all, the natural conclusion from Arrian; for Arrian, who knew his Hieronymus well, knows nothing of the ὑπομνήματα; he says (7, 1, 4) that he had no idea what Alexander's future plans were. Perhaps it would be more correct to say that, if he did know the ὑπομνήματα, he classed them where they belong, among those λεγόμενα in which he found other world-conquest stuff which, to his credit, he did not believe. Köhler's suggestion that Arrian, when he wrote the Ἀμβάσσας, had perhaps not yet read Hieronymus, was rather a counsel of despair, seeing the λεγόμενα which Arrian had read; but as the ὑπομνήματα were not in Hieronymus, the matter is immaterial.

D. The Abandonment of the Plans.

There remains Diod. 18, 4, 3 to be considered.—Perdiccas does not like to set aside Alexander's plans of himself, and so refers them to the army. Endres (p. 440) argued that, as this passage favours Perdiccas, it, and therefore the whole ὑπομνήματα story, must be from Hieronymus. How it favours Perdiccas to represent that he took steps to set aside Alexander's plans I do not know; neither does Endres, for he concludes his article with an attack on Perdiccas which effectually refutes his own argument. Now as a fact Perdiccas showed loyalty to the dead; he secured the kingship for his son, and took steps to complete, in what he understood to be Alexander's sense, various things which Alexander had not had time to finish, e.g. the conquests of Cappadocia and Pisidia, and the restoration of the Samians. It is not quite easy to believe that Hieronymus would have represented that Perdiccas, as one of his first acts, took steps to secure the abandonment of Alexander's plans wholesale. But this is not the point I want to make. The real point is, that the whole of this story of the reference by Perdiccas of Alexander's plans (i.e. matters of policy and finance) to the Macedonians is impossible, and could never have been written by a contemporary who understood Macedonian usage, like Hieronymus. The Macedonian people under arms, the army, had authority in two cases, and in two only; in treason trials (the king being a party), and the election of a king or regent when the throne was vacant. Whenever any of the Successors refer matters to the Macedonians in their army, as they often do, it is always for one of these two things. The Macedonians, e.g., elect Peithon and Archelaus temporary regents (Diod. 18, 36, 7) and Antipater regent (18, 39, 3), beside their election of Philip as king; the powers claimed by Perdiccas in 322 (18, 23, 2) and by Antigonus (19, 61, 3).

Miccalus brought to Phoenicia to hire or buy settlers for the Paeonian Gulf (Arr. 7, 19, 5). A local cause would stir up one mint; see the activity at Tarsus prior to Balacrus' attack on Issaura (Newell in Am. J. Num., 1918, 81). But preparations for an expedition against Carthage and Spain must have been reflected in every mint.
were purported to be conferred by their troops. Treason trials, or condemnation for treason, are common; beside the Philotas and Hermione trials under Alexander, we have Eumenes, Alcatas, and their friends (18, 37, 2); Silpius (19, 23, 4); Olympias (19, 51, 1); and possibly Nicanor (Polyaenus 4, 11, 2). But there is no trace anywhere in the tradition that the Macedonians had any authority in matters of policy or finance. Occasionally kings or dynasts read out their rescripts to the army when promulgating them, to secure publicity; so Alexander his order for the return of the Samians, Syll. 3, 312, and Antigonus his proclamation of Greek freedom to an assembly of his army and the inhabitants of the district, Dio. 18, 61, 1–3; but they did not consult the army; the rescripts were purely autocratic. If the army wanted to make its voice heard about policy, as it sometimes did, e.g. over Eurydice’s marriage with Philip, it could only do so by mutinying (Arr. Dio. 6, § 23), as it had done on the Hyphasis, and at Opis. Dio. 18, 4, 3 cannot then be Hieronymus.

This conclusion can be reinforced by the language of the passage. Perdiccas refers to the plans to θεού τοῦ Μακεδόνων αρχηγός. Now Diodorus often uses το αρχηγός alone of the Macedonian army; 4 and he uses τος Μακεδόνων of the army as a tribunal; 44 but his commonest phrase for a meeting of troops, and especially of Macedonian troops, is εκκλησία or κοσμή εκκλησία. 55 But instead of any of his three usual phrases he has here used a phrase to which he shows no parallel, and which (I may add) has no sense; for what a κοινός αρχηγός may mean, when only one army is in question, I do not know. Probably, then, the phrase in some way derives from, or is connected with his source. What it derives from can be easily seen; the original writer had in his mind the κοινός τοῦ Μακεδόνων, known from Syll. 3, 575, and παραγός is a later addition. That this interpretation is correct is shown by Polyaeus 4, 6, 14, where Antigonus has Ptolemy condemned by θεού τοῦ Μακεδόνων. Any one will trouble to compare Polyaeus’ account with Dio. 19, 16, he will see that the two versions differ in practically every detail; and as Diodorus is certainly Hieronymus, Polyaeus cannot be. That is to say, we have in Polyaeus 4, 6, 14 a second case in the extant literature in which some one, who is certainly not Hieronymus, has mixed up the εκκλησία of the Macedonians as a court for the trial of treason with the later κοινός. 56

Now the κοινός τοῦ Μακεδόνων cannot be earlier than Antigonus Doson; there is no place for it under Gonatas, and it must have some connection with the change in the royal style of the Antigonids from Μακεδόνων to και Μακεδόνων. Consequently the reference to the κοινός in Dio. 18, 4, 3 brings us round by

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44. Alexander’s anxiety to prevent Olympias speaking shows that she was tried for treason and not mere murder; for on murder she had no case, but as to treason she could have said some very awkward things.
45. 16, 35, 2; 17, 34, 6; 105, 4; 108, 2;
46. 17, 79, 2; 18, 39, 4;
47. 17, 79, 3; 18, 39, 7; 31, 2;
48. 39, 3; 19, 51, 2 and 4.
49. Macedonian troops: 16, 3, 1; 4, 3; 17, 77, 8; 94, 5; 108, 3;
50. 109, 2; 18, 36, 6; Other troops: 10, 18, 2; 79, 2; 77, 1; 78, 2.
51. 16, 30, 2; 19, 51, 1. Other
52. 16, 10, 3; 18, 37, 8, 2.
53. There is a third case of this nature in Arr. 7, 9, 6; Alexander’s speech at Opis, which dates the composition of the speech.
54. Tarn. Antigonus Gonatas. 54, ii, 39;
55. 300 n. 61.
another road to what we have already seen from Curtius, viz. that the ἱππονήματα story has nothing to do with Hieronymus, and cannot be earlier than the very end of the third century.

To sum up. The alleged ἱππονήματα are a compilation of things possibly true (all relating to building and colonisation) and certainly false, made far later than Hieronymus. The principal item, the plan to conquer Carthage and the Mediterranean basin, is part of a legend which developed by regular stages from the Cleitarchean embassies to the Romance, whose basis is admittedly the last echo of the Cleitarchean vulgate. This item was not formulated earlier than c. 200 B.C. The legend derives, in the ultimate resort, from the Amon-ritual; and this, combined with the reference to the Great Pyramid, points to an Egyptian origin for the compilation. So far as positive evidence goes, the idea of Alexander's world-kingdom has nothing to do with history; it belongs solely to the realm of legend and romance.

I have to omit the most interesting point, for I am not competent to discuss it. The development of this Graeco-Egyptian legend, in which Alexander plans world-conquest, and of the Graeco-Egyptian romance, in which he achieves it, are not likely to be unconnected. I can only hope that some one with the necessary knowledge of the queer borderland which exists between history and the Romance will investigate this connection.

W. W. TARN.
HERACLES SON OF BARSINE

Some of our extant authorities, as Justin and Appian, state or assume that Alexander had two sons, Roxane's and Barsine's. Others, as Diodorus in the events prior to 300, and Curtius in parts, state or assume that he had only one, Roxane's. Now it makes a considerable difference in our view of the events of 309 whether the lad called Heracles, who appeared in that year as a reputed son of Alexander and Barsine, were really Alexander's son or an ordinarypretender. No modern historian has even noticed that there is a conflict of authority; for though Beloch saw that Heracles' age was wrong he did not follow it up, but altered the age. Before coming to the events of 309, the source of the evidence for Alexander having one son only must be considered.

Diodorus first. (a) 18, 2, 1, Alexander dies ἀπαθέω. (b) 18, 9, 1, Alexander dies τῆς βασιλείας νῦν διαδόχους ὁ παῖς. (c) 19, 11, 2, Olympia μετὰ τοῦ Ἀλέξανδρου παῖδος (one only). (d) 19, 35, 5, Olympia ἠκούσα τῶν νυν τοῦ Ἀλέξανδρου. (e) 19, 52, 4, ὁ δὲ Κάπανόρος διεγόρηκε μὲν ἀνελθὼν Ἀλέξανδρου τοῦ παῖδο... ἦν μηδεὶς ἡ διάδοχος τῆς βασιλείας. (f) 19, 105, 4, after the murder in 310 of Roxane's son the dynasts are relieved from fear of the king; οὐκείτω γὰρ ἠκούσαν οὐδένος τοῦ διαδώτου τῆς ἀρχῆς each held the χρόνο allotted to him as if it were ἄριστητος. This is all plain enough. It is obvious, from the reference to the διάδοχη, that (b), (e) and (f) come from the same source: (c) and (d) also come from the same source.

To take (f) first, 19, 105. § 1 of this chapter, which gives the terms of the treaty of 311 between Antigonus, Cassander, Ptolemy, and Lysimachus, is indisputably Hieronymus. § 2 gives the murder of Roxane's son by Cassander. Parts of the Cassander narrative in Diodorus are, however, from Dityllus (Dityllus fr. 3). The question is, how much? There is both a pro-Cassander and an anti-Cassander tradition running through Diodorus—that is not in doubt; and it is certain from fr. 3 that Dityllus' attitude, as far as it went, was pro-Cassander, though it does not follow that all the pro-Cassander narrative is Dityllus.1 This § 2, however, is anti-Cassander,

1. Schubert, Die Quellen zur Geschichte der Diodor (1914), to which I shall often refer, makes Dityllus play a large part in Diodorus 18-20; but the foundations of this belief (it is an old controversy) are very shaky indeed. I should be sorry to assume (for instance) that all the pro-Cassander material must be Dityllus, because one bit is. Why should not Hieronymus have been able to see both sides of Cassander, as he certainly did to some extent in Persiles' case? When he wrote he was the friend of Cassander's nephew Gnaeus, who in part continued the Antipater-Cassander tradition; and in estimating his attitude we must allow for this no less than for his friendship with Cassander's enemies, Eumenes and Antigonus.
HERACLES SON OF BARSINE

and cannot be Diyllus; and no one has ever doubted that the anti-Cassander material is Hieronymus. However, for the moment I will leave § 2 open. Then follow §§ 3 and 4, the passage cited above (f). This is certainly Hieronymus, because of the meaning of ἐπίστατος χώρα. I have shown elsewhere that you cannot identify the Hieronymus material in Diodorus by language, that being Diodorus' own; but you can by the meaning behind the language; and though ἐπίστατος is common enough from Homer onwards for conquest, and is so used elsewhere by Diodorus himself (e.g. 17, 17, 3), it is used here in a technical sense; ἐπίστατος χώρα, spear-won territory, was in Macedonia equivalent to χώρα βασιλική, King's Land; for, the King being the State, spear-won territory became his private property. And the meaning of the statement that the dynasts now held the satrapies assigned to them as the king, whether in Macedonia or Asia, held ἐπί βασιλική is this, that they kept the revenues themselves and did not remit them to the central power. Ptolemy had, in fact, remitted no revenues since Antipater's death, if indeed he ever had; Selenus had evidently done the same. After 310, however, all could claim to be legally entitled to keep their revenues. It is, I think, obvious that the reference to this rather technical point of the Macedonian law of land can be due to no one but Hieronymus. As the whole of ch. 105 is organically connected—the murder arose from the terms of the treaty, which was a plain invitation to Cassander to kill the boy, and the retention of revenues arose from the murder, the whole chapter is therefore Hieronymus, including (naturally, as being anti-Cassander) § 2.

(f) being Hieronymus, (e) and (b) must be so too; but one can demonstrate it also for (e). 19, 52 is a patchwork; § 5 is known to be Diyllus (= fr. 3), and possibly §§ 1-3 may be also; for all these sections are pro-Cassander. But § 4, containing the passage in question, is strongly anti-Cassander, (intention to murder the boy; unworthy treatment of him in prison), and is so exactly parallel to 19, 105, § 2 (note, too, the mention by name of the warder Glancias in each passage) that it must be from the same source, i.e. Hieronymus. As to (b) there is nothing to show; but 18, 9, 1 runs on without even a stop from ch. 8, which is certainly Hieronymus (see Schubert, p. 242). Hieronymus, then, is the common source of (b), (e) and (f).

Now (d). 19, 35, at any rate § 4 to the end, is Hieronymus for several reasons: Olympia in a favourable light; details about the elephants (we can follow throughout Diodorus exactly what happened to Alexander's elephants, and this can be due to no other writer); and the mention of Aristotleos; this particular Bodyguard is a mere name in Arrian's Anabasis,

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4 Alexander's Βασιλικά and the "world-kingdom", in this number of J.H.S.
6 Diod. 18, 43, 1: his claim that Egypt is ἐπίστατος. Also, after he took the royal title, he reckoned his satrapal years as part of his reign.
7 Diod. 19, 35, 3: he asserts in 316 that he owes no account of his revenues to anybody. If the statement in App. Syr. 63 that he reigned forty-two years (i.e. from 321) represent a true tradition, then he also reckoned his satrapal years as part of his reign.
and it is only in Hieronymus that he, loyal to Eumenes' friend Olympias, becomes a living man. As to (c), 10, 11, § 4 to the end (favourable to EURYDICE, and Olympias in a very bad light), is pro-CASSANDER; but § 2, which contains our passage, is anti-CASSANDER and must be Hieronymus, because of the glorification of Olympias and the reference to Alexander's good deeds (standpoint of ANTIGONUS I). Hieronymus, then, is the common source of (c) and (d).

As to (a), 18, 2 is generally attributed to Hieronymus; but I have shown elsewhere (see note 3) that part of it cannot be his. As to the statement, however, that Alexander died ἄπαυς, if this be not from Hieronymus we have a second and quite unknown source agreeing with Hieronymus; and I am not going to postulate anything so unscientific. There can be no reasonable doubt that it is from Hieronymus; though it would not affect my argument if it did come from an unknown source in agreement with Hieronymus. It is, of course, a perfectly plain statement that Alexander had no son but Roxane's, as yet unborn; and as it had to be explained away, the accepted explanation has been that Heracles, being illegitimate, did not count. But to read modern legal concepts into the fourth century B.C., and to construe τελευτήσαντος ἀπαύνον as an English court construes 'die without issue' in a settlement, is utterly indefensible. Did not Philip Arrhidæus count? In a society like the Macedonian aristocracy, polygamous without fixed rules, legitimacy was at best rather a vague matter, as any one can see who tries to ascertain what were the 'marriages' of Demetrius or Ptolemy I.; all that really counted was blood, and when we do get a legitimacy question it is concerned, not with wedlock, but with a doubt whether some person were really his reputed father's son (e.g. Alexander's case).

It seems quite certain, then, that Hieronymus, writing long after 309, knew of one son of Alexander only, Roxane's.

Next Curtius. Curtius' sources in 8, 4, 23-30; 10, 7, 2 and 15, know nothing of Heracles. In 8, 4, 23 seq. Alexander has obviously not associated with any Persian woman prior to Roxane. In 10, 7, 2 Arrhidæus is solus heres; and again, in proximum (Alexandros quaeritis), hic solus est. This is in a speech; but in 10, 7, §§ 6 and 15 sum up the same as narrative. The source of 8, 4, 23 is guesswork; it may be Cleitarchus, who probably knew nothing of Barsina. The ultimate source of 10, 7 must be the 'infantry source', which Schubert has so well elucidated (pp. 115 to 120), a source which gives the point of view of the phalanx after Alexander's death and whitewashes Meleager. It may not be of great authority, but it must be very early, and quite possibly before 309; no one was going to trouble about Meleager long after his death (323).

I come now to a source almost certainly prior to 309, the first draft or kernel of the pretended Testament of Alexander. The Testament is no part of the Romance proper, as it also appears in the Metz Epitome; Ausfeld's

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* The Vatican fragments of Arrian Died., 9, 5, 15 and 18; 10, 8, 16 are, of course, not historical.
version compares all the known texts. I absolutely accept Ausfeld’s conclusion that §§ 1 and 2 of the Testament, apart from the obvious Rhodian additions, represent a document of Antipater’s time, published, if not during his life, at any rate so soon after his death in 319 that it was still worth attacking him, and that people would understand the attack without explanation. In this the original portion of the Testament Alexander makes provision for all those related to him by blood; that the provisions are not historical is immaterial here; the point is the list of relatives. Beside Olympias, the writer mentions the one legitimate child of Philip II., Cleopatra; the three illegitimate ones, Philip Archidæus, Cynane, and Thessalonica; and Cynane’s daughter. He mentions Roxane’s expected child, and provides for either contingency, boy or girl. And he does not mention Heracles; he knows nothing of Heracles or Barsine, though he knows all the members of the royal house known to history.

I must notice the criticisms directed against Ausfeld’s date for §§ 1 and 2 of the Testament. The first is Reitzenstein’s; he says that the Testament makes Philip Archidæus temporary king, while in fact there was a joint kingship; and as history must be earlier than legend, the Testament must be later than Ausfeld’s date. I am afraid that legend precedes history often enough; the world has had quite enough experience of that in recent years. Besides, though we (rightly) accept the joint kingship on Hieronymus’ authority, contemporaries were frankly puzzled as to who was king, because decrees were issued in Philip’s name alone (e.g. Diod. 18, 56); the contemporary inscriptions are divided on the subject. The other two criticisms are Bauer’s. The first is that the Testament does not mention Antipater’s son-in-law Demetrius, as it ought to on Ausfeld’s view, Ausfeld’s point being that Alexander allow royal brides to those who in fact married Antipater’s daughters. Of course Demetrius is not mentioned; he only married Craterus’ widow later—he was merely a substitute, so to speak—and the Testament has to speak as from Alexander’s death, when Demetrius was an unknown boy of thirteen, of no possible importance. The second is that Antipater is not really completely passed over in the satrapy-list of the Testament, as Ausfeld says; his name does occur in the version given in the Metz

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1 A. Ausfeld,*Das angebliche Testament Alexanders des Grossen,* Rh. Mnr. 56 (1901), 317.
2 It may have belonged to the propaganda war of 318-317 between Olympias and her friends on one side, and Cassander and the Peripatetics on the other (Pll. Alex. 77). But this war may have been going on, with different protagonists, since Alexander’s death, or even since Callisthenes’. No one seems to have studied it. If it could be reconstructed (and parts of it are obvious) we should know more of the history of the Successors than we do.
3 Taking Cleodice as representing Eurydice, it being necessary, on the scheme of the document, for Leontnus also to receive a royal bride, and there being reason to suppose that Cynane’s daughter is, anyhow, the person meant. Double names of queens are so common at this time that some must have changed their name at marriage; e.g. Audatta-Eurydice, Adeia-Eurydice, Cynna-Cynane, Mytale-Olympias, Rhodogue-Sawgambis, Barsine-Statira.
4 Poinandra (1904), App. 5, p. 315.
5 O.G.I.S. 4, both kings. O.G.I.S. 8 (y.) Syl. 311, and I.G. II. 401, Philip alone.
Epitome. Quite so; and, in fact, it also occurs, always as satrap of Cilicia, in several other of the known versions of the Testament, though this has been overlooked; and this greatly strengthens Ausfeld's case. For Antipater never was a satrap; he was στράτηγος of the European possessions; and which is more derogatory, to turn the great viceroy of Europe into a petty satrap of Cilicia, or merely to omit his name, which might lead the reader to suppose that he was meant to retain his former office?

There is, then, nothing in the criticisms directed against Ausfeld's dating. On the other hand, it is quite probable that Duris knew this first draft of the Testament; for Curtius 10, 10, 5 says that some believed that Alexander had distributed the satrapies by his Testament, and it is very likely (Schubart, p. 124) that 'some' means, or includes, Duris.

The result derived from an examination of the sources is, then, that both Hieronymus, and any document we have which is or may be prior to 309, know of only one son of Alexander's, Roxane's; and this ought to be conclusive. I note for completeness that Ptolemy certainly, and Cleitarchus probably (see post), knows nothing of any Barsine as Alexander's mistress.

It remains to consider the story of the youth who in 309 appeared as a pretender to the throne of Macedonia under the name of Heracles, son of Alexander and Barsine. Diodorus' story (29, 29 and 28) is that in spring 309 Polyperchon brought Heracles from Pergamum and attempted to make him king; in the autumn, as part of a bargain with Cassander, he put him to death. The reference in Lycopephon (Alexandra 801) shows that the story was known and believed early in the third century.

First, the historical background. The peace of 311 left Polyperchon isolated, holding Corinth and Sicily with his mercenaries as a mere soldier of fortune; he had played no part in affairs since 315/4; save for his hold on Acrocorinthus he was little but a name. Antigonus had spoken of putting him down (O.G.I.S. 5). But in 310 Polemaeus revolted from Antigonus and allied himself with Cassander, who thus became again in theory at war with Antigonus, though both were exhausted and did not mean to fight again as yet. Then Cassander murdered Roxane's son, and Antigonus seized the opportunity of paying him out for Polemaeus. For this purpose he decided to use Polyperchon, who welcomed the chance of again playing a part in affairs. No one has asked how Polyperchon, in his position, got the money and the 21,000 men with whom he invaded Macedonia in spring 309. Part were the Aetolians, Antigonus' allies, and Antigonus supplied the money to raise more mercenaries. He also supplied a cause, by sending Heracles from Pergamum; if Cassander had killed one son of Alexander he should be threatened with another. Naturally Polyperchon could not have got a pretender from Pergamum unless Antigonus had been co-operating. Some Macedonian royalists joined Polyperchon, and it looked as if he might create enough disaffection in Macedonia to bring Cassander down. Cassander saved himself by getting an interview with Polyperchon, at which he convinced him that if he succeeded he would nevertheless be nothing but Antigonus' servant (Diod. 20, 28, 2, παισει το προστατευμενον ιοι ειτερων), whereas if he
killed Hercules and joined Cassander he could be general of the Peloponnesse and share Cassander's power (πάτων των ἐν τῇ δυναστείᾳ τῷ Κασσάνδροι κοινωνοῦ ἔτη). It is obvious that, if Hercules had really been Alexander's son, and Polyperchon had put him forward on his own account and not on Antigonus', Cassander's bribe was entirely inadequate; for Polyperchon, in the event of success, would have been virtual ruler of Macedonia. Diodorus' record of the interview between Polyperchon and Cassander is based throughout on the assumption that both men knew they were dealing with a puppet of some one, who can only be Antigonus. None of the three could afterwards afford to tell the truth; Polyperchon, because he dare not explain that he had raised the Macedonian royalists, who doubtless suffered, on false pretences; Cassander, because he could keep Polyperchon to heel as the man who had killed Alexander's son who trusted him; Antigonus, because he had an excellent propaganda weapon against Cassander for procuring the boy's death. The incident was soon forgotten in greater matters.

Now, is Diodorus' story from Hieronymus or not? I take it to be substantially Hieronymus. The light in which Cassander is represented is of importance for this, and naturally Hieronymus could not say that Antigonus was behind the plot, seeing the pains Antigonus had taken to cover his tracks; the story did not appear in black and white in his Journal, and perhaps even Hieronymus did not know all the details. But the writer has given indications enough: the Aetolian alliance, the mention of Pergamum, the fact that Polyperchon οὕρη κρώματα without it being specified how the discarded soldier of fortune achieved this desirable operation, the details of the interview with Cassander. It does not appear what writer but Hieronymus could have given these indications; but what clinches the matter is the reference to the boy's age (seventeen). As we shall see, his age did not, and could not, appear in the vulgate tradition; it could only have been known to some one in close touch with Antigonus. Naturally, Diodorus' remark that Hercules was son of Alexander and Barsine is not from Hieronymus, who, as we have been, knew only one son of Alexander, Roxane's; this remark is Diodorus' own addition, drawn from the vulgate. Possibly what Hieronymus wrote was "who was called a son," etc.; but this is guesswork. But we do know from Lysophron that the vulgate had a long innings before Hieronymus wrote; and it naturally imposed itself on the world, precisely as the Alexander-vulgate did. The vulgate, of course, must essentially have been the story which Polyperchon gave out when he invaded Macedonia in 309; and we must now attempt to ascertain what that was.

Barsine's story is professedly given by Plutarch (Alex. 21). She was Memnon's widow, captured after Issus (at Damascus); she was daughter of Artabazus, who was of the blood royal; she was a gentle creature and Aristobulus says that Alexander made her his mistress because Parmenion advised him to. Psychologically, of course, Aristobulus' story that Alexander

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13 Diodorus often makes such additions: 'nature of Jacoby, Hieronymos, in Pauly-Wissowa, and Schubert passim.'
acted on Parmenion’s advice is hopeless; a man of Alexander’s nature may be overcome by passion, but not by some one else’s recommendation. It is equally hopeless as fact; for as Heracles was seventeen in spring 309, he was begotten in the summer of 327, two years after Parmenion’s death, and nearly six years after Issus: and therewith the story falls to the ground. Incidentally, Alexander never did take Parmenion’s advice, as any one can see from Arrian. He rejected it at the Graniens, at Miletus, at Persepolis; he rejected it (if really given) about Darius’ offer, and a night attack at Gaugamela. He is supposed to have accepted it once, when he examined the battlefield before Gaugamela; but that is part of the legend which makes the Persians put down eutropes, presumably to wreck their own chariots. Yet Aristobulus could say that he took Parmenion’s advice two years after he put Parmenion to death, and no one since has even questioned the statement. What Aristobulus does prove is, that he himself did not know Heracles’ age; and, as he often took trouble to inform himself about matters not within his own knowledge, this is most important; it shows that the boy’s age was not known to the world, i.e. it formed no part of the vulgar.

But perhaps Plutarch’s story might be true, and only the Parmenion part wrong? In early spring 327 Alexander married Roxane, and in early summer 327 started for India: we are to suppose, then, not only that he took his first and only mistress just after his marriage, but that, while he refused to take Roxane, daughter of a mere Bactrian baron who was his enemy, otherwise than as his wife, he thought good just afterwards to take the daughter of the very important Artabazus, who was his friend and recently satrap of Bactria, as his mistress, the lady, moreover, being of the blood royal. The whole thing is absurd. No one, I think, has ever supposed that Barse had maîtresse en titre from 333/2 onwards, or anything but a passing fancy; the idea would not be worth wasting words on.

As to Heracles, one need hardly go further; but who was ‘Barse’? Take it point by point.

First, the historical Barse. Only two women of the name are known in this period prior to 309; both are known from Ptolemy: (a) Mentor’s wife, and (b) the elder daughter of Darius III, whom Alexander married. Now Mentor belonged to a much older generation than Alexander. He is last heard of alive in 342/1; his sister, Artabazus’ wife, had twenty-one children by 342 (Diod. 16, 52); his son Thymondas commanded the mercenaries at Issus; and himself had a grown-up son in 327/6, (I.G. ii, 356); his daughter and Barse’s married Nearchus in 324 (Ptolemy ap. Arr. 7, 4, 6). Clearchus of Soll the Peripatetic adds something; he couples Mentor’s wife with Artabazus’ wife as two women distinguished for insolent pride (Athen. 6, 256 b). Obviously Mentor’s wife, like Artabazus’ wife and Mentor himself, belonged to an older generation; but nothing else is known about her.

12 Arr. 7, 4, 4 seq. As Arrian quotes a variant from Aristobulus, this list is from Ptolemy.
13 I think Kahrstedt’s date for the capture of Hermiane (Forschungen zur Geschichte des ausgehenden fünften und des vierten Jahrhunderts, 1910) is now generally accepted.
However, Curtius 3, 13, 4 (Cleitarchus)\(^{16}\) says that three of Mentor's daughters were captured at Damascus, but does not mention his wife; presumably, therefore, Cleitarchus thought she was dead.

Next, Memnon's widow. She is known only from Cleitarchus (Diod. 17, 23, 5; Curt. 3, 13, 4). She was captured after Issus, at Damascus; but neither her name nor any information about her is given. Like his brother Mentor, Memnon belonged to an older generation; he had grown-up sons at Granicus (Arr. 1, 17, 5). Presumably his widow, if she existed, was not young; but we know nothing about her. That she was Mentor's wife, married by Memnon after his brother's death, is a purely unfounded conjecture of modern writers, copied by one from another till it has become accepted through much repetition. Incidentally, Mentor's wife was long since a grandmutter.

Next. Plutarch's Barsine. She is not Mentor's wife, quite apart from the question of age; for she is younger and Mentor's wife was the reverse. She is identified by Plutarch (or rather by his source) with the 'Memon's widow' of Cleitarchus; but as Cleitarchus probably knew nothing of any Barsine who was Alexander's mistress after Issus,\(^{17}\) the identification must be later than Cleitarchus, i.e. not earlier than about the middle of the third century. Plutarch then stands thus: the Aristobulus-Parmenion part of his story is impossible; his Barsine is not Mentor's wife; and her identification with Memnon's widow is far later than the vulgate (I come to Aratabazus' daughter later). The residue, which must belong to the vulgate, is this: Alexander after Issus took a captive, named Barsine, as mistress.

We can get a little further by means of the generals' speeches after Alexander's death, as given in Curt. 10, 6, and Justin 13, 2. The speeches are made up; but the authors, with the vulgate tradition before them, felt that Heracles had somehow to be introduced.\(^{18}\) In Curtius, Barsine is a Persian; that is why her son is rejected. It is a mere duplication of the story that the infantry rejected Roxane's child for that reason; the two women and their sons are often enough confused, as we shall see. This reason formed no part of the vulgate, i.e. of what Polyaerches gave out; for Polyaerches' business was to get the Macedonians to accept the son of the Persian woman. In Justin, Barsine and Heracles are living at Pergamum, a simple fact which would naturally appear in the vulgate. We get, then, an extension of the vulgate, thus: Alexander after Issus took a Persian captive, named Barsine, as mistress, and had by her a son Heracles; the two lived at Pergamum. Omitting the Pergamum part, this is comprised in Duris' statement in Plut. Eum. 1; and as Curtius' speeches seem to be

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\(^{16}\) Darius' brother is called Oxartes; this proves that this passage is Cleitarchus; see Diod. 17, 77, 4; Curt. 7, 5, 46; Plut. Alex. 43. His real name was Oxyartes; Plutarch ap. Arr. 7, 6, 5.

\(^{17}\) Nothing in Diod. 17, or in Curtius till after 10, 6, i.e. after Cleitarchus comes. This is very notable: for Cleitarchus loved to relate an intrigue, e.g. the Amazon queen, and Cleophas.

\(^{18}\) Ptolemy's speech in Curtius, is alluding to Heracles, reproduces what Polyaerches did later, precisely as, in alluding to the Alexander-tent, it reproduces what Eumenes did later.
coloured by Duris (Schubert, p. 123), there can be little doubt through whom Curious derived his statement.

Can we go further yet?

Four terms are found identified in Plutarch: (1) Barsine the captive; (2) Artabazus' daughter; (3) Memnon's widow; (4) Barsine of the blood royal. Of these, (1) and (2) were formally identified by Duris in the passage already referred to, Plut. Eum. 1. It is a worthless passage, full of errors; for instance, the brides of Ptolemy and Eumenes in 324 are called Apama and Barsine (how many daughters called Barsine did Duris suppose Artabazus to possess?), whereas their real names (Ptolemy ap. Arr. 7, 4, 6) were Artakusa and Artonia; presumably Ptolemy knew his wife's name. The Duris passage, then, cannot be used for facts—few things in Duris can; and the identification of Barsine the captive with a definite Persian, Artabazus' daughter, may be merely Duris' own and may have no foundation in the vulgate; we cannot say. (3) I have already dealt with; (4) I come to presently.

The vulgate tradition, then, i.e. what Polyperchon gave out, was this: Alexander after Issus took a Persian captive named Barsine as mistress, and had by her a son Hercules; the two lived at Pergamum; and he may or may not have added that Barsine was Artabazus' daughter. This vulgate was circulated by (among others) Duris, who certainly made Barsine Artabazus' daughter. Aristobulus, who often rationalized, and who knew quite enough about Alexander to feel that some explanation of a proceeding so contrary to his character was necessary, tried to improve the vulgate by bringing in Parmenon; it was a poor shot, but then he did not know the boy's age; Polyperchon naturally had not stated that (if he knew it), for it would have given his whole story away. Much later, somebody identified 'Barsine' with (3), the Memnon's widow of Clearchus; this is no part of the vulgate. We cannot say who made this identification, nor is it material; for the identification rests on an obvious confusion of Mentor and Memnon, of Mentor's half-Persian wife Barsine with 'Barsine' the Persian captive; and such confusions are unfortunately far too common throughout the literature relating to the Macedonian epoch to call for comment.

Lastly (4), Barsine of the blood royal. Artabazus had played an important part in affairs for many years; we have a mass of references to him in the extant literature, but nowhere else is his royal descent alluded to, and there is no reason in the tradition to suppose it a fact.

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19 It is more than possible (as we shall see) that Parmenon did give Alexander such advice, but with regard to the real Barsine, Duris' daughter, and that Aristobulus had some idea of it, and, with the vulgate before him, naturally supposed that it referred to the other (Polyperchon's) 'Barsine' and that Alexander had taken the advice. We know that Alexander's treatment of Darius' family did not upset every one's ideas of how a conqueror ought to behave.

20 See another case of Memnon for Mentor, Strabo 13, 619.

21 That Artabazus was a son of Pharnabazus and Apama, daughter of Artaxerxes II., is a pure guess, and not very probable on the dates. Apama was married late in 357. In 342 Artabazus had twenty-one children by one wife (eleven
possible, therefore, that Plutarch's mention of royal descent was made, not because of Artabazus, but because of Barsine; it was the lady who had to be of royal descent, and this could only be on the father's side, Artabazus' wife being a Rhodian. The key to the whole thing is given by Justin 15, 2, 3, who has a story that Heracles was 'over fourteen' when murdered. Now a theory has been put forward that fourteen was the Macedonian throne-age, the age at which a prince could begin to exercise royal power, and that therefore Justin only means that Heracles was 'of age.' 22 The theory is far indeed from being proved, and there is a rival theory which makes the throne-age eighteen; both seem to shatter on (beside other evidence) Diod. 19, 105, 2 (Hieronymus; see ante), which says that some in Macedonia said that Alexander's son ought now to rule, he being from twelve to thirteen years old. I am not going into this; for even if the theory were proved, few would care to believe that Justin (or Trogus) was so confident that his Roman readers would know the one-time Macedonian throne-age that he could allude to it in this extraordinary way without explanation. I take Justin to mean exactly what he says; there was a story which made the boy's age over fourteen in autumn 309. He was then supposed to have been born about summer 323; that is, in this story he was a legitimate son of Alexander and Barsine his wife, Darius' daughter. Plutarch's Barsine of the blood royal is an echo of this; some one (Darius) mixed this story up with the vulgate, the very different story told by Polyperchon. The confusion with Roxane's son, who was born July 323, is obvious; and, in fact, Justin elsewhere (14, 6, 2 and 13) does call Heracles the son of Roxane. 23 The confusion goes further still in Porphyry (fr. 3, 1), where Roxane is Darius' daughter instead of Barsine. This story also suggests that 'Barsine,' Heracles' mother, the supposed captive of Issus, was really derived from Barsine, Darius' daughter, the real captive of Issus; and lends support to the supposition (see note 19) that Parmenion did give Alexander the advice Aristobulus says he did, but about Darius' daughter. It is tempting to suppose that behind all the confusion may have lain a story or stones with a purpose, the purpose of showing that Alexander left a son of Achaemenid race, just as he himself in Persian legend became a son of Artaxerxes Ochus, and Roxane became Darius' daughter.
To sum up. Alexander had one son only, Roxane's; his intrigue with "Barsine" is as mythical as that with the Amazon queen. Heracles of Pergamum was an ordinary pretender, chosen by Antigonus doubtless for some facial resemblance to Alexander, but five years too young for his alleged parentage. Who his mother was is unknown. We are thus quit of two very grave difficulties in the received version of events; we no longer need ask how it could have happened that a son of Alexander should grow up to seventeen unnoticed, and never be used as a pawn in the game by anyone; or how it came to pass that Alexander's veterans, three days after that last touching scene when they insisted on filing past their dying king's bed, preferred Philip's idiot son to the son of Alexander.

W. W. Tarn,
THE PROBLEM OF BYZANTINE NEUMES.

In past numbers of the Annual of the British School at Athens and elsewhere I have tried to deal with some of the questions connected with Byzantine Music, and, having brought to a close my studies of the Round or Later Mediaeval System, I am unwilling to leave the subject without giving my views on the abstruse and difficult problem of the older notation.

The later forms of the Linear or Neume System have a visible likeness to the earlier forms of the Round System already familiar, and hence all investigators seem to have started with the idea that the general principles of decipherment could be transferred from the later to the earlier stage, or, in other words, that the task simply consisted in the interpretation of certain interval-signs possessing fixed value. But of the two scholars who have published their researches in this field, Gastoné and Riemann, neither has been able to carry this principle through, and their proposed solutions fail to give us such a chain of interval-signs as we are tempted to expect.

Riemann claims the following concessions:—

(1) In every phrase the progression makes a fresh start from the Finials.  
(2) Only the first sign over a syllable has interval-value; what follows is ornamental.  
(3) The Ion at the end of a hymn has an indeterminate value, i.e. it always denotes the Finials, no matter what the foregoing form may have been.


As this article forms the end of the series, I should like to convey my thanks to several friends, especially to the Editor of the Annuar and to the Managing Committee of the British School at Athens; and also to Mr. F. C. Nicholson, Librarian at Edinburgh University, for his valuable aid in procuring access to MS. material at a difficult time. To various gentlemen, whose services I have acknowledged in former papers, I once again express my sincere gratitude.

Die byz. Notenchrift, p. 57. The Latin term Finialis here used to indicate the note on which the melody ends, being also that from which the progression starts.

Ibid. p. 56.

Ibid. p. 57. The signs are given in Fig. 1, and explained below.
To these licence: there are several objections: (1) (a) The result of Riemann's practice is that the same sign within a couple of bars may denote a totally different progression. This would inevitably lead to confusion. (b) The punctuation of the MSS. is too variable and uncertain to be the basis of our musical interpretation. On Riemann's hypothesis the dropping of a dot in the MS. might entirely alter a whole passage of melody. Besides this he is fond of dividing verses for rhythmical reasons against the MSS. Will he then say that the music starts afresh from a non-existent punctuation-dot?

(2) Here again we have confusion and inconsistency. Some compound signs, like Kentema above Oxela, Riemann seems to treat as single-value symbols, keeping their full power. But he has failed to tell us how to distinguish these from divisible groups where only the first factor counts. Indeed, in the case of the Kentemata he owns himself at a loss how to classify the compound. His examples are full of contradictions in those respects.

(3) A repeated note was the most common cadential formula in Byzantine music; and the use of the Ion for this purpose seems imperatively needed. Of all signs that for repetition (or zero interval-value) seems the least capable of a fluctuating equivalent.

Gastoué considers that all phrases in all modes begin from ἀρα as a kind of fixed reciting-note. (He does not say whether he expects those modes that have some other Finals to reach it automatically at the end of a hymn or whether some transposition is needed.) In attempting to apply this rule to the Round System, Gastoué has fallen into grave errors; and from the single specimen of which he gives both original and transcript in the Linear System, it would perhaps be rash to judge of the merits of his theory. His frequent confusion of the Diplos with the Kentemata is a palpable defect; and anyhow the critic must demand more examples of successful interpretation before accepting such a hypothesis.

In abandoning the principle of a chain of interval-signs, we lose the only mathematical check on the correctness of our evaluation and translation. But no other course seems to be open to us. Riemann says he spent 'many decades' studying Byzantine music, while of Gastoué he remarks: 'Mr. Gastoué has, like myself, made extended experiments of all kinds, but has not reached any definite result.' Finally, he sums up his own labours thus: 'Here I present the method of interpretation which, after years of experiments with every possible or probable scheme of evaluation, has alone proved satisfactory.' It is hard to believe, if the problem had merely been one of evaluation (as, for example, the Round System would have been without the help of the Papadike), that two such eminent musical palaeographers after their protracted labours should have failed to clear up the mystery. For my part, after photographing hundreds of hymns and making numerous copies and trial versions (often thirty or forty from the same hymn according to different theories), I am ready to maintain that the Linear Notation is a

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true Neume System, where the values of some of the signs were not yet mathematically fixed, and the interpretation of which can only be sought in the light of parallel texts in the Round Notation. This similarity of melody in the two notations is exactly what Riemann’s theory fails to give us. Indeed, Riemann expressly repudiates it. To this may be answered: (1) When a new notation was invented, it would be most likely to find favour if it supplied an improved way of recording tunes already in use, not if it tended to supersede existing melodies. (2) In the Round Notation we can trace the survival of a melody in some cases for several centuries. Now the Round and Linear Systems were contemporaneous in the twelfth century, so that there was no interval of years in which ancient tunes might have lapsed into oblivion and fresh compositions have been needed to take their place. (3) The Round System triumphed completely and finally over its rivals by the end of the thirteenth century. This must have been due to some weighty advantage, by which it also held the field throughout the later middle ages. Such an advantage would have been contained in the adoption of fixed interval-values. (4) Between the late Linear and early Round versions of many hymns there is a clear graphical likeness. Was this a whim of the scribe, or were the two systems really recording substantially the same melodies?

Whatever answer we give, there is little scope for positive proof. But the general similarity of corresponding passages in the two notations is too frequent to be accidental; and if the reader will glance at the parallels supplied in this article, if he will bear in mind that they are only typical of a great many others equally striking, then I think he will be strongly inclined to believe that we are on the right track at last and that the Neumes may yet yield up their secret. In evaluating the particular symbols we shall find no great difficulty. Some of them are already known in the Round System, either as interval-signs or subsidiaries. In this way the name and direction of most of the older forms can generally be seen. Much can also be inferred from parallel passages in the Round Notation.

THE LATEST FORM OF BYZANTINE NEUMES (THE MIXED OR CONSTANTINOPLE SYSTEM).

This phase of the notation (whichever of the proposed names we choose to give it, and all are equally unscientific) shews the greatest outward likeness to the Round System. It is represented by such MSS. as Paris, Caisin 220, Athens, Nat. Libr. 840, and many at Mt. Sinai, belonging to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

As a compliment to French scholarship I am calling this the Coëstin System—a short name which begs no questions.

The symbols used in this system, with their probable meanings, are as follows (see Fig. 1):

1. Ison: equality.

1 Ibid., p. 35.
2 Oligon: ascending second. In the intermediate and earlier phases of Nenmes this sign is the Ison. Riemann considers that it always represents the Ison in the Linear System. But this is almost certainly a mistake; for (1) where the Coislin System shows a plain stroke, this reappears in parallel passages of Round Notation as the Oligon. (2) When we compare earlier and later Neumastic passages, we find that the straight Ison in the former is quite regularly represented by the hooked Ison in the latter. Where the Coislin System has the Oligon, the earlier form either has an Oxeia or gives a different turn to the phrase. If we admit the general principle of constant tradition, these arguments seem conclusive. But, from the nature of the case, we cannot give a mathematical proof. If Riemann's evaluation worked out satisfactorily, I should have accepted it; but the opposite is the case.

3 Oxeia
4 Peutes—these are used exactly as in the Round System. Ascending second.
5 Kentemata: also used as in the above.
6 Kentemata. Here the value was probably not fixed. 7 and 8 usually made an ascending third, but 9 and 10 may also have served for an ascending fourth.

11 Hypsele: used in various compounds, such as 12, 13, 14. These probably made an ascending fifth or sixth.

15 Apostrophus. The juxtaposition of passages in the two notations forces us to conclude that the Apostrophus represents not only the simple value of a descending second, but also the value of the later compounds 16 and 17, viz. descending third and fourth respectively. The Double Apostrophus 18 has the same interval-value as the single, but prolongs the note. No. 19 means two successive descending seconds.

20 Hyporrhoe: two descending seconds over one syllable, used as in the Round System.

21 Chameleon: mostly found with the Apostrophus, as in 21 a. It probably indicates a descending fifth or sixth, unless the melody had already reached the lower parts of the scale, in which case it may only have registered a fifth from the middle Finalis.

The following signs survived only as subsidiaries in the Round Notation, but in the Linear they evidently had sound and value.

22 Apodema: probably a prolonged repeated note or Ison. It usually answers to an Ison, under which it appears as a lengthening Hypostasis, as in 23 (frequent in Round System).

24 Barcia: this has the same indeterminate value as the Apostrophus. The compounds at 25 may have any of the values assigned to the simple signs. This seeming paradox is proved by parallel passages. In such cases the Barcia gave warning of an approaching accent.

26 Double Barcia (later Piasma) has the same interval-value as the simple sign, but prolongs the sound. In composition with the Apostrophus the Double Barcia may lose its value just as the simple Barcia appears to do.

THE PROBLEM OF BYZANTINE NEUMES

27 Diple, 28 Kratema, and 29 Xanon Kisma (to give them their later names). All these properly denote an ascending second with prolongation. Sometimes, however, they seem to be used merely as subsidiaries, especially when placed below the Ison.

Also in the compound 30 only one ascending second seems to keep its mathematical value. For we find very often the formula 30 α in the Linear System answering to 30 b in the Round Notation, both being common at cadences; the effect was probably

![Diagram of musical symbols]

Fig. 1.—SYMBOLS USED IN THE COBLENZ SYSTEM.

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31. Kouphisma: ascending: second, perhaps followed by some ornament. When a dot follows, the compound may be spread over two syllables; this is probably not the Kentema but an archaic punctuation-sign which we shall meet again in the earliest system. The total value is still, therefore, an ascending second.

32. Kratemohyperooon: the Kratema now, of course, will count. So the value will be a second upwards and two seconds downwards.

Hyperotheses. Many of these already familiar in the Round Notation occur in the Neumes, the commonest being the Klasmo υ or ψ. In the older Neumes this is used alone and seems to be a compound of Barcin and Oxsia, the value being one or two notes down and one up.

The Argon γ or ζ or κ is found very frequently in some MSS. At first sight we are tempted to take this as Elaphron, or descending third (so Gastoué and Riemann). But we must note: (1) The semicircular sign never occurs alone except where it can be more naturally understood as the Apodérmis (large size). (2) The small half-circle may occur as many as five times in succession in conjunction with the Apostrophus. To treat it as Elaphron, descending third or fourth, in such cases would give an impossible progression. (3) The Elaphron-compounds in the Round Notation, as we have seen, answer regularly to a simple Apostrophus in the Coislin System. Where the latter shows the small semicircle the Round Notation more often has some ascending sign. (4) The almost complete disuse of the Argon in the Round System suggests that the semicircle was taken up for a new purpose, while the angular form ζ, alone given in the Papadiké, was too much like it to be used without confusion.

33. Parakletiké: this seems still to have no value in the Coislin System. In earlier phases it may stand alone and perhaps denote an ascending second. (See Fig. 3, below.)

34. Thematismus Eso and 35 Theuma Haploun may now sometimes indicate formulae not shown by the interval-signs. (V. ibid.)

Hypotaxis. We have already mentioned that the Diple seems to lose its value in certain cases, as does the Barea. Further, Oxsia or Petaste even above an Ison, over one syllable, seems to be annulled. The general law of subordination had not been established so early.

The reader will now easily understand our transcriptions from the Coislin System (see Figs. Nos. 2 and 3). It must be remembered that when a medial cadence has been made on a Finalis, the sequence may be broken and the melody start afresh from the other Finalis. This was rarely done in the Round Notation, but is frequent in the Linear. It is quite a different thing from beginning every new phrase from the Finalis (as Gastoué and Riemann do) no matter where the preceding one left off.

In every case we supply the parallel hymn from the Round Notation. The degree of similarity varies greatly, and where there is only a remote general likeness, any translation of the Neumes will be mainly guesswork. The task of the future will be to gather materials for more extensive comparison, and as every melody extant in the Linear Notation has many
counterparts in the Round System, a thorough collation of the versions of various dates should eventually fill up most of the gaps in our present knowledge.

In the Round System, when an ascending sign is annulled by an Icon or a descending sign, some ornamentation was probably implied. The exact execution may have been left, as it is in modern Greek Church music, to the discretion of the singer. For the annulled Petaste I put a mordente. This, in quick time, is conveniently sung as a triplet (including the principal note). For the annulled Oligon or Oxes I put a grace-note or accentuation; for the annulled Kouphisma—a double mordente.
A  
(1) Ἀγαλλός ὁ ἔδω ἐπί σι ς (2) οὖ ῇ ρα εὐ εφ ηις 
B  

A  
κεισ θεσαρ (3) χιδιας κροτί τω τὰ ἵθι γη μετ εὐ εφ ηις 
B  

A  
σύντος (4) Χρις τὸς γὰρ ὃ Θεό ὁ ἰ ῃ μων (5) τῷ στα 
B  

A  
μὴ προσ ἄλω σας (6) τῶν ἀρα τε αὐ ἰ ῃ 
B  

A  
μων (7) καὶ τὸν λα ῃ κατορ τε κράσατ (8) ξυπ 
B  

Fig. 2.
THE PROBLEM OF BYZANTINE NEUMES

B. Cod. Sinai. 1214 (Lineur : Coislin System).

Mode I. From Sticheris Anastasios.

(1) Αγαλλίωσα ἦ κτίσις (2) αὖ ὑπερ ἐφραί

(3) γινθε σταυ (4) Χρυσω τός γάρ ἡ Θεός ἢ ρύμο (5) τῷ σταυ

(6) πρό τοις λέον (7) καὶ τῶν θάνατον νεκρότατον (8) τῶν

ii Finale. iii Fresh start from lower Finale. iv Fresh start from middle Finale.
A: η - μάς - διν - ρή - ικτά - το (3) πει - τώ
B: ικτά

A: κα - τά - τίν - Ά - ζάμ (10) παγ - γε - τή - δ - μ - στή - σος
B: ικτά

A: άς - φιλά - άτ
B: ικτά

FIG. 2

A: (1) 'η - λά - η - σον - μάς (2) παίς πταί - αν - τάς στον χαλ
B: ικτά

A: λά - (3) καθ' - κάσα - την - ω - καθ' ο Χριστό
B: ικτά

FIG. 3
THE PROBLEM OF BYZANTINE NEUMES

A. Cod. Athos, VATOPED, 236 v. 368 b. (Round Notation).
B. Cod. Sinait. 1244. (Linear: Coizlin System).

MODE II.

From Sichera Anastasina.

Parakletike. * Fresh start from lower Finalis; clear dot in text of Sinait.
Note on the Russian Neumes.

The Russian Church, besides translating most of the Byzantine Liturgy into the Slavonic language, also borrowed her sacred music from Constantinople. It is, however, a remarkable fact that the so-called Kontakaria Notation, the oldest known in Russia (11th-12th century), cannot be traced in any Greek manuscript, though a few of the signs seem to agree with the Echphonetic. This system is totally unintelligible at present, but the slightly later Semitic Notation is so much like the Consil Neumes that a valid interpretation of the latter would almost certainly supply us with its clue. Unfortunately the materials are buried in the libraries of Russian monasteries, where there are small facilities for study, while the publications, as far as they are available, are altogether inadequate for our purpose.

Tillhaut reproduces one of the Easter Gospels in the early Semitic Notation. This we have tried to decipher on the analogy of Consil 229.

For the hymns given by Tillhaut I have no parallels available. The later stages of the Semitic Notation, to judge from Tillhaut's facsimiles, have scarcely any likeness to the older. This may be due to the fact that he has no examples between the twelfth and the seventeenth centuries. At the latter date we find a highly developed notation with group-symbols and red divisiicn letters, which can be read with certainty by the help of numerous medieval handbooks and the tradition of the Old Believers. An extensive publication of hymns in this script has been carried out in Russia. Here, therefore, the

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16 Consil. --- some correction needed.
17 Legnana.
18 For information as to Russian liturgy, see Neale, T. M., Hist. of Holy Eastern Church, Intro. pts. 1 and 2.
19 Op. cit. PL. VIII. (No transcription attempted.) In the next facsimile is a specimen of the later Semitic Notation. How widely they differ will be seen at a glance. The same writer discusses the Echphonetic Notation on pp. 17 ff.
20 Oskar von Rieseum, Die Notationen des alt-russischen Kirchenwesens, Leipzig, 1903. Musicians owe a debt of gratitude to this scholar, who has set out in a concise and clear form a mass of information otherwise inaccessible only in Russian.
21 MSS. of this class are common all over Russia, and are found in western libraries. I bought three at the Novgorod fair in 1911; the latest may belong to the early nineteenth century.
western scholar need only come as a learner; but in the more ancient neumes there seems to be plenty of room left for investigation and methodical criticism. To this subject, which lies beyond the range of the present article, I should be glad to return at some later date.

**Russian Neumes; Easter Canon.**
Facsimile in J. Thibaut, op. cit. Pl. VIII.

\[ \text{music notation} \]

**The Earlier Forms of Byzantine Neumes.**

Before the supremacy of the Coislin System, matters seem to have been chiefly in the experimental stage; and to classify all the varieties of Byzantine Notation would hardly be possible until a much more detailed sifting of materials can be undertaken in the libraries of Athos and Sinai, where alone the specimens are available in large numbers.

We may, however, distinguish an intermediate stage (in the eleventh and twelfth centuries), marked by the use of a plain horizontal stroke, as the

\[ \text{music notation} \]
only Ian (for repeated note), and an archaic stage, sometimes called Palaeo-
byzantine (tenth and eleventh centuries), where a blank space is left instead of an
Ian, and the end of a hymn, or other important pause, is marked by a
heavy dot in line with the Neumes. We have already mentioned that certain
signs, which are only subsidiaries in the Coislin System, have interval-value
in the earlier phases.

Many MSS. of the intermediate class are very ornate, using a great
number of compound signs of obscure meaning. The extreme example of
this we find in the Chartres fragment and the MS., Laura r, 67, from which it
seems to have been torn. This MS. contains a leaf of a musical handbook
dealing in a summary fashion with the notation in question. This latter
fragment I have discussed in an earlier article. 22

Two examples of early neumatic passages, with approximate trans-
scriptions, will be now given. The parallelism is sometimes fairly close
between the intermediate and Coislin versions; only in such cases can an
accurate transcription be expected.

For the Easter Ode we offer three versions (Fig. 4). The Laura MS. 24
(c. 1000 A.D.) is the oldest known specimen of Byzantine Neumes, while that
from the Iberian Monastery is the oldest that I have seen in the Round
Notation. 25 It is often hard to decipher and contains errors besides remin-
iscences of the Neumes. The laws of subordination are sometimes over-
looked, and the sequence is broken occasionally at a medial cadence. The
middle stage is here represented by Coislin 220, from which the system
takes its name.

The Hymn for S. Stephen is a fairly simple instance of the intermediate
Neumes (Fig. 5). The frequent use of the Argon will be observed, and also
the copious sign in line 7 (Thematismus eso). An unusually close
parallel is afforded by the Trinity MS., which probably belongs to the early
fifteenth century. 26

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22 B.S.A. xix. pp. 95-108. The Chartres
fragment is discussed by Gastoué, op. cit. p. 96,
who gives facsimiles. Any translation in the
present state of knowledge is mainly guess-
work.

24 For this MS. see my article, B.S.A. xix.
pp. 96 ff. and Pl. XIV. Riemann, op. cit.
73-94, also gives specimen; his reproduc-
tions are almost illegible (from bad photo-
graphs; the MS. is clear) while his versions
are open to the objections already mentioned.

25 Cf. my article in Musical Antiq. 1913,
205, 222. We should probably add a Diple to
the last Ian but one in the hymn reproduced
from this MS. in Fig. 5, in order to secure a
normal ending, as in the transcription.

26 For other exx. from this valuable MS. see
THE PROBLEM OF BYZANTINE NEUMES

Canon for Easter.

A. Palaeobyzantine; Laura B 22, f. 10 b.
B. Coëslin System: Cod. Coëslin 220.

Ode III. Mode I.

(1) Δεῦτε τῶμα πίθωμεν καὶ τὸν (2) οἶκον ἐκ

πίθρος ἀγγελεῖ τὰρατορ γονίμου (1) ἀλλ' ἀδιάσπαρτον

(3) ζευγαρία τῆς γυνής (5) ἐν τάφων ἡμὶ Βριζαντίνη Χριστοῦ.

tοῦ (6) ἐν οἴκειῳ πέρι μεθα.
THE PROBLEM OF BYZANTINE NEUMES

HYMN FOR S. STEPHEN (Dec. 26th)

1. CANTAB. TRINITATIS. B. 11. 17. E. 107 (Round System).
2. SINAITHICUS. 1219. NEUMES (Intermediate Form).

Mode II.

1. 

(1) Προς τον διάκονον (2) προς τον μήτην και τον

2. 

μήτην μεν διάκονον (3) παν άγιον Χριστόφορον.

1. 

γεν άνω γάρ άγιον τοῖς αγίοις.

2. 

(4) καὶ πολλάκις τῷ Κυρίῳ (5) προσήγαγε μήτην

1. 

καὶ πολλάκις τῷ Κυρίῳ (8) προσήγαγε μήτην.

2. 

(7) οὐκ εἰμι παντοκράτῳ ημών ἐκείνος (8) καὶ Θεόν.

THE PROBLEM OF BYZANTINE NEUMES

University College, Johannesburg.

H. J. W. TILLYARD.

In Barcis.
THE PROGRESS OF GREEK EPIGRAPHY, 1919–1920.

In my last Bibliography (J.H.S. xxxix. 269 ff.) I attempted to cover the three and a half years from July 1915 to December 1918 inclusive, though I was only too well aware that, under the conditions of the period of war and armistice, I could not claim completeness for my record. In the present article I deal primarily with the years 1919 and 1920, but I have inserted references to a number of books and articles which actually appeared earlier though they did not become accessible to me until the years under review. Excavation has not yet been renewed on anything like the pre-war scale and the number of Greek inscriptions published for the first time is correspondingly small, but gratifying progress has been made in many directions in the restoration of mutilated texts and the fuller interpretation and utilisation of documents already known. The reader who glances even cursorily through the following pages will, I hope, be struck, despite the compression necessitated by considerations of space, by the vitality and interest of the study to which they relate, and by the many-sided contribution it has made to the understanding of Hellenic language, literature, religion and history.

General.—In addition to my own Bibliography above referred to, the "Bulletin Épigraphique" of P. Rousset and G. Nicole calls for mention: the "Literaturbericht" for 1916 drawn up by P. Kretschmer has a more specialised aim and therefore a narrower scope, but is invaluable for philologists. A very concise account of Greek and Latin epigraphy is incorporated in Laurand's Manuel des Études Grecques et Latines, but this, though containing some useful suggestions and bibliographical data, is too brief to serve as a satisfactory introduction to the study of Greek epigraphy. The excellent little work entitled *How to Observe in Archaeology,* addressed primarily to travellers who have received little archaeological training, takes some account of inscriptions and contains two tables of Greek and cognate alphabets, one relating to Asia Minor and the other to mainland Greece and the islands.

The year 1920 has seen good progress made with the third edition of Dittenberger's Syllae Inscriptionum Graecarum, of which two new instalments have been issued. Volume III contains the 359 texts (of which 44 did not appear in the second edition) selected to illustrate various aspects of the public, religious and private life of the Greeks. The great majority have been edited by F. Hiller von Gaartringen, but E. Ziebarth has undertaken this

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1 Rev. St. Gr. xxx. 409 ff.
2 Childe, x. 213 ff.
3 Eranos, 7, Paris (Picard), 1919.
4 London (British Museum), 1920.
5 Leipzig (Hirzel).
responsibility for some sixty inscriptions, chiefly dealing with private life, and O. Weinreich and H. Diels have dealt with a few texts falling within their special provinces. The first section of Vol. IV comprises Indexes of personal names, divine and human; of their accuracy and fulness there need be no doubt, but it is hard to approve of the change whereby human beings other than potentes are arranged not solely on the alphabetical principle but under the several states to which they belonged.

E. Preuner has published 6 extracts from the papers of H. N. Ulrichs relative to Greek inscriptions, following the order of the I.G.; most of these shed fresh light on, or suggest corrections of, published texts, but some afford new material for Troezen, Tanagra, Thespiae, Thebes and Delphi. A metrical epitaph, the provenance of which is not indicated, has been discussed by T. Reimach 7 and may receive a passing mention here.

In the dialectological sphere special attention may be called to two articles 8 in which F. Becker examines dialect-forms found in Thessalian, Boeotian, Locrian, Delphian, Arcadian and Lesbian inscriptions. J. C. Hoppin has given us, in addition to the valuable work noted in the following section, some corrections 9 of Nicole's Corpus des Céramistes Grecs. C. Robert has examined fully 10 the scenes from the Iliad and from the Nosti occurring on two inscribed Homeric vases, and the brief inscriptions on several gems 11 seen by Antoine Galland (1646-1715) and on a glass weight from the Vienna Hofmuseum 12 also call for notice. Of much greater interest is E. Preuner's detailed examination 13 of some points of contact between archaeology and epigraphy, in the course of which he attempts a new restoration of the Micythus-inscription from Olympia, reconstructs the stemma of the Megarian sculptor Callicles, investigates the evidence for the artistic activities of Daedalus, a Sicilian bronze-caster of the early fourth century, collects the references to a family of Athenian potters in which the names Bacchius and Citium are prominent, calls into being from an epithet a Theban artist Euanclitus, deals with the titles on portraits of Menander, Solon and Archilochus, traces the source of the forged inscription on a relief at Wilton House, and shows how the allegation that Cyriaca of Ancona copied in Chios an epitaph of Homer rests apparently upon the fact that he copied the metrical epitaph of a certain Isidote which refers to Chios as the πάτρα πολισματος Ὀμήρου.

To two French scholars we owe able and important volumes the materials for which are drawn largely from inscriptions. In his work 14 on the translation into Greek of the consular title M. Holleaux reviews successively the translations found in documents emanating from consule, in dedicatory inscriptions set up by the Italians of Delos, in decrees and dedications of Greek origin, in Polybius, and in the acts of the Senate. A chapter is devoted to critical remarks on the title στρατηγος διστατος, and in an appendix (p. 131 ff.)

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7 C. R. Acad. Inscr. 1920, 37.
9 Rev. Arch. xii (1920), 104 ff.
10 Num. Zelt. ii. 194 ff.
11 Arch. xxxvi. 95 ff.
12 Etudes sur la traduction en grec du titre consulaires, Paris (Boucard), 1918.
the author reproduces his discussion 13 of the so-called letter of Cn. Manlius Velso to the state of Heracles sub Latmus. The addenda and corrigenda include a new fragment of a letter of Sp. Postumius, remarks on the dedications of Roman magistrates mentioned in the Delian inventories and a new letter of the Senate, written probably early in 188 B.C. and inscribed at Delphi. No less interesting is J. Hatzfeld's exhaustive discussion of the Italian negotiatores in the Greek East, 14 in which, after some preliminary remarks on Latin names in Greek inscriptions (p. 7 ff.), the writer traces minutely the history of the expansion of the negotiatores over the Hellenic world (17 ff.) and then reviews (193 ff.) their professions, origin, social status and organisation, their relations to the Greek population, and the rôle they played. The full and excellent index adds greatly to the value of a notable book. Other important books and articles also draw largely or mainly upon epigraphical sources. Among these are W. Schuhart's remarks on the style of the letters written by Hellenistic kings, 17 T. Klee's monograph, 18 on the γιωνεις at Greek festivals, which, starting from the Coan victor-lists here first published, discusses successively the programmes of the competitions, the age-classes of competitors, the times of the several festivals and the victors in the four sacred γιωνες, M. Holleaux's admirable collection 19 of the epigraphical occurrences of the title στρατηγος αυθεντος, and F. Imhoof-Blumer's article 20 on the significance of the title επιεικες and the employment of Roman knights as officials in Greek cities. U. Wilcken's examination 21 of the formulae of Imperial rescripts from the time of Augustus to that of Diocletian also owes something to inscriptions, notably that of Scaptopara.

One of the most marked features of the past few years has been the lively interest shown in the question of the derivation of the Greek alphabet and indeed of alphabetic writing altogether, an interest which has been specially stimulated by the work of Evans, Sethe and Gardiner, who approach the subject from the side of the Cretan, Egyptian and Sinaite inscriptions respectively. I am not competent to discuss all the articles written and all the suggestions advanced, nor indeed are they all relevant to a bibliography of Greek epigraphy, but the content of some of them must be briefly indicated.

J. Sundwall, who continues to do valuable work on the Cretan scripts, has attempted 22 an interpretation, necessarily provisional, of some tablets in the linear script A, and has also discussed 23 the question of the origin of the Cretan writing, rejecting the theory that this was the 'Urbild' of the Phoenician, and tracing back fifty-three Cretan signs to Egyptian hieroglyphs; he has also, he holds, the slightest doubt that the Egyptian hieroglyphic writing served not only as a stimulus but as a pattern and that the Cretans

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13 Arch. Pop. vi. 324 ff.
14 Zur Geschichte der gymnischen Agone am griech. Festen, Leipzig (Teubner), 1918.
took over the Egyptian phonetic values together with the signs. Of W. N. Bates' paper on "Recent Theories on the Origin of the Alphabet" I know only a brief summary, but it is noteworthy that he thinks that the Greek alphabet is not derived from the Phoenician. This same thesis is maintained by W. M. Flinders Petrie, who, in an article resuming and restating the view already set forth in his work, The Formation of the Alphabet, admits indeed the close connexion between the Greek and the Phoenician alphabet, but argues that the latter was neither the sole source of the former nor the source of all other alphabets. He rejects the claims of the hieratic, Cretan and Sinaiic scripts to have originated alphabetic writing, and traces the use of a signary of some sixty signs back to a very early stage of Egyptian history, in many cases prior to the use of hieroglyphs. Of these signs various people made different selections, or the same people, as for example the Greeks, used now a fuller and now a shorter selection. Reviewing this article, a writer in the Revue Archéologique, though not committing himself to the whole theory, holds that at least it merits discussion. E. Hermann, on the other hand, has written an interesting summary of Setho's article in which the Sinaiic inscriptions are regarded as bridging the gulf between the Egyptian hieroglyphs and the Semitic scripts. The Phoenicians took over the hieroglyphic signs but not the Egyptian values; the pictographs received their Semitic names and their value was then determined on the acrophonic principle. The Greek alphabet in turn was derived from the Phoenician, as has been shown afresh by M. F. Nilsson, whose work (vide infra) Hermann summarises and criticises (p. 54 ff.). The same scholar has protested against the misrepresentation of his article on the letters Pi and Beta by A. Mentz, who has made a brief rejoinder. M. F. Nilsson's work contains a re-examination of the theory of a Phoenician origin of the Greek alphabet and an attempt to trace its development on the basis of simple and consistent principles, aided by a well-guarded use of analogy. He insists that in the Semitic and Greek alphabets the acrophonic principle determines without exception the phonetic value of a letter, which represents the first sound of the letter-name, and examines at length the procedure followed in other alphabets and also in Greek to secure signs for sounds hitherto unrepresented, the main method consisting in a differentiation of the sign which is phonetically most closely akin to the sound for which a new sign is sought. In a paper dealing mainly with some points in the history of the Etruscan and Latin alphabets, M. Haimmarström has devoted to the history, form and value of the Greek letter H a full and valuable discussion, which students of the Greek alphabet cannot afford to neglect. Considerations of space and of relevance forbid any detailed notice of J. Capart's estimate and critique of recent dis-
coveries relative to the history of the alphabet and of R. Eisler’s bold and noteworthy attempt to decipher the Semitic inscriptions, written according to the author in an alphabet of twenty-two letters, almost all of which can be traced back to Egyptian hieroglyphs, though their sense is not that of the Egyptian signs but of the Semitic letter-names. Special attention should, however, be drawn to E. Kalinka’s essay on the origin of alphabetic writing, in which the writer maintains the Semitic origin of the Greek alphabet, but after an examination of the pictographic value of the earliest Phoenician letter-forms concludes that the inventor of the alphabet was not a Phoenician but a member of some nomadic people in the Phoenician hinterland, possibly the Israelites, and to C. F. Lehmann-Haupt’s long and suggestive study of the same subject, in which the writer develops and supports suggestions made by him in 1904 and 1910, insisting that whereas the ‘inner form’ of the Phoenician alphabet is certainly derived from an Egyptian source, the ‘outer form,’ i.e. the signs employed, should not be traced to Egyptian, Babylonian or other originals (as appears from the two recorded American cases of the invention of scripts in recent times), though an eclectic use of Cretan or other signs may have been made without regard to their phonetic values; the general conclusion is that the Phoenician alphabet arose in Palestine not very long before 1100–1000 n.c., probably at the period when Egyptian rule over Palestine had ceased, and there was no single and compact régime in Mesopotamia.

Attica.—The new Attic inscriptions published during the period under review are few in number and of no very great interest, but valuable work has been done in the restoration and interpretation of previously known texts. At Sounion B. Stais has found two fragments of archaic dedications and a number of stone balls inscribed with numerals and, in some cases, the name of a certain Zeillus; their purpose he regards as enigmatic, but J. Svoronos has conjectured that they served as weights in the Athenian mint at Sounion. Investigation of the grotto of Pan near Phyle has yielded sixteen texts, of which all save one are new, mostly votive in character. E. F. Rambo has illustrated an article on Attic grave-stelae by three hitherto unpublished examples in the Philadelphia Museum, and F. Behn has discussed two Panathenaic amphorae from Egypt, now preserved in the Pelizäus Museum at Hildesheim. F. Hiller von Gaertringen, who is at present engaged on a special study of the earlier Attic inscriptions, has discussed the restoration of the ‘Salaminian Decree,’ documents relating to the Hekatompedon, Athenian public works and the Apolline worship, and two archaic

84. Klio, xvi. 392 ff.
epigrams. W. Bannier has published a further instalment of his valuable comments on Attic inscriptions, dealing with the sixth and fifth centuries, and the latter century is further represented by L. Weber's re-examination of the two epigrams of I.G. i. 333, both of which he refers to the battle of Marathon and connects conjecturally with the basis of the Hermas erected in the Athenian Agora to celebrate the victories won over the Persians, and by C. F. Lehmann-Haupt's discussion of the phrase καθάπερ οἱ Ἀλλοι Ναυειδέας in the 'Chalcidian Decree.' New and valuable light has been thrown on the decree of 401/0 (I.G. ii 10.) granting privileges to those metic and foreigners who had aided in the overthrow of the Thirty Tyrants and the reinstatement of democracy; the document is discussed in detail, mainly upon the basis of the generally accepted restoration, by P. Cloché, while P. Fourcaut sets himself with marked success to the task of restoring the text and interpreting the exact nature of the services rendered and the rewards granted. Turning to the fourth century we may note Cloché's dating of the Attic fragment mentioning King Tachos of Egypt (I.G. ii 60—ii.110). E. Reisch's article on the date of the statue of Syeris sculptured by Nicomachus (ii. 1378), K. Kunst's examination of a famous Eleusinian account (ii. 834 b—Dittenb. Syll. 537), and G. Glotz's attempt to fix in June or July 332 B.C. the date of the accounts relating to the Portico of Philon at Eleusis (ii. 834 c). To B. Leonardus we owe very careful and detailed commentaries on the decree granting citizenship to Memestheus of Miletus (ii. 455) and on the catalogue of the demesmen of the Aeacanid tribe (ii. 1032). In a series of epigraphical studies on Athens in the imperial period, P. Graudor discusses (a) the date of the archonship of Philopappus (iii. 78) and of Plutarch's συμποσιακα τροφώματα, (b) the decree in honour of an Emperor, probably Hadrian, of which I.G. iii. 7 and 55 are parts, (c) a dedication (iii. 132) to Aselepius and Hygeia, and (d) the date of the catalogue, I.G. iii. 1012. T. Reinach draws attention to a fragment of a copy of I.G. iii. 5 (Dittenb. Syll. 855) in the Biblioteca Bertoliana at Vicenza and to the presence of certain other inscriptions in the same Library. E. Michon traces the history and corrects the text of I.G. iii. 94, on a bust of Melitene, priestess of the Metron in the Peiraeus, now in the Louvre. Mention must also be made of L. R. Farnell's able and convincing interpretation of a fragment of Plato Comicus in the light of an Attic ritual inscription, T. Horol's exhaustive discussion of three inscribed reliefs from Phalerum, O. Weinreich's article on the inscription (Dittenb. Syll. 1125), statue and cult of Αιών at Eleusis,
W. B. Dinsmoor's theory that the pedestal in front of the Athenian Propylaia, which later bore a statue and inscription of Agrippa, was originally erected about 178 B.C. on the occasion of the victories won in the Parthamenea chariot-races by Eumenes II and his brother Attalus, F. Bechtel's interpretation of the epigraphically attested name Σύμωνος, and B. Schroeder's list of the acclamations made since 1903 to the German collections of antiquities, including a votive relief from Peiraeus and three Attic gravestones. W. Dörpfeld's latest article on the Athenian Hekatompedon makes constant appeal to epigraphical evidence, and inscriptions form the chief basis of G. Smith's interesting examination of the Attic casualty lists and cognate questions such as those of mobilisation, military organisations, the treatment of the wounded and the care of the invalided, widows and orphans. R. C. Flickinger's book on the Greek theatre devotes a chapter (ix. p. 318 ff.) to 'Theatrical Records,' in which some account is given of the surviving fragments of the three great Athenian dramatic records—the Fusti, the Didascaliae and the Victor-lists. H. McClean deals with the subject of the part played by women in Athenian public and private life as viewed through the medium of the inscriptions, but her book is still inaccessible to me. The vexed, but very important, question of the chronology of the Athenian archons has given rise to two articles, in one of which J. Kirchner discusses the new results relative to the archons of the second and first centuries B.C. reached by P. Roussel in his work Délòs : Colonie Athénienne, while in the other P. Grau shows the dates attributed by him in a recent article to certain archons of the second century after Christ. J. C. Hoppin's Handbook of Attic Red-figured Vases Signed by or Attributed to the various Masters of the Sixth and Fifth Centuries B.C. is invaluable not only to the student of Greek vase-painting but also as giving a complete and authoritative list of artists' signatures within the limits indicated by its title. On the historical side the posthumous work of B. Keil, edited by R. Lecour, entitled Beiträge zur Geschichte des Areopagus calls for special notice. Starting from an examination of an Epidaurian stone (I.G. iv. 936–8) the author discusses with minute care the evidence, primarily epigraphical, for the character and position of the Athenian Areopagus as reorganised in the period of Roman supremacy, when the old oligarchical council was placed above the two democratic bodies, the Boule and the ecclesia, and incidentally deals with the powers exercised at this time by the archons, the στρατηγοὶ and other magistrates. An interesting parallel is drawn (p. 79 ff.) between the Areopagus with its κηρυγγ and αἰτωρίων on the one hand and the English Town Council with its Town Clerk and its Standing Committees on the other.

国内市场，购入量也出现了明显的增长。根据美国农业统计局的数据，2020年美国的饼类市场需求量达到了创纪录的水平，超过1000亿份。这得益于美国人口的不断增加和消费水平的提高。饼类市场仍然是美国食品制造业的重要组成部分，占据了重要的市场份额。预计未来几年，随着消费者对健康饮食观念的增强，饼类市场的增长趋势将更加明显。
THE PROGRESS OF GREEK EPIGRAPHY, 1919–1920

Peleponnesus.—K. K. Smith has published forty-two inscriptions found at Corinth, mostly during the excavations carried on from 1902 to 1907, together with a number of valuable notes on previously published texts from the same site; they comprise decrees, catalogues, dedications and epitaphs, and, though the majority are seriously mutilated, some—such as the four archaic dedications (Nos. 71–74), two sculptors' signatures (Nos. 80, 82), and especially an early boundary-stone giving warning of a fine to be imposed on trespassers (No. 70)—are of considerable interest. In addition, Corinth has produced a proconsular rescript of the third or fourth century of our era and two funerary inscriptions. To W. Vollgraff we owe two further instalments of his epigraphical discoveries at Argos, numbering twenty-four texts ranging from the fifth century B.C. to the late Roman period and including a fragment of a fifth-century treaty between Argos and Epidauros (No. 5), a list of actors who took part in certain musical contests (No. 25), an inscription in honour of Pompey the Great ἀτοκεράτωρ το τέταρτων (No. 27), and a letter of Agrippa to the Argive γεροντὶς (No. 28), which gives rise to an interesting discussion of γεροντὶς in general (p. 265 f.). Four epitaphs from the neighbourhood of Argos and Nauplia have been added to the Nauplia Museum. C. A. Gialardis' article on the ancient churches of Epidauros contains a large number of Byzantine and Christian inscriptions together with a few (Nos. 1, 2, 5, 26, 28, 50) of an earlier period. The numerous inscriptions found by P. Cavvadis in the course of his recently renewed excavations at the Epidauran Asclepieion have not yet been published, but five of them, of which a preliminary account has appeared, but fair to prove of exceptional value. The longest and most important, which throws new light on the working of the Achaean League and clears up some of the problems left unsolved by Polybius, is a law passed by the Achaeanians in 223 B.C. to define and regulate the fresh situation created by the admission of the Macedonians and their allies to the League, modifying some articles of its constitution, and granting to the Macedonian king the right of intervention in its affairs. G. H. Macurdy has interpreted the puzzling word ἀφετερος, which occurs in an inscription of Sparta (I.G. v. 1. 209), as being equivalent to ἀφετέρος, 'to act as starter.' F. Hiller von Gaertringen has proposed to read Νικόπολις, the city-goddess of Nicopolis, in an inscription of Mantinea in Arcadia (I.G. v. 2. 297), and W. Vollgraff, after publishing as new a bronze fragment containing accounts of a very early date, subsequently found that it had previously appeared (I.G. v. 2. 410) among the inscriptions of Lusi, north of Cletus. From Aegira in Achaia we have a new, but incomplete, dedication and a revised version of the metrical epitaph published by Wilhelm in his Beiträge zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde, 109, No. 93.

33 Macrone, xlvii. 190 ff., 252 ff.
34 Arp. Σφ. 1917, 108.
35 Apok. xxxv. 403 ff.
36 Aeg. x. 6 ff.
37 Class. Rec. xxxv. 98 f.
38 Hermes, liv. 194 f.
39 Macrone, xlvii. 66 ff.
40 ibid. 230.
Northern Greece.—Seven inscriptions from the sanctuary of Amphipolis at Oropus have been carefully edited by B. Leonardos; among these the most interesting are (a) the stele (No. 91) bearing the word ΙΣΩΣ from the altar described by Pausanias, i, 34, 3; (b) a list (No. 92) of subscribers to an άνευτομα set up in 328/7 B.C. and an Attic decree in praise of three men who helped in its erection; (c) a new version (No. 93) of the famous ιερός νόμος published in I.G. vii. 235, Legei Graecorum Sacrarum, 65, and elsewhere; (d) a record (Nos. 95–97) of the honours paid to στρατηγοὶ ἐπὶ τεῖς παίην, ἐπὶ τοῖς Παραιτεῖς and ἐπὶ τεῖς Λευτεῖς and others in 324 B.C., the front of the stone being occupied by a list of the eleven λαγνέαi and sixty-three ἄνθρωποι (their names arranged under their respective demes) who united in bestowing the crowns here commemorated. Few of the new finds from Boeotia are of special importance. A. D. Keramopoulos’ investigations at Thebes have brought to light twenty-three inscriptions, chiefly votive in character, from the temple of Iseum and other sites. Some of them go back to the sixth century B.C. (pp. 35 ff., 61) and among the deities honoured are Apollo Parnasus, Pronaia (pp. 35 ff.), the Great Mother, Διόνυς Μιλάκις, Attis and Artemis Orthia (p. 421 ff.). An inscribed vase with scenes from the Νεκταῖον also comes from Thebes, while from the Boeotian Cabbirion is derived a leaden token with the inscription KAB. A. Skias has given us fifteen new Plataean texts found in 1899, two unpublished documents from a MS. of Stamatakis, and corrected versions of two inscriptions already known (I.G. vii. 1679, 1705–6). G. de Sanctis has discussed the meaning of the phrase ημιον ένεκι found in the Σεπώτος κοιτιστος relating to Thesba, and E. Preuner has devoted a long and valuable article to Honestos, the author of the epigrams engraved on a number of altar-bases from the Thespian sanctuary of the Muses: in this the epigrams are examined afresh, their relation to the monuments on which they are engraved is discussed, and the date of one of them—that which refers to Σεπώτος, whom Preuner regards as Julia, Augustus’ daughter—is fixed at ca. 3/2 B.C., a valuable datum for determining the period of the epigrammatist.

In Doris a single archaic epitaph has been found. W. Vollgraf has proposed an emendation in a well-known inscription (Dittenh. Syll. 2, 844) of Amphissa in Locris, and E. Schwyzler has attempted to explain the puzzling word ΑΜΑΣ in the treaty between Achaea and Locrians recently discovered at Thermus (Dittenh. Syll. 3, 421).

Delphi takes a more prominent place in the epigraphical history of the past two years. F. Poulsen’s admirable account of the history and archaeology of Delphi, translated by G. C. Richards, makes considerable use, as is but natural, of epigraphical materials. P. Cloché’s full discussion of Greek

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42 "Arch. Eph., 1917, 39 ff.; 231 ff., 240.
43 "Arch. Ägypt. ill., 22 ff., 35 ff., 51, 64.
44 Schol. xxxiv. 65 ff.
46 "Arch. Eph., 1917, 157 ff.
47 Atti di Torino, liv., 229 ff.
48 Hermes, liv., 388 ff.
49 B.S.A. xlii., 111.
50 Mynæa, xlvii. 72.
51 Rk. Mus. lxix. 434 ff.
52 F. Poulsen, Delphi. London (Gyldendal).
53 B.C.H. xli. 78 ff.
politics from 356 to 327 B.C. is based largely on the financial records of the ἄνακτοι, which not only receive illumination from the literary texts but themselves in turn supplement and give precision to those texts, and works out in detail the view expressed by E. Bourguet in 1896 (B.C.H. xx. 223) that the composition of this college gives the most exact idea of the relative importance of the various Greek cities at the sanctuary. A. C. Johnson attempts a new chronological arrangement of the Amphictyonic records and of the Delphian archons of the period 240–202 B.C. by bringing into close relation the epigraphical discoveries made at Delphi and at Athens and by applying the principles (a) that no member of the Macedonian Empire or of the Achaean League ever participated in the Amphictyonic Council while it was dominated by Aetolia, and (b) that when we find any state represented on the Council, that state must be free from Macedonian control at the time. The article closes with a list (304 ff.) of Delphian archons and councillors and hieronmnenes for 239–202 B.C. By a re-examination of a Delphian inscription G. Glotz shows that at Delphi (as at Delos, Boeotian Orchomenus, Corea and Corinth) the χαλεκοι is the twelfth part of the obol. In the course of his article on the title στρατηγὸς δεθύπατος, M. Holleaux discusses six Delphian texts, one of which (No. 13), set up by the Amphictyonic καπνοῦ in honour of Q. Ancharinus, was previously unpublished. In the renewed Thuriann promauteria (Dittenb. Syrll. 295) E. Bourguet proposes to restore προὶ ᾠοντιναι τοῦ τοῦ τοῦ τοῦ τοῦ τοῦ τοῦ for the προὶ ἀνακτοὶ of conjectured by Dittenberger and generally accepted. In this connexion and also in a special article Bourguet voices an outspoken criticism of the procedure and competence of H. Pontow as shown in his treatment of the Delphian texts published by him in the first volume of the new edition of Dittenb. Syrll. Pontow has continued his publication of Delphian inscriptions in a fourth series of Delphische Neufinden. Under the general heading 'The Liberation of Delphi by the Romans,' he deals fully with twenty-eight inscriptions, almost all of the second century B.C., many of which have already appeared in Dittenb. Syrll. 607 ff. The second group (Nos. 115–123: cf. Dittenb. Syrll. 607–12) comprises, according to the editor, historically the most important Delphian texts of the second century, recording the liberation and restoration of the Delphian ecclesiastical state by M. Aecilius, the expropriation of the Aetolian lands and houses by the Delphians, the sanctioning of these measures by the Senate, the revenge of the Aetolians by the murder of the three Delphian envoys returning from Rome, etc. The third section (p. 141 ff.), entitled 'The Restoration of the Delphian Amphictyony after 188 B.C., contains inter alia the important decree of 184 B.C. (No. 123) previously edited by Blum (B.C.H. xxxviii. 26 ff.), and another of 119/7 B.C. (No. 125) which refers to a religious στρατινεῖα which exercised a very marked influence in hampering the public and private life of the community.' The concluding section deals with the rivalry of two states in E. Locris, Thironium and Scarphea.

89 Rev. Et. Gr. xxxi. 88 ff.
90 Rev. Arch. viii. (1918), 221 ff.
91 Rev. Et. Anc. xxii. 77 ff.
92 Ibid. 77 n. 2.
94 Klio, xvi. 109 ff.
and includes three documents of great interest, that relating to the disputed right to nominate the Epicnemidian *hieromnemos*, settled in favour of Thronium by an Athenian tribunal of sixty-one members (No. 130), that relating to a frontier-dispute (No. 131), and that containing a supplement to a frontier-settlement between Thronium and the "Engaioi" (No. 137).

The new finds from *Thessaly* consist of an honorary inscription, set up at Larissa by the *κομών* Θεσσαλών, and fifty-four texts from Chyretias (Perrhaebia) discovered and published by that indefatigable explorer of northern Greece, A. Arvanitopoulos: of these thirty-nine are manumissions of the usual Thessalian type, four are honorary inscriptions, two are decrees (Nos. 301, 304), one of them accompanied by a letter borne by the Chyretian envoys who communicated the text of the decree to the people of Oloosson, one (No. 302) is a letter from Titus Quinctius Flaminius, *στρατηγός ἐπιτάχυντος* to the state of Chyretiae, and eight are funerary, of which one is a metrical epitaph dating apparently from the last quarter of the fifth century B.C. In addition several inscriptions from Scoptusa, Phalanna and elsewhere have been corrected or annotated. The mosaic-inscriptions from the early Christian basilica at Nicopolis in *Epirus* excavated by A. Philadelphia have been published by their discoverer and commented on by A. Hadjia.

*Islands of the Aegean.*—*Euboea* has produced no new inscriptions, but the epigraphical and other discoveries at the sanctuary of the Egyptian deities at Eretria have been discussed by P. Roussel, and K. Swohoda has suggested some emendations and restorations in the hymn addressed to the Idaean daedyls (I.G. xii. 9. 259). Of the Cyclades *Delos* alone is represented. The article of Roussel just referred to deals also with the Delian shrine of the Egyptian gods, and some valuable remarks are to be found in F. Durrbach's reviews of Roussel's recent works—*Delos* : *Colonie Athénienne* and *Les Cultes Égyptiens*. J. Kirchner has devoted an article to the statement and examination of some of the results reached by Roussel in the first Appendix to the former book, which deals with the chronology of certain of the Athenian archons of the second and first centuries B.C. In the course of a long and detailed study F. Durrbach examines the chronology of the Delian archons from 314 down to 166 B.C., especially of those from 301 (Lysixenus) onwards, which is settled by a Delian text discovered in 1912 and confirmed by Glotz's article on the price of pitch. Inscriptions are of very secondary interest in A. Plassart's full report on the excavation of the residential quarter lying to the east of the Stadium; Delian inscriptions, however, play an important part in the articles of Holleaux referred to in the opening section of this Bibliography. An archaic dedication to Apollo is found on a vase from *Sicyon*. A vigorous duel has

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103 Rev. Arch. viii (1918), 235, No. 10.
104 Arch. e.R. 1917, l ff., 111 ff.
105 Memnonia, xlvii, 110, Rh. Mus.
106 A.A. 1917, 38.
107 Arch. 1917, 48 ff., 1918, 40.
108 idol. 1918, 28 ff.
109 Revue Egyptologique, I (1919), 81 ff.
111 Arch. phil. Wech. xl. 856 ff.
112 B.C.H. xx. 298.
115 Arch. Del. iv. papa1. 33.
been waged over the pre-Hellenic inscriptions from Lemnos between E. Lattes and L. Pareti, the former of whom maintains that the language is Etruscan, while the latter regards the proofs brought forward in support of this theory as insufficient and is inclined to trace the inscriptions Thracian rather than Etruscan affinities. The contributions of Caso are not of great interest with the exception of an archaic text from Gortyn, written haustraphedon, giving, according to D. Comparetti, "the indispensable complement of the last clause of the law on the division of the inheritance contained in the Gortynian Code which has come down to us in the Great Inscription." In fact, however, it is not a later addition but a considerably earlier enactment, omitted in "that badly arranged and imperfect body of laws which we possess in the Great Inscription." One of the greatest problems of the Code of Gortyn is discussed by A. Debrunner, who examines the meaning of the phrase δ οκα in S.G.D.I. 4991, v. 1. 4 fl., and the significance of the passage in which it occurs. W. Krause has attempted to determine the pronunciation of th in Gortynian speech, concluding that in the first period it had the value t, while in the third it took the spirantic value p.

Of the publication of some new inscriptions of Cos in T. Klee’s work on the Greek ἀγρόις mention has already been made: P. Stengel’s examination of the word ἱκλακή, which is found in Coan inscriptions (Paton-Hicks, 37, 38, 40), also calls for notice. Some fifty-three inscriptions, among them several of considerable interest, discovered in the course of the Greek and German excavation of the Heraeum of Samos, have been published by M. Schede. They include four texts set up by the Athenian settlers on the island, eleven belonging to the period of the Antigonids (322-300 B.C.), most of which contain some reference to the exile (φυγή) or to the restoration (σαμφορυ) of the Samians, six of the Ptolemaic period, including a long and interesting record (probably dating from 243/2 B.C.) of the services rendered to his native state by a certain Bulogoras, and nine of late Hellenistic times: the remainder, which are of the Roman period, include the inscriptions from statue-bases of M. Cicero, of Calpurnia, wife of Julius Caesar, of Agrrippa Postumus, of Julia the daughter of Augustus, of Domitia the sister of Caligula, and of other well-known historical personages. E. Preuner has re-examined a much-discussed epigram (Kaiibel 872) relating to a certain Vema, hydrophoros in the cult of Artemis of Patmos. Valuable contributions have been made to the study of the inscriptions of Rhodes by F. Hiller von Gaertringen, to whom are due a suggested new reading of a sacrificial inscription from Netteln copied by L. Ross, a thorough discussion of the topography of the demes of the Rhodian cities, in the course of which a new inscription from Ialysus is published, and a re-examination of the inscription on Aridices and Hieronymus. The
'Lindian Chronicle' has given rise to two valuable articles, in one of which 124 M. Rostovtseff deals with the sources of the ἐπιθαυρας and adduces striking parallels from other inscriptions, notably the honorary decree of Chersonesus for the historian Syrusus (I.O.S.P.E. i. 184, iv. p. 277), while in the other 125 L. Rademacher maintains the identity of the grammarian Timachidas with the Timachus from whose work we have several citations, and gives a number of other instances in which the name of the same man occurs in a full and also in a shortened form. S. Zervos' sumptuous work on Rhodes makes apparently little or no use of epigraphical sources, 126 but L. Pernier's valuable survey of recent exploration in Rhodes includes a provisional publication of minor epigraphical finds at Ialysus, Camirus and Cynisala. 127

Asia Minor.—B. Haussoulier has discussed 128 the architectural terms Ἄνθαις and σπειροκῆφαλος which occur in various inscriptions from Asia Minor. Aeolis is represented only by W. Vollgraf's suggestions 129 relative to the compact between the Aegaeans and the Olympenai dealing with the importation of wool. Among the states of Ionia only two make any contribution. J. Keil, after a careful investigation 130 of the epigraphic and numismatic evidence for the third neokoria of Ephesus, concludes that Ephesus was never neokoria of Caracalla but that in the third and the fourth neokoria of the city that of Artemis was reckoned, and that the retrogression from the fourth to the third was due to the deismatia memoriae of Elagabalus. F. Hudson Williams' account, 131 accidentally omitted from my last Bibliography, of the Milesian 'Education Bill' 132 and of the similar document from Teos (Dittenb. Syll. 3 578) may be mentioned side by side with Vollgraf's conjecture 133 of ἀνεοφυλάξι for ἀνεοφύλαξι in a text from the Milesian Delphinion (Milet. iii. 2. 33c). B. Haussoulier returns to the building-records of the great temple at Didyma, using the Milesian list of eponymi to determine their relative and absolute chronology. Of the five documents comprised in the first group, which dates from the close of the third century B.C., three are here published for the first time, 134 while a second group is brought into chronological order and provisionally dated in 175/4 B.C. and the adjacent years; 135 this article includes the first publication of an honorary inscription for the prophet Antophon (p. 38), and an appendix on the family of the prophet Antenor (p. 55 ff.) contains two epitaphs previously unpublished. Several inscriptions of Didyma are re-edited with considerable improvements by E. Premer in an article 136 on 'Zwei Hydrophoren.' An article 137 by R. Feist and others on records of legal proceedings in the Ptolemaic period deals mainly with papyri, but has also a brief discussion (p. 359 f.) of the dossier from Cnidus relating to the case of Diagoras' sons (Dittenb. Syll. 3 953).

124 Klio, xvi. 203 ff.
125 Philol. lxxv. 473 ff.
126 Rhodes, Capitale du Dodécanèse, Paris.
See Rg. 85.
128 Rev. Philol. xlv. 72 ff.
129 Mem. Scien. xlvii. 68 ff.
130 Num. Zeit. xlvi. 125 ff.
131 An Education Bill from Ancient Greece, Cambridge (Univ. Press), 1917.
133 Mnemoniques, xlvii. 71 ff.
135 Ibid. xlix. 31 ff.
137 Arch. Pap. vi. 348 ff.
A. Cuny has devoted one of his studies in Greco-oriental questions to the Lydian-Aramaic bilingual text from Sardis. 149 of O. A. Danielsson's discussion 150 of the Lydian inscriptions, mentioned in my last Bibliography, I cannot speak from first-hand knowledge. A brief reference is made to the Greek inscriptions found at Sardis in a summary 142 of the excavations carried on there from 1910 to 1914. Some of the texts discovered by Keil and von Premerstein in their recent journeys through Lydia have given rise to interesting discussions, notably that of the Philadelphia ἰερός νάος (Dittenh. Syll. 955) by O. Wenreich 151 and that by M. Rostovtseff 143 of a document referring to the τερπόμενον ἄνωθεν, which, taken in conjunction with the famous inscription of Pizos in Thrace (ibid. 880), shows that in the third century of our era recruiting had already become compulsory, resting on the village as a whole and carried out by the village magistrates in the same way as the payment of a tax. S. R[einsch] contributes a note 144 on W. H. Buckler's treatment of the Lydian penitential inscriptions, and F. Hiller von Gaertringen points out 145 the πία φρασα by which the people of Nysa, by substituting Πομπαίος for Πομπαίος in Dittenh. Syll. 741, avoided giving offence to the Romans only by sacrificing the sense of the whole passage.

From Lydia we pass to Caria. A relief of the Roman period from Tralles, bearing a previously unpublished inscription, is described in B. Schroeder's account 146 of the accessions made since 1903 to German collections. W. H. Buckler has re-examined and restored 148 with characteristic thoroughness and marked success a group of legal documents from Mylasa and Olympos, showing how the landed investments of the Carian temples were administered about 76 B.C. and deriving some fresh information regarding legal rules and customs. The well-known inscription of Maussolus from the same city (Dittenh. Syll. 167) has been dealt with 150 by P. Cloché in connexion with his discussion of Greco-Egyptian relations from 405 to 342 B.C. Continuing his 'Studies in Hellenistic History,' M. Holleaux has given us an attractive new restoration 153 of the decree of Bargylia in honour of Poseidonus, which has a peculiar interest on account of its reference to the war of Aristonicus. Fifty-six texts from the temple of Hecate at Lagina, copied by J. Chamonard, have been published 152 with a careful commentary by J. Hatzfeld: most of them are honorary inscriptions, dedications and lists of sacred officials and several of them are of considerable interest, particularly the decree relating how with divine aid the δήμος was saved from its perils and became free and autonomous (No. 1; cf. 4), and the addendum (πρός γραμμα) to the general regulations of the temple relative to the maintenance of the woodland attached to it (No. 11).

151 Arch. Anz. xxxiv. 119. 152 B.S.A. xxi. 100 ff.
153 B.C.H. xiv. 70 ff.
W. Kubitschek has subjected to a careful re-examination the inscription on the great granary of Andriacae, the port of Myra in Lycia, dated in A.D. 389-392 by the name of the prefect Flavius Eutolmius Tattianus, to whom C.I.G. 4693 also refers, and E. Ritterling has attempted a more exact dating than has hitherto proved possible of the earlier documents of the dossier forming the Opraenae inscription. Under the title A noble Anatolian Family of the Fourth Century, W. M. Ramsay has investigated two inscriptions of about A.D. 340-380, both apparently from a large family mausoleum, one forming the epitaph of C. Calpurnius Caelius Macedo, orator, philosopher and doctor, a member of the curia of Antioch in Pisidia, the other the metrical epitaph of his son. The same scholar has also published the result of a fuller examination of the dedications discovered at the sanctuary of Colonia Caesarea and first published in this Journal (xxxii, 111 ff.), together with an account of the sanctuary itself and of the period, occasion and dedicators of the inscriptions, the religious principles they reveal, the meaning of the oft-discussed term τευμορεία, and the nature of the τευμαρια to which it refers. A. Rosenberg points out the special significance of a dedication to the emperor Galienus found at Adanda, south-east of Selinus-Trajanopolis in Cilicia (Mon. Ant. xxiii. 168), which adds Cilicia to the provinces which under Galienus were governed not by a senator but by a knight. G. de Jerphanion has collected ten epitaphs in Cappadocia, and a votive inscription, eighteen epitaphs and a fragment in Pontus. I have not been able to examine A. P. M. Meuwese’s De reum gestarum divi Augusti versione graeco, an addition to the already copious literature dealing with the Monumentum Ancyranum.

Outlying Regions.—A votive inscription of the Imperial period has been discovered at Brestovizza in north-eastern Italy, in a cavern on the Carse. E. Espérandieu has republished an inscribed altar from Lodi Vecchio, now preserved in the Milan Museum. F. Cimont and L. Canet discuss a text from the Mithraeum in the basement of the Thermæ of Caracalla, showing the substitution of Mithras for Sarapis and pointing out how in the syncretism of the Imperial period the various gods assimilated to the Sun could replace each other and had become interchangeable in value (p. 317). Valuable light has been thrown on the life and thought and organisation of the Jewish community at Rome by the discovery and investigation of two extensive Jewish burrying-places. The inscriptions of the Jewish catacomb on the Monte Verde, many of which were published by Schneider-Graziosi in the Nuovo Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana, xxi. 13 ff. (cf. xxi. 193, xxii. 31), have been carefully edited with full commentary and ample illustrations by N. Müller and N. A. Bees: of the 185 texts comprised in this volume, 128 are Greek, five Greek

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119 ib. Mon. lxxiii. 33 ff.
120 ib. Rev. xxxiii. 1 ff.
121 J.R.S. viii. 107 ff.
123 Millanger Beihrenth, xii. 1 ff.
and Latin, and three Latin written in Greek characters, while the remainder are Latin or Hebrew. Nineteen similar epitaphs from the same cemetery are added by R. Farnoux 144 and several of them are annotated by C. Clermont-Ganneau.145 Another Jewish catacomb has been found on the Via Nomentana, and, though as yet incompletely excavated, has yielded 146 fifty-two inscriptions, of which forty-eight are Greek and one bilingual. The other discoveries made at Rome consist of a commemorative inscription 147 and two fragments, probably of epitaphs.148 The three fragments 149 unearthed at Ostia are of negligible value, but the famous relief of Archelaos of Priene, found at Bovillae and now in the British Museum, 150 has been discussed afresh at some length by J. Sieveking.151 D. Comparetti offers a new and complete reading 172 of a leaden dekario from Cumae, and the archaic inscriptions from the same site form the subject of an article 157 by F. Rubezio which I have been unable to consult. A funeral stele from Sardinia, with a fragmentary inscription, 174 is lodged in the Archaeological Museum at Milan.

B. Pace publishes 175 eleven Rhodian amphora-handles, five clay stamps, an inscribed vase and a fragmentary epitaph from Lilybaeum on the west coast of Sicily. D. Comparetti discusses 176 three dekarios from Selinus, the earliest of which, inscribed on both sides of a leaden disc found at the temple of Demeter Malophous, is earlier than 450 B.C., and P. Ors's account 177 of the investigations conducted by himself at Syracuse contain eleven epigraphical finds, one of which, a fragment written bonotrophon, may well be the earliest extant inscription from Syracuse.

The majority of the Greek texts found in Africa—at Cherchell, 178 Lambaesis, 179 Gigthos 180 and Thuburnica 181—call for no detailed notice. C. Bruston has shown by an examination of two magical stones of Carthage 182 and Sousse 183 that inscriptions apparently meaningless may become intelligible if transliterated into Hebrew. The excavations at Carthage have produced 184 a large number of inscribed gems, seals, leaden bullae, gnostic stones, amphora-handles and similar objects as well as fragments of inscriptions on stone. Of greater interest are the finds 185 made in the Cyrenes, which I know only at second hand. 186 These include two copies of a bilingual inscription, dated

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144 Notizie, 1919, 61 ff.
145 Rev. Arch. xii (1920), 265 ff.
146 Notizie, 1920, 143 ff.
147 Ibid. 231.
149 Mon. Ant. xxvi. 368; Notizie, 1920, 46.
147 R. M. Isocr. 1098.
137 Rom. Mitt. xxxii. 74 ff.
137 Rendiconti dei Lincei, xxvii. 302 ff.
137 Rev. indus-greco-lat. iii. 71 ff.
137 Rev. Arch. iii. (1916), 27 f.
137 Notizie, 1919, 30 ff.
137 Rendiconti dei Lincei, xxvii. 193 ff.
119 Ibid. ccxiv.
110 Mélanges, xxxiv. 284 ff.
112 Rev. Arch. xii. (1920), 47 ff.
113 Ibid. x. (1919), 28 ff.
115 Notissario Arched. ii., 1, 2.
A.D. 71, marking the frontier between the territory of Cyrene and that of Rome, a dedication by a proconsul of Crete and Cyrene in A.D. 101, a dedication to Hadrian and Antinous set up in A.D. 138 by the city of Cyrene, and the record of the refounding of Claudopolis by the Emperor Claudius Gothicus ἐπί τοῦ ἀναστάλα τῆς πολιτείας Μαρμανίαν ἱερού ὕλημα. Two previously published Cyrenaean texts have been emended by W. Vollgraff. For the inscriptions discovered in Egypt and Nubia I may once again refer to my Bibliographies in the Journal of Egyptian Archaeology.

The epigraphical chapter of Jauzen and Savigne's account of their mission to Arabia contains eighteen Greek inscriptions, including a Graeco-Nabataean bilingual dedication, of which the great majority are commemorative graffiti. F. Vollbach has published an inscribed amulet of unknown provenance in Palestine. F. M. Abel has collected twenty-two texts, for the most part epitaphs dating from the sixth or early seventh century, from El 'Aoudjeh and other sites in the Negeb; F. C. Burkitt has edited seven inscriptions of Beersheba, found by D. P. Blair and transported to Jerusalem, of which four are epitaphs and one a new portion of the interesting Byzantine edict of which a number of fragments have previously come to light; F. M. Abel has discussed several of these, and A. Alt has published with a valuable commentary, especially on the chronological problem, a sixth-century gravestone from the same place. A brief epitaph from Maruma, a fragmentary mosaic-inscription from a Byzantine chapel at Beit el Djemal, a group of inscriptions, mainly sepulchral, from Caesarea and a votive text from Samach on the Lakes of Gennesaret deserve mention but do not call for comment. The use of the term ποταμίος in Syrian inscriptions and in the New Testament to denote a Wirtschaftsgebäude is discussed by E. Meyer and by A. Alt. Among the publications relating to Syria the foremost place is taken by F. Cumont's valuable volume entitled Études Syriennes, which embodies the archaeological and geographical results of a journey undertaken in the spring of 1907 in northern Syria and of investigations carried on in the following years thanks to the documents brought back from these regions, hitherto but little explored. It contains eight essays, four of them not previously published, and the remainder recast or enlarged, a detailed itinerary and an account of certain Greek MSS. of Syria. The inscriptions, forty-eight in number, are collected in a separate section (p. 317 ff.), including a few which have already been imperfectly published: most of them are epitaphs, but among the remainder are several dedications (Nos. 7, 8, 43, 45).
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a milestone (No. 46) and the boundary stone of a place of asylum (No. 38). E. Schweyzer has pointed out that the inscription from Nebi Abel, between Damascus and Heliopolis, published by him in Rh. Mus. lxvii. 634, is a copy of, but not identical with, Dittenh. O.G.I. 606, and was previously edited by M. R. Savignac. The results, so far as they here concern us, of the French archaeological mission to Sidon in 1914 and of the epigraphical mission which visited Palmyra in July of the same year, are of moderate value: J. B. Chabot, a member of the latter mission, has suggested a new interpretation of a previously known text from Palmyra dated A.D. 327. J. Waldis has examined the language and style of the inscription set up by King Antiochus I of Commagene on the summit of the Nemrud Dagh (Dittenh. O.G.I. 383 ff.) in a careful dissertation somewhat disproportionate in length to the interest of the subject with which it deals.

Political events in southern Russia have temporarily suspended the archaeological exploration of that district, whose results from 1912 to 1917 have been interestingly summarised by M. Rostovtseff, who has also discussed, in connexion with the 'Lundian Chronicle,' several inscriptions of Chersonesus, notably those in honour of the historian Syruscus (S.G.D.I. 3086) and of the general Diophantus (Dittenh. Syll. 709); otherwise there is nothing to report save the publication of an inscribed einochoe bearing the names Φαίδων, Διός, Παῖς, etc. Remarkably rich are the epigraphical spoils won in the excavation of Histria in Roumania during 1914 and 1915 and published by B. Pârvan in a lengthy memoir, to which are appended a useful summary in French and fourteen excellent plates. They number sixty-four texts, of which eighteen are Latin and the remainder Greek or bilingual, and include honorary inscriptions for Hadrian (No. 20), Antoninus Pius (21), Septimius Severus (31), Caracalla (32), etc., but the most interesting is the dossier of letters (15, 16) from various Roman governors about A.D. 50 confirming to Histria the enjoyment of fishing and other rights. The Greek inscriptions found at Ulmetum and Tomis are late and of slight interest.

K. Lehmann has published two inscriptions found at Constantinople, one a Christian epitaph, the other a list, perhaps ephebic, dating from late Hellenistic times and containing 237 names, each accompanied by a patronymic: there is reason to believe that this did not originally belong to Byzantium, and a probable conjecture of the editor assigns it to Cyzicus. Thrace has not been especially productive of new inscriptions recently. M. Olsen, commenting on the inscribed ring found at Ezerovo, near Philippopolis, has sug-

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201 Rh. Mus. lxxii. 436.
203 Pdd.-Vereins. xxxvi. 220.
204 Syria. i. 33, 49 ff., 108, 188 ff., 225:
205 cf. 230 f.
206 Rec. Bibl. xxix. 358.
207 C. R. Acad. Inscr. 1919, 376.
208 Sprache u. Stil d. grossen griech.
210 Klio, xvi. 203 ff.
211 Rev. Arch. v. (1917), 313 f.
212 Arch. Acad. Romanae, ii. xxxviii. (1915-16), Mem. Soc. Istorică, 533 ff. Cl.
213 Ibid. xxxvii. 267, 275 f., 301 f.
214 Ibid. xxxvii. 419 f., 446.
215 Arch. Mus. xiii. 185 ff.
gested 217 that the word ἔρατα at the close means 'gold': G. Seure, however, thinks 218 that the ring-inscription is not a Thracian text but a votive to a Thracian divinity containing three names, each with patronymic and ethnic, and holds that in all likelihood we shall never know the Thracian language, which, 'only spoken and never written, is dead beyond the possibility of resurrection.' The same scholar argues 219 for a Thracian origin of the name Τελεσφόρος, which he would derive from the form Τελεσφώρος, and has also devoted a further article 220 to the publication and interpretation of eighteen 'unpublished or little-known' inscriptions, of which fourteen are Greek and the rest Latin. R. Fillow describes 221 a silver omphalos-saucer from Radulvica in north-western Bulgaria with the inscription Κότνος Ἐγγυητάν, interpreting the latter word as the name of an otherwise unknown Thracian tribe. We have only to note further a votive relief to Zeus Ὀλβος from Gallipoli, 222 a valuable correction and discussion by M. Rostovtseff 223 of a phrase in the famous inscription of Pizos (Dittenh. Syll. 3 880) and several minor discoveries in Bulgaria collected by G. Kazarow. 224

Macedonia has produced a disappointingly small number of inscriptions when the development and exploration of the country during the war are borne in mind. Of new Greek inscriptions the present writer has published 225 eighteen, of which two-thirds are epitaphs; the most interesting are the dedication of a ναός to Horus-Harpocrates (No. 14) and an inscription in honour of Μ' Salarius Sabinus, a prominent and public-spirited citizen of Lete in the early part of the second century of our era (No. 7). G. Oikonomos, editing 226 an inscription of Salonica bearing the name of Justinian, infers that this Emperor visited Thessalonica and traces the connexion between him and St. Demetrius, in whose church the inscription came to light. In the course of a valuable article 227 on Upper Macedonia which, though published in 1914, only came into my hands towards the close of 1920, N. G. Pappadakis published forty inscriptions, almost all of them for the first time, from Eordaeas, Lyncestis, Orestis, Western Elimea, Macedonian Illyria and Almopia, including an interesting dedication by a λαθροβύξος to Artemis Σελεύκους (No. 54). The same writer devoted a long appendix (p. 462 ff.) to a discussion of the important decree of the [Lapinae] published in J.H.S. xxxiii. 337 ff. In an article on the Macedonian provincial era I have attempted 228 to restate and confirm the arguments for dating that era from 148 rather than from 146 B.C. W. Vollgraff proposed 229 a restoration of an Amphipolitan text in which he subsequently found 230 that he had been forestalled by P. Perdrizet. The journey of C. Praschniker and A. Schober in Albania and Montenegro 231 resulted in the dis-

217 Indog. Forsch. xxxviii. 166 ff.
218 Rec. Ét. Anc. xxii. 1 ff.
220 Rec. Arch. x (1919), 333 ff.
221 Röm. Mit. xxxii. 53.
222 Arch. Anz. xxxiv. 111.
225 B.S.A. xxiii. 67 ff.
226 Arch. Eph. 1918. 41 ff.
227 Ἀθηναι, xxv. 430 ff.
228 B.S.A. xxii. 206 ff.
229 Mavrotenovo, xlvii. 72.
230 Ibid. 211.
covery of six texts from Durazzo (Dyrrhachium), Fieri and Apollonia. C. Clermont-Ganneau has put forward a solution of a puzzling epitaph of Salona in Dalmatia.

At Vidy in Canton Vaud, Switzerland, a Greek graffito has been unearthed, scratched on a fragment of wall-plaster, containing part of the versus reciprocus recorded by Planudes (vi. 13) and recurring at Pompeii (C.I.L. iv. 2400 a). From France we may note an epitaph from Marseilles, C. Jullian's reminder of an important votive discovered thirty years ago at Agle, and the publication of a fragment from the Musée Lapidaire at Arles, together with the re-editing of an epitaph copied by the Chevalier de Gaillard in 1767.

Marcus N. Tod.

221 C. R. Acad. Inscr. 1918, 398 ff.
222 Rev. Ét. Anc. xxix. 273.
224 Rev. Ét. Anc. xxii. 56.
225 Ibid. 184 ff., No. 18.
226 Ibid. 182 ff., No. 19.
CLEOSTRATUS REDIIVUS

The question when, and by whom, our constellations were invented, will probably never lose its fascination, because it is never likely to find its solution. For those who have allowed themselves to be brought under its spell the name of Cleostratus has a special interest. If we could by any means learn more about the man who is said to have been in some sort the deviser of our zodiac, we might obtain a light upon the history of the celestial globe which at present seems likely to be forever withheld, unless some Egyptian papyrus should reveal some part of the lost History of Astronomy by Eudemus.

By his careful collection—in the December number of this Journal, 1919—of all the notices that we have of Cleostratus, Dr. W. K. Fotheringham therefore deserves a gratitude which I am the more anxious to express because I cannot at all agree with the theory of Babylonian influence which he deduces from them, nor with the interpretation of Greek and Latin passages which he puts forward in support of that theory. The latter point I could willingly leave to the criticism of scholars abler than myself, whom I cannot think likely to be convinced by Dr. Fotheringham that the passages bear the sense which he has endeavored to extract from them. But the former point is of more importance. To Babylonian astronomy, as to Egyptian, the Greeks owed—and acknowledged—a debt. But that this debt was, in the case of the Babylonians, much greater than they acknowledged, so great indeed that it has only been hidden from posterity by a conspiracy of silence lasting through the many centuries of Hellenic culture, does not seem to me probable, and is certainly not proved by any evidence supplied in Dr. Fotheringham's article. It is only with a part of that article that I have space here to deal, but it is with the part in which the author's assertions seem to be most strongly supported by what he considers to be evidence.

Cleostratus flourished at Tenedos, and—if Dr. Fotheringham is right, as I think he is—about 520 B.C. As to the place, Dr. Fotheringham reminds us of a tradition that Tenedos was where Thales died. He may have founded a school there of which Cleostratus, twenty years later, was the chief representative. As to the time, Dr. Fotheringham might have noticed that it is just that in which the original of the famous astronomical tablet, dated in the seventh year of Cambyses, 523-522 B.C., was compiled. That tablet shows that not all the astronomical knowledge displayed by the Babylonians of Seleucid times was possessed by the Babylonians of the sixth century, whom we are to suppose the teachers of Thales and Cleostratus.1

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What else Dr. Fotheringham has been able to tell us of Cleostratus may be summed up under four heads.

1. He wrote an astronomical poem. "As only two lines of it, not containing a complete sentence, have come down to us, it affords little material for discussion. The missing words unfortunately are just those which might speak for—or against—Dr. Fotheringham's views.

2. He made observations at Tenedos with a view to determining the exact time of a solstice, probably the winter solstice, as a mountain south-east of Tenedos is said to have been used for the purpose. Rude and imperfect as such observations doubtless were, they have for us a significance which Dr. Fotheringham does not seem to have perceived. For they prove that Greek astronomers of that day, so far from confining themselves, in Dr. Fotheringham's words, to "exercises in the art of combining days, months, and years, of which the relative mean durations had been learned from Babylon," were actually endeavouring to ascertain these durations for themselves. Owing doubtless to these endeavours, the Greeks, at least as early as the time of Meton and Euctemon, in the next century after Cleostratus, had discovered the inequality of the sun's motion, which seems never to have been recognised either by Egyptians or, of old, by Babylonians, who ignore it sometimes even in the second century B.C."

3. He is said, on the authority of Censorinus, to have been the real inventor of the "octaeteris," the famous lunisolar cycle, on which I hope to say a few words later on.

4. He is said, on the authority of Hyginus, to have introduced the asterism of the Kids into the celestial sphere, and on the authority of Pliny—at least as generally understood—to have been practically the inventor of our zodiacal constellations. It is with this latter statement that the most remarkable part of Dr. Fotheringham's article is concerned. The passage in Pliny runs as follows:

"Circulumque coeli ratio in terrae mentione aptius dicetur, quando ad eam tota pertinet, signieleri modo inventoribus non illatis. Obliquitatem ejus intellexisse, hoc est rerum foret aperisse, Anaximander Milesius traditur primus Olympiade quinquagesima octava, signa deinde in eo Cleostratus, et prima Ariöta et Sagittarii, sphaeram isam ante multo Atlas."

In the first sentence there is no difficulty. Though Pliny will not discuss the circles on the celestial globe until he comes to speak of the terrestrial globe, he must make mention at once of the framers of the zodiac, whom evidently he believed to be Greeks. The second sentence is not so easy, I think only because, in Boll's words, "dasVerbumbist Plinius in gewohnter Kürze verschieben." "Intellexisse" is made to govern "obliquitatem," "signa," "prima," and "sphaeram," but no translator can find any one word for it that will give a satisfactory rendering in every case. We may, with Dr. Fotheringham, make Anaximander "recognise" the obliquity of the ecliptic. But what

* Cp. Kugler
* Sphaera, p. 102.
did Cleostratus do? The constellations in the zodiac had to be made before they were recognised, they are not, like the obliquity, wholly Nature’s work. He must have in some sense invented them, and why should he invent Aries and Sagittarius first? Ought we, as has been suggested, to read “primum,” implying that—as no doubt was the case—some of the constellations were there before Cleostratus?

Personally I do not think that any change is required, and indeed it seems to me that what Pliny meant to say is plain enough. “Signifer” is, of course, a common Latin equivalent for “zodiac” (signifer in orbe qui Graece ζωδιακής dicitur 4), and the “signa” which Cleostratus made out in the zodiacal belt are naturally the signs of the zodiac. But in this phrase there is an unfortunate ambiguity, which it will be as well to point out here, as its recognition will become important later on. By the “signs of the zodiac” we may mean either the zodiacal constellations, καταπετασμένα ζώδια, 5 twelve groups of stars very unequal in extent, through which the sun passes in his annual journey, or the ecliptic divisions, ἐδεκαεπτάμερα, twelve exactly equal spaces of 30 degrees each, which in ancient times coincided roughly with the constellations whose names they bear, but owing to precession do so no longer. When we say that Regulus is the brightest star in Leo, or that the equinoctial point, which was once in Aries, is now in Pisces, we are speaking of constellations. When we say that the sun enters Aries at the equinox, or that Jupiter, being at the 10th degree of Taurus, is in opposition to the sun, which is at the 10th degree of Scorpio, we are speaking of ecliptic divisions. The division into degrees—30 to each sign—is, of course, inapplicable to constellations, which are unequal in extent and have no definitely marked beginning or ending.

That by the “signa” which Cleostratus devised in the zodiacal belt Pliny meant constellations no one will doubt. The sense of the passage seems then to be simply this: “Anaximander made out the obliquity of the zodiacal belt, Cleostratus devised the constellations therein, and first those of the Ram and the Archer.” Why these should have come first I will endeavour to explain later. But for the moment it will be enough to contend that “prima” is to be understood as qualifying “signa,” supplied, as Dr. Fotheringham says, “from the first half of the clause,” but having the same meaning, though Dr. Fotheringham thinks otherwise, in the second half as it had in the first.

Dr. Fotheringham’s view is far more original. He maintains that the noun to be understood with “prima” is indeed “signa,” but that it bears an entirely different sense from that which it bore when it occurred half-a-dozen words before. This is what he says:

“Prima” should either qualify “signa” supplied from the first half of the clause, or should mean first things or first points without a word understood.

But surely if it means “first points,” a word is understood, namely, the word “signa.” And, indeed, Dr. Fotheringham goes on: “The clause would then mean “Afterwards Cleostratus is said to have recognised the signs in it,”
CLEOSTRATUS REDIVIVUS 73

i.e. in the zodiac, and the first points or first signs of Aries and Sagittarius." The fact that no commentator has yet taken the passage in this literal way is, doubtless, due to their failure to find a sense for it.

Surely another reason may be that no commentator has yet thought even Pliny capable of making 'signum' in the same sentence mean a sign of the zodiac and also a point in a sign of the zodiac, that is to say, a part of itself. However, Dr. Fotheringham goes on:

'No commentator has grasped that "prima signa" was a technical term, being the Latin translation of πρῶτα σημεία, which occurs in the passage from the Rheus of Euripides and the scholium upon it, which make up my ninth excerpt. I take it, then, that what Pliny asserts is that Cleostatus is said to have recognised the signs in the zodiac and the πρῶτα σημεία of Aries and Sagittarius.' To explain what he takes to be the meaning of these words Dr. Fotheringham proceeds to lay violent hands upon a well-known passage, which many of us have admired, and ventured to think we understood, without suspecting the presence of a 'technical term' suggesting Babylonian influence any more than one suspects a cryptogram when reading Humned.

It will be remembered that the lines in question are put by the poet into the mouths of a company of soldiers who have been keeping watch by night beside the walls of Troy, and who complain that no one comes to relieve them through their time is long up, as they prove by the changes visible in the heavens since they came on duty. Though we are concerned here only with a few lines, it will be well to quote the whole, that the reader may see how ill the passage sustains the character of the astronomical treatise for which Dr. Fotheringham seems to take it:

Τίνος δι' φιλακά τέθησα ημῶν ἐμαίσει τὰν ἔμαν; πρῶτά δέ σημεία καὶ ἑπτάποροι Πλειάδεσι αἰθήματ' ἔσεκα δ' Ἀιετός οὐρανοῦ ποτάσαι. Εἴρησε, τε μέλλετε; κοιτάς ἐγραφέσθη πρὸς φιλακάι. οὐ λέωςετε μηνάδος ἄγαλαν; ὠς ὃς τῆς πέλας, ὀὼς γιγνεται καὶ της προδρόμων δέε μι' ἐστιν ἀστήρ.

And now the scholium, which shows that there were dull people in antiquity as well as poets:

Κρατήρ ψυχινής φωτις τῶν Εὔριπίδης τῆς περὶ τὰ μετέωρα θεωρᾶν διὰ τὸ τοῦ εἶτε ὅτε τῶν Ρήσων ἑδίδασεν μὴ γὰρ δύναται Πλειάδων καταδιωκμένων τοῦκερας γυριστην ὑπὸ τῆς προδρομῆς, ἵν᾽ ὅτε τοῦτο μέτεωρόν, ὅσα ἄρθρα ἔχει τάςκοις τοῦτος αἰγόκερος ὑδροχοῦς ἰχθύος κροὺς. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὁ
As so much could be said about the passage, one must suppose that it is not so easy as at first sight appears, and one cannot but admire the courage with which Dr. Fotheringham advances to the attack, calling trigonometry to his aid, and armed with calculations for the age of Euripides and the latitude, not only of Athens, but of Troy itself. The soldiers, it will be seen, perceive by the movement of the stars that the hour of their relief is come and past, the glimmer of the rising moon shows them that the night is nearly over, the appearance of a herald star announces the dawn. Dr. Fotheringham here says sadly that after all his toil he is 'unable to identify ... the προδρόμων αστήρ,' I do not see that there need be more difficulty about it than about Milton's unnamed 'bright morning star, day's harbinger.' Whether the planet Venus actually was a morning star in the spring of the year in which Rhesus came to Troy, we shall, I am afraid, never know.

But it is with the mysterious πρώτα σημεία that we are here principally concerned. Did the poet intend to express himself indefinitely, or had the phrase some meaning as precise as the names of the Pleiades and the Eagle? Dr. Fotheringham unhesitatingly takes the latter view. But I am convinced that the former is right.

That the soldiers meant, as the scholiast says, to indicate the hour by the aid of stars rising, stars culminating, and stars setting, must have been clear, one would think, to every one, ancient or modern, who has read the passage, except Crates. The failure of this celebrated critic to perceive that αἰθέρια (eis) is opposed to δείκται makes one wonder how he gained so much reputation, but his astronomy is correct enough. It should, I think, be pointed out
that his little lecture on the zodiacal signs does not at all imply that he saw any reference to them in the word σημεῖα. It was usual for a Greek of his time to treat the ecliptic as the fundamental line, in relation to which the position of the other stars was defined. There is nothing to show that he did not think, as I do, that σημεῖα means merely 'stars' or 'constellations.'

But 'the Greek σημεῖα,' says Dr. Fotheringham, 'unlike the Latin 'signum,' is never a zodiacal or other constellation.' I am the less inclined to accept this dogma because, as will presently be shown, Dr. Fotheringham is himself an unbeliever; and I feel no doubt that πρῶτα σημεῖα here means simply the stars or constellations that were, as the Scholiast says, πρῶτα τῶν φυλακῶν, those that were up at first when the watch began. These are now sinking; the Eagle, which was then low, is now high in the sky, the Pleiades, which were then invisible, are now above the horizon. This, I think, is all that the poet meant, this clearly is all that the Scholiast understood him to mean, this surely is all that most modern readers have either supposed or desired him to mean. It may no doubt be possible, from the data supplied by the Pleiades and the Eagle, to find out what these setting stars were or should have been; but the poet himself did not care to inflict too much of this sort of thing on his readers, and his judgment was probably sound.

But let us examine the statement that σημεῖα 'is never a zodiacal or other constellation.'

In the first place, if it is true, it is surprising. Stars are constantly said by their appearances σημαίνειν or ἐπισημαίνειν, and σημεῖα would seem to be the natural Greek equivalent and original of the Latin 'signa,' which certainly does mean 'constellations.' In Latin, indeed, the original sense of the word seems to be entirely forgotten; when Horace, for instance, says that noct... diffundere signa parabat, he means no more than that the stars were coming out.

Secondly, even if it be true that σημεῖα is nowhere else used in the sense of 'constellation,' is that a conclusive reason for thinking that it cannot be so used here, by a poet, in a poem? When Shakespeare's bratswin says to the courtier: 'What care these roarers for the name of king?' are we wrong in supposing that by 'roarers' he means 'waves'? Would Dr. Fotheringham deny it on the ground that, while passages may indeed be found in which waves are said to roar, there is none other discoverable in which a wave is actually called a roarer? When Homer in a famous passage speaks of τά τεῖρες πάντα τά τ' οὐρανός ἐστεφάνωται, we know from the context that by τεῖρες he means 'constellation.' But it is not easy to find another passage in which the word has the same sense, and without the context it might be hard to answer Dr. Fotheringham if he were to argue that it must mean 'rainbows,' as indeed it does elsewhere.

But, thirdly, is it quite true that stars are never called σημεῖα unless it

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* Hor. Sat. i. 5, 10.
* Temp. i. 1.
* Mr. Massfield (Regnard the Fox, part II) calls hounds "roapers." One may say that this use of the word is unique.

* II. xviii. 485.
be so here? Euripides, who perhaps wrote the 
Rhesus, certainly wrote the 
Ion, in which (line 1157) we read, among other constellations, of Ταῦτα τη 
ναυτινος σαφεστατον σημειων. I do not for a moment maintain that the 
word is here merely, as in Latin, a synonym for ‘ constellations’; the Hyades 
are so called because their rising was an indication of rough weather to come. 
But the fact remains that a constellation is here called a σημειων, and why should 
not other constellations be called so too, particularly when it is on their office 
as ‘indicators’ of the changing hours that the speaker is dwelling? 
And lastly, the rarity of the word σημειων in this sense is easily explicable. 
Before Euripides older poetical usage had put a kindred word σημα in possession 
of the field. To Homer Sirius is a κακωσ σημα, and Aratus has the word over 
and over again. When he says that Ζευς τη γα σημαντικην αυρανη 
στοιχεια, what does he mean but constellations? His reason for using σημα rather than 
σημειων was no doubt chiefly because it was conventionally the right word 
in poetry. But by his time probably σημειων had become impossible, because 
it had already acquired the meaning of ‘point’ which it bears in mathematical 
and astronomical prose. When the Rhesus was written mathematical literature 
was yet scarce. 
I think, therefore, that προστα σημεια means merely ‘ first constellations,’ 
and that we are left to make out for ourselves, if we choose, what these con-
stellations were. Dr. Fotheringham, on the other hand, thinks that the words 
had for a Greek a meaning as definite as Πλειαδες or Άετας, and is pleased 
with a trigonometrical proof that the setting of the stars which he supposes to 
be meant, ‘ tallies exactly with the meridian passage of Altair, the central and 
brightest star of Aquila, if we make the computation either for Athens or 
for Troy, and for the middle of the fifth century B.C.’ This would be much 
more convincing did he not proceed, in the next paragraph, to lament the poet’s 
‘imperfect acquaintance with astronomy’ as shown by his placing the Eagle 
in mid-heaven when the Pleiades were seen in the east. ‘ Assuming that they 
(the Pleiades) could be seen when their central and brightest star Aleyone 
was at a true altitude of 2°, I find that Altair would have passed the meridian 
by an hour and three minutes if we compute for Troy, by an hour and six 
minutes if we compute for Athens.’ Moreover—a much more damming proof 
of inaccuracy—the stars which Dr. Fotheringham takes for προστα σημεια 
‘would have set long ago.’ Surely this argument is somewhat illogical. If 
Dr. Fotheringham had found Euripides accurate in treating of stars whose 
identity is not in doubt, he might fairly infer that he would be accurate in 
treating of the other stars whose identity is to be ascertained. But if the two 
statements which we can test are found to be inconsistent with each other, it 
is clear that a third hypothetical statement gains nothing in validity by being 
shown consistent with one of them. 
Here, however, the difficulty seems to me entirely of Dr. Fotheringham’s 
own creation. The soldiers, it may be observed, do not say that a particular 
star is on the meridian. They say that a group of stars is soaring in mid-
heaven, a very much vaguer statement, and, it may be added, very much
more in character. The exact position of the meridian is not easily ascertained—even by people who know what it means—out of doors in a strange country. And the soldiers, on Dr. Fotheringham's own showing, were not very far out.

Let us now, however, try to ascertain—it is very far from an easy task—what Dr. Fotheringham really does take πρῶτα σημεία to mean. 'An answer,' he says, 'is supplied in the ninth excerpt by Parmenicus.' One is surprised at this confidence in a critic whose comment is presently described by Dr. Fotheringham himself, with perfect justice, as 'ofiose' and as 'dragged in' only to display its author's learning. But in fact, as will soon appear, the answer supplied by Parmenicus, in its unedited form, satisfies Dr. Fotheringham little better than it does me. It is not upon what Parmenicus said, nor even upon what Dr. Fotheringham thinks he said, but upon what Dr. Fotheringham thinks he ought to have said, that we are to rely.

'Ο μὲν δὲν Παρμενίδεας πρῶτα σημεία φησί λέγεσθαι τὰς τοῦ σκορπίου πρῶτα μοῖραι διὰ τὸ ύπο τῶν ἀρχαίων αἰτίων αὐτῶν λέγεσθαι, καθ ὅτι ταῦτας ὦ Βοῦτας ἀμά ἄρχεται καταδείκται. It is almost entirely upon this short passage that Dr. Fotheringham grounds his strange theory that πρῶτα σημεία means, and was generally understood to mean, 'the first points,' or, rather, 'the first stars of Scorpio,' and of Scorpio only. He thinks, indeed, that the missing words in the passage from Cleostratus would corroborate him if we had got them. Unfortunately we have not got them. But surely the theory is such a strange one, the improbability that people ever said 'there are the Pleiades, there the Eagle, there the First Points' is so great that, even if the scholiast's words naturally bore that meaning, we should do wisely to inquire if they could not bear another.

And do they naturally bear that meaning? Would not the writer, if he had meant that, have written ταῦτας, not αὔτας, in the first clause, as he has written ταῦτας in the second? To me, the more often I look at the passage the plainer it seems to become that the meaning is simply this: Parmenicus thought that πρῶτα σημεία, 'first points,' was equivalent to πρῶται μοῖραι, 'first degrees,' because they were so called by the ancients—that is to say, the ancients said σημεία for μοῖραι—and he thought that the first degrees here mentioned were those of the sign Scorpio, because it is those degrees that are setting when the Pleiades rise and when Boötes begins to go down.

This interpretation, at any rate, agrees with history. Μοῖρα, though σημεῖον in this sense may still be found, is the usual word in Ptolemy for what we call a 'degree,' that is to say, the 30th part of an ecliptic sign, or the 360th of the whole circle. And it had acquired this sense by the time of Hipparchus. But its use at first was not so restricted. Aratus uses it more than once to denote a whole sign, that is to say, the 12th part of the ecliptic. All that Parmenicus meant to say was that 'first points' must signify 'first degrees of an ecliptic sign,' and that the sign here in question was Scorpio. The idea that 'first points' meant in a special sense 'first points of Scorpio,' never, I feel sure, even entered his head. This is indeed shown by his afterwards explaining the expression—we have here apparently his own words—

12 See especially Phaeon. 360, and Dioc. 8.
as πρῶτα σημεία τῆς ὄρας, which is equivalent to the Scholiast's πρῶτα τῆς φυλακῆς, 'the first of our appointed hour.'

Lest it should be thought that the remarks about Boötes made by Parmenicus, and by the Scholiast on Aratus next cited by Dr. Fotheringham, lend any support to the latter's theory, a little explanation is necessary. It is quite true that Parmenicus introduced the subject merely to display his knowledge, but it is also true that his remark, when properly understood, shows that to him πρῶτα σημεία meant 'first points of the Scorpion,' not always, as Dr. Fotheringham maintains, but only in this particular case.

A curious consequence of the popularity enjoyed by the poem of Aratus in antiquity is that, among the innumerable commentaries to which it gave birth, we have preserved to us the larger part of a work by the great astronomer Hipparchus, whom otherwise we should know, save for a few quotations in Ptolemy, only at second hand. It contains a lively polemic, not indeed against Aratus, for whom, as a poet Hipparchus seems to have shared the general admiration, but against an Aratean commentator, one Attalus, who persisted in asking the second century B.C. to accept as accurate loose statements made by a poet of the early third century on the authority of an astronomer of the early fourth. One of these statements was this: 'The constellation of Boötes takes so long in setting that during the process no less than four zodiacal divisions, namely the Ram, the Bull, the Twins, and the Crab, have time to rise.' Hipparchus shows that the statement was exaggerated, and that in Central Greece Boötes did not begin to set until the whole of the Ram and a small part of the Bull had risen. But when Taurus begins to rise the opposite sign of Scorpio begins to set, and later in his work Hipparchus proves this too. The first star of Boötes sets along with the sixth degree of the sign Scorpio.  

This piece of knowledge only, and no secret about the primacy of the Scorpion, is what Parmenicus parades. And the passage quoted by Dr. Fotheringham from the Aratean scholia has no other meaning. 'When certain parts of the Whale are rising,' says the Scholiast, τότε δὴ καὶ ὁ Ἀρκτοφύλαξ ἀρχεῖαι μετὰ τοῦ πρῶτον ζῳδίου, τούτῳ τοῦ Σκορπίου, δύναν, ὄν ἐστὶ κατὰ διδυμῷ τῷ Ταύρῳ. There is no suggestion whatever that the Scorpion was styled τοῦ πρῶτον ζῳδίου por excellence. The writer means only that it was the first of the signs with which Boötes set, not the second, as it would have been if Aratus had been right, and the Ram instead of the Bull had been rising.

Parmenicus then, if I understand him aright, gives no support whatever to Dr. Fotheringham's theory, that πρῶτα σημεία was a 'technical term' for the first points of Scorpio. On the other hand, he does undoubtedly oppose the explanation which I have advocated, namely, that σημεία merely means stars or constellations, whether in the zodiac or out of it. Parmenicus certainly took σημεία to mean, not stars, but points or degrees of a zodiacal sign, that is to say, 'of the invisible ecliptic,' as Dr. Fotheringham puts it. But is it even conceivable that Parmenicus was right? The Rhesus belongs to the fifth century B.C., not the second, and it is a poem, not an astronomical treatise.

18 Hipparch. ii. 2 33–39.
Could a poet—and that poet perhaps Euripides—make the resentment of injured soldiers express itself in a 'technical term' implying their sense of the disappearance of invisible points in an invisible circle? It would be too much to expect of a chorus consisting of assistants in the Greenwich Observatory.

And it is too much for Dr. Fotheringham to believe. Suddenly discarding the ally whom he has so proudly paraded, he announces that 'we are not to take Parmeniscus too literally.' He and his contemporaries were doubtless in the habit of specifying the degrees of the invisible ecliptic that rose and set with different stars. But we may rest assured that Cleoeistratus did nothing of the kind, much less did Euripides or whoever wrote the Rhesus imagine that a Trojan guard measured the movements of the invisible ecliptic. The πρώτα σημεία are doubtless not the first degrees of Scorpio on the ecliptic, but the first stars of Scorpio to set.

With these remarks, down to the last clause, I warmly sympathise. But if they are sound, what becomes of the 'answer supplied by Parmeniscus' on which Dr. Fotheringham so confidently relied? It was simply wrong—and ridiculous. Indeed, it seems that Parmeniscus himself to Dr. Fotheringham, as to me, appears as a dull pedant, supplying an impossible interpretation to a passage in a tragic writer. He surely cannot also be a trustworthy historian recording a habit of the δικαίωμα, who said 'first degrees' when they meant first degrees of Scorpio and of no other sign. This piece of information is admittedly false. Dr. Fotheringham has no right to correct a statement, and then to use the corrected statement as evidence.

Especially since, as I shall proceed to show, this corrected statement, namely that πρώτα σημεία means 'first stars of Scorpio,' is even less credible than that it meant 'first degrees.' Dr. Fotheringham proceeds: 'The Greek σημεία is never a zodiacal or other constellation, but either a mathematical "point," such as the first degree of Scorpio, and the solstitial and equinoctial points on the ecliptic, or else an "indication," such as the rising or setting of a star or group of stars which might indicate the time of year or the time of night. It is clear that the word is here used in the latter sense, except that it is not the abstract setting of the star, but the concrete star setting which is called σημείο.'

This is a somewhat puzzling passage. We must remember that, if Parmeniscus be discredited, there is no reason whatever to suppose that the concrete star here said to be setting was necessarily in Scorpio. And if after all σημεία does mean 'concrete stars,' why deny that it can mean 'zodiacal or other constellations,' which is what most readers of the Rhesus have supposed it to mean? For the difference between setting stars and concrete stars setting is indeed so subtle that one page further on Dr. Fotheringham abandons the attempt to maintain it. Having decided that πρώτα σημεία, in spite of Parmeniscus, must mean, not degrees, but stars, he now adds in his favour a passage from the calendar in Geminus, where Euctemon is reported as saying that on a certain day τοῦ Σκορπίου οἱ πρῶτοι ἄστερες δύναμιν.

One might have supposed this passage to tell against, not for, Dr. Fotheringham. For why should Euctemon have been at the trouble to add τοῦ Σκο-
ρώτος, when on the theory πρώτος ἄστρον meant 'first stars of the Scorpion'! But Dr. Fotheringham ignores this little objection. 'Euclemon,' he says, 'was an ἀρχοντ and a contemporary of Euripides.' The adjective πρώτος applied as here to particular stars is, so far as I know, unique in the Greek calendars. Dr. Fotheringham will find it often enough in Hipparchus, who, in fact, takes us through the constellations, telling us in each case the πρώτος ἄστρον to rise and the πρώτος ἄστρον to set. Nor is there anything in the least surprising in its use by Euclemon. He and the other observers cited in the Calendar usually distinguish stars by their places in the figure, as 'the Scorpion's sting,' 'Orion's shoulder,' 'the Bull's horn.' But there are several stars in the Scorpion's tail going down much at the same time. Hipparchus, who aimed at a precision unknown to Euclemon's age, distinguishes ones as ἐπὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τῷ Κένταυρῳ ἄρμημανος, ἐκτος δὲ ἐν τῶν μετὰ τῶν ἐν τῷ Στριβελ. The early star-watchers did not write like that.

But if it were hard to believe that πρώτος ἄστρον could mean always 'the first degrees of the sign Scorpio measured on the ecliptic,' which is what Dr. Fotheringham thinks that Parmeniscus said, it is harder still to believe that it can have meant 'first stars of the constellation Scorpio,' which is what Dr. Fotheringham maintains that he ought to have said. For there is at any rate no doubt as to which the first degrees of an ecliptic sign are. The most westerly degrees rise first, culminate first, set first; they are always first, look at them as you will. But with the stars in a zodiacal constellation it is different. They are not strung out like beads along the ecliptic; they lie at varying distances from it, some to north, some to south. In our hemisphere a northerly star rises earlier and sets later than the corresponding point on the ecliptic, a southerly star rises later and sets sooner. It by no means follows that the first stars to rise will be also the first stars to set. The Scorpion's case is especially in point. Part of the tail stretches so far to the south that in England it never rises at all. In Greece the stars that set first were also the last to rise. By their technical term 'the first stars' the Greeks must have had to understand, not merely 'first stars of the Scorpion,' but 'first stars of the Scorpion to set.'

But if they really had this amazing expression, what can have induced them to adopt it? 'To this,' replies Dr. Fotheringham, 'there is a simple answer. If we arrange the different zodiacal constellations in the order in which they began their cosmical settings at Tenedos about 520 B.C., we shall find that Scorpio comes first after the vernal equinox. The vernal equinox was the starting-point of the Babylonian year and of the Babylonian zodiac. Cleosratus, as we shall see, derived his zodiac from Babylon, and therefore Scorpio took the first place among the cosmical settings.'

A simple answer indeed. Babylon! Only to those who have felt the full blessedness of the word 'Mesopotamia' can it appear either simple or satisfactory. Does Dr. Fotheringham really expect all these confident statements to be accepted without protest? The time-honoured belief that the Babylonian year began at the equinox had, one had thought, been hopelessly shattered by Kugler, who shows that it began with a spring month kept to its
place by observation, not of the equinox, but of star-risings. And was the vernal equinox the starting-point of the Babylonian zodiac? This can only mean that the Babylonians made the equinoctial point itself the first point of their first sign Ἀριων, as we make it the first point of our Aries. And that they did so has, of course, been assumed over and over again, generally by writers who had no idea that any other arrangement was possible. But it is only one of several arrangements adopted in antiquity, and it does not appear to have been the one favoured at Babylon, at any rate in Seleucid times. Further, even if the Babylonians had done what Dr. Fotheringham says they did, why should we assume without evidence that Cleostatus would have done so too? If he had, is it not likely that the Greeks in general would have followed his example from the first? But they did not. Dr. Fotheringham indeed asserts later on that Hipparchus began his series of signs with the actual spring equinox. Where is the evidence for this? It is true that the Aries of Hipparchus began at the equinoctial point, but it in no way follows that he regarded Aries as the first sign. In his only extant work he begins, not with Aries, but with Cancer—at the solstice instead of at the equinox. That he must have done so later, after he had begun to suspect precession, appears from that interesting chapter of the Almagest in which Ptolemy cites the alignments of stars which Hipparchus had made in order that his successors might see whether the stars outside the zodiacal belt were moving with those within it. Ptolemy, who himself puts Aries first, would not have started here with Cancer unless Hipparchus had done so. Again, the calendar in Gemmae begins with Cancer. So evidently did that of Meton. Dr. Fotheringham's conviction that Cleostatus must have begun with the equinox cannot be considered as evidence that he did. And if he did so, why should his very singular phraseology he adopted by other Greeks, who did not? Euripides, for instance, was an Athenian, and the Athenians began their year at Midsummer.

But let us come back at last to the passage in Pliny, to explain which Dr. Fotheringham's researches have been undertaken. We were to understand that 'prima (signa) was a translation of πρώτα σημεῖα, and πρώτα σημεῖα we have now learnt to interpret as 'the first stars of the Scorpion to set.' But on returning to Pliny we find, not 'prima Scorpii,' but 'prima Arietis et Sagittarii.' This is surprising, but it is more surprising still to find that Dr. Fotheringham, to whom we turn for explanation, has none to offer. At best he can suggest a reason for the presence of Aries, but he has 'sought in vain for any' that will account for the absence of Scorpio. The explanation, that his own theory is wrong, does not seem to have occurred to him. He inclines to the opinion that either Varro or Pliny has erroneously substituted Sagittarius for Scorpio.

I cannot think that this inclination will be shared by many, but it may well, before leaving this subject, to point out that even with Aries Dr. Fotheringham's explanation is not very happy. His argument is brief:

14 Kugler, Stornkhode, ii. 308, and Ergän- zuungen zum I and II. Buch, p. 2.
16 Almag. VII. 1.
"If then we have πρῶτα σημεία of Scorpio in respect of cosmical settings, is there any other series that we might expect? The morning setting would naturally be matched by the morning rising, and the zodiacal constellation which first began to rise heliacally after the vernal equinox was Aries. There were therefore two sets of πρῶτα σημεία, which elastic phrase might mean 'Scorpio setting' or 'Aries rising,' according to circumstances. But Dr. Fotheringham's expression 'first after' the vernal equinox is vague. What we want, or rather what he wants, is clearly some stars whose heliacal rising took place at the same time as the cosmical setting of the first stars in Scorpio.

Dr. Fotheringham himself has reminded us that Euctemon, as quoted in the Geminus Calendar, mentions the morning setting of τοῦ Σκορπίου στήρεται. But this setting is made to take place, not after, but two days before, the vernal equinox, as determined by Euctemon himself. To require exact agreement between observers of star-risings would be absurd. But Euctemon lived within a hundred years of Cleostatus, and some at least of his observations were made nearly in the latitude of Tenedos. We want, therefore, to find stars which rose heliacally at, or immediately after, the vernal equinox, and Dr. Fotheringham will hardly maintain that any stars of Aries were visible so soon. Especially as the most conspicuous of them, our a Arietis, was, as Hipparchus, Ptolemy, and Al Sufi alike testify, considerably less bright in antiquity than it is now.

Is there really no simpler explanation of the Pliny passage than that given by Dr. Fotheringham, which, as already observed, requires us to give 'signa' as understood a different meaning from 'signa' as expressed in the same sentence? Surely there is.

If Cleostatus made it his task to provide constellations for the zodiacal belt, the direction of which had been traced by Anaximander, we are not to suppose that throughout its whole course he could find none already awaiting him. The Scorpion with his Claws was probably familiar to men before Greek or even Babylonian astronomy arose; and indeed, the mere fact that the zodiacal constellations are conspicuously unequal in longitudinal extent proves that they cannot all have been called into existence at once by a creator whose object was to divide the zodiac into twelve equal parts. The reason why Cleostatus busied himself first with the Ram and the Archer is that there, and probably there only, he found vacant spaces. There are no parts of the zodiacal belt so empty of bright stars, or marked configurations of stars, as the regions of Aries and Sagittarius.

The constellation of Aries is easily recognised by two conspicuous stars, those marked α and β in our maps. Not only, however, is it certain that the brightest of them is brighter now than of old, but it must be noted that they are both so far to the north of the ecliptic as to be really not in the zodiacal belt at all, if we give to it its conventional breadth of twelve degrees. As a star sets cosmically when it goes down in the morning twilight just before the light is strong enough to extinguish it, a star which at the same time rises just soon enough to be seen is said to rise heliacally.  

17 A star sets cosmically when it goes down in the morning twilight just before the light is strong enough to extinguish it. A star which at the same time rises just soon enough to be seen is said to rise heliacally.

PtoL. Pha., p. 67 Heib.
Ptolemy's alteration of Hipparchus's figure shows, it must have required some ingenuity to bring these stars into the figured Ram. Of the stars actually in the zodiacal belt, and forming the bulk of the figure, Ptolemy marks only one as slightly exceeding the fourth magnitude, and only two others as equalling it.

This dimness of the zodiacal Aries is often remarked upon by the ancients. In the 'Catasterisms' we have the quaint explanation suggested that the Ram, the bearer of the golden fleece, had been skinned before it was taken up into the heavens. Aratus, too, has a story that, because the Ram itself was so dim, the Triangle was set in the sky to point out its place; and it is remarkable that Hipparchus in his comment confines himself to pointing out that the brightest stars in Aries are as bright as those in the Triangle. Nothing could show more plainly that a Aristie then was not, as it is now, a second-magnitude star.

At the western end of the Archer is a group of very noticeable stars, containing the bow and arrow. But these stars are confined to the western part of the figure—in the time of Cleostratus several of them were really in the sign of Scorpio—and, moreover, their natural connexion is with a larger group stretching far to the south, as may easily be seen in the south of Europe. In the eastern part of the constellation, where the horse-body of the centaur is now placed, there are scarcely any visible stars, and the brightest recorded by Ptolemy does not attain to the fourth magnitude. If Dr. Fotheringham's vague saying that 'Cleostratus ... derived his zodiac from Babylon' means that he copied his constellations from a Chaldean globe, let him reflect that in the Seleucid tablets none of our Sagittarius stars is used for comparison with the places of the moon and planets. So far as I know, the only star so used in Pa-bil-sag, which corresponds to our Archer, is one which the Greeks placed in the constellation of Ophiuchus.

It may be remembered that Parmenides describes Cleostratus as an ἀρχαῖος. Dr. Fotheringham, who does not scruple to write 'Scorpio' for 'Sagittarii' when it suits his purpose, is properly severe upon a German commentator who proposed here to write ἀστρολογιαν for ἀρχαῖον. The offence is more serious than might have been thought. 'I do not think,' he writes, 'that it has ever been noticed that of ἀρχαῖον in Hipparchus and Geminus when not qualifying a noun regularly means the early astronomers, beginning with Thales and descending as far as the third century B.C.' He is probably right: I should doubt whether Hipparchus and Geminus themselves, neither of whom even mentions Thales, ever noticed it. The ἀρχαῖον of whom they speak are people who lived before them and who were busied with the things of which they are speaking. Why the use of the same term by Parmenides should suggest 'that it had acquired something of a technical meaning,' I do not understand. Were a man to say that 'the ancients' made ivory statues, one would understand that he was speaking of ancient sculptors, but one would not conclude that to him 'an ancient' was a technical term for an ancient sculptor. But to Dr. Fotheringham the discovery is a great one. 'Had this fact been realised, chronologists would not with one consent have mistaken the astronomical calendars described in the eighth chapter of Geminus for successive official calendars of Athens.'
I should have thought that chronologists, not at all a harmonious race, had been very far from unanimity on this subject. But why should the discovery that ἀρχαῖος meant "ancient astronomer," even supposing it to be true, affect our theories about the Greek astronomical cycles? Apparently because Dr. Fotheringham does not consider a cycle to be a cycle unless it has been used by some one not an astronomer. Now Geminus merely says that these cycles were used by ἀρχαῖος: ἀρχαῖοι were only astronomers, not real people like archons, and these cycles are therefore to be considered as merely "astronomical conceits." Indeed Dr. Fotheringham seems even to deny that the later of them owed "their origin to defects in earlier systems proved by experience." "They were exercises in the art of combining days, months, and years, of which the relative mean durations had been learned in Babylon.

Such a view seems to me unintelligible. Leaving questions as to whether or when this, that or the other cycle was in use here, there or anywhere to scholars as learned as Dr. Fotheringham, I quite agree that attempts to trace the existence of an eight-year cycle before Cleostratus are not very successful. But when the question is as to the development of Greek astronomy, if we know that a particular form of calendar was even suggested, I cannot see what difference it makes whether Athens or any other state adopted it. Undoubtedly Geminus does mean us to understand that the defects revealed by experience in one cycle were corrected in the next. And surely the sixth-century cycle attributed to Cleostratus is less accurate than the fifth-century cycle attributed to Meton, and this again than the fourth-century cycle of Callippus. Moreover the "relative mean durations" of days, months, and years are not the same in all the cycles. Was it the better or the worse estimates that were learnt from Babylon, and is it conceivable that the ἀρχαῖοι, after amusing themselves with these "conceits" for two centuries, could not decide between the worse and the better more easily than they could in the beginning? The "octaeteris" itself, with all its elegance, fails through giving to the month a mean duration twenty minutes too short, which error, in the ninety-nine months contained in the period, amounts to a day and a half. It is difficult to suppose that Cleostratus would have put forth a scheme which he knew must require amendment almost as soon as it had been once tried; yet he must have known this if he had derived from Babylon even so accurate an estimate of the relative lengths of month and year as appears in the Metonic cycle.

I shall say little as to an argumentum ex silentio, by which Dr. Fotheringham (pp. 173 sqq.) strives to show that none of our zodiacal constellations can have been known in Greece before Cleostratus. Whatever the conclusion may be worth, the argument seems to me worthless, for what literature has come down to us which was likely to contain such evidence? But for the accident that Aratus wrote a famous poem, we perhaps could not prove that the bulk of our constellations were older than the third century B.C.

But there is a real argumentum ex silentio, the strength of which can only be appreciated by those who have read enough about Greek astronomy to have some idea not merely what was known about its history but what was not. To me the only true value of the passage from Parmenides lies in the evidence
it affords that in his time the poem of Cleostatus was still extant. Eudemus must surely have been acquainted with it. How comes it, if the borrowings from Babylon had been so recent and on such a scale as Dr. Fotheringham asserts, that neither Eudemus nor any one else has recorded them? Dr. Fotheringham must have felt this difficulty strongly, for to surmount it he propounds a theory which to me appears one of despair. He supposes, in fact, a deliberate conspiracy of silence. 'Of sixth-century Greece, with its mind open to the barbarian, later Greece was ashamed. Rarely an admission is to be found in Greek sources of anything in science or philosophy learned from the Chaldasans, the enemies in the golden age. What Thales learned abroad he was said to have learned from the Egyptians. Even Herodotus, who, as became an Asiatic Greek, still cherished in the fifth century n.c. an admiration for the civilisation of the East, is accused by Plutarch of being φιλοσόφωτος.'

A passage more misleading was surely never written. Dr. Fotheringham admits in a footnote that Herodotus does trace to Babylon 'the sun-dial, the gnomon, and the twelve hours of the day.' He omits, however, to add that Herodotus makes the remark 18 only to correct the impression he might have given that all scientific knowledge came to Greece from Egypt. Why should not Herodotus, who may have been born in the lifetime of Cleostatus, have mentioned other Babylonian gifts to Greece if he had known of them? As to Plutarch's accusations of philo-barbarism, who would not suppose from Dr. Fotheringham's words that Herodotus had been blamed for tracing Greek science to an Eastern origin? There is not a word of the sort in the whole essay, and the passage in which φιλοσόφωτος occurs refers to a case in which the historian compares his countrymen unfavourably, not with Orientals, but with Egyptians.

Space fails me for a discussion of Dr. Fotheringham's opinions about the eclipse of Thales, and the art of predicting eclipses in antiquity. I can only say that they appear to me as unsatisfactory as those which I have been examining, and which, with all respect for the learning and ingenuity of their propounder, I cannot but think fantastic and illusory.

In conclusion, I will say that, while Cleostatus may have been, as Dr. Fotheringham seems to suggest, one 'of Earth's wisest,' I cannot think that Dr. Fotheringham, to whom he is merely a Babylonian echo, has gone far to represent him in that light. It is greatly to be lamented that we do not know more of him, but if Dr. Fotheringham is right in supposing that his 'vates sacer' was Parmeniscus, that may help to explain it.

E. J. WEBB.

18 Herod. ii. 190.
A MINOAN BRONZE STATUETTE IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

[PLATE I.]

The bronze statuette reproduced for the first time on Pl. I. and Fig. 1 has for many years past formed part of the national collections. The earliest date to which it has so far been traced is 1885, when it was included in the category of "unclassified or suspect bronzes." Beyond 1885 it enjoys at present the happiness of having no history; but as in that year it bore no mark of registration, the inference may be drawn that it entered the Museum with the "old collections," perhaps a hundred or a hundred and fifty years ago. It remained in retirement until the early years of the present century, when attention was called to its affinities with the newly discovered art of prehistoric Crete; and the publication, in 1912, of the Tylissos praying figure (Fig. 2) supplied a parallel sufficiently close to establish beyond doubt that the British Museum bronze was a work of the same school and period.

The statuette represents a beardless man standing in the familiar attitude of adoration with the right hand raised to the forehead, palm upward and fingers clenched; the left hand hangs stiffly at the side, the forearm slightly in advance of the hip, and the hand tightly clenched with knuckles to the front. The feet and legs are closely pressed together and the whole pose is one of strained attention, which is emphasised by the Minoan mannerism of exaggerating the curve of the back. On the other hand there is none of the Minoan pinched-in waist or slimmness of figure; the waist is normal and the outlines suggest obesity. The statuette is heavily and solidly cast, apparently from a wax model; the metal appears to be almost pure copper. The surface for the most part is in wonderfully good preservation and shows well the naturalistic finish, particularly on the breast and arms; and the faintly incised lines which indicate details of costume are drawn with delicacy and precision. As in most Minoan bronzes, the technique of the casting has not proved equal to the artistic demands made upon it; the details of the face are blurred and at several points are lumps and excrescences of waste metal, which apparently there has been no attempt to remove. The more noticeable of these are the rough furrows under the chin and on the right shoulder; the curions lump on the left wrist, shaped like a pointed leaf, suggests the branch or spray held by votaries, but is probably only another flaw in the casting. The height of the statuette is 196 mm. (7 1/3 ins.), and the height over all, including the base, 226 mm. (8 1/2 ins.).

The figure stands on an oblong base about three millimetres in thickness.

1 Aeg. Tefa., 1912, Pl. XVII, p. 223; Hall.
2 On similar defects in other Minoan bronze, see Hall, Aegaeon Archaeology, p. 67.
in front of the left toe, the left half of the front is rectangularly cut back about 4 mm. Below the base is a rectangular plug about 2 cm. in length. The combination of plug and base common on Minoan bronzes, to give only the better known examples, it is found, on the Tylissos figure, on the Gournia statuette, and on a praying man from the Cave of Psychro. There can be no doubt that it is a deliberate feature to facilitate mounting in a base slab and that the plug does not represent merely the metal jet of the casting, as the Gournia excavators have suggested. The cut-away of the base-plate probably is likewise intended to provide a better grip for the mount. The Tylissos statuette has two such cut-backs at back and front; and in the Psychro bronzes as those figured on Teountas and Manatt, The Minoan Age, p. 161, Figs. 55, 56, where the base-plate is omitted and there is a plug under each separate foot.

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* Gournia, Pl. XI, B 21.
* To be published by Sir Arthur Evans in the forthcoming Palace of Minos. I am indebted to Sir A. Evans for the reference.
* Gournia, l.c. Compare also such
brass this is developed into a decorative feature and the whole front edge is
cut into a regular scollop pattern.

The costume is indicated with care and comprises high Cretan boots and
an elaborate combination of waist-band or belt and kilt. The boots, reaching
half-way up the calf, are of the type which has long been familiar from the
footgear of the soldier on the 'Chieftain' Vase from Hagia Triada 6 and the
Potsnà figurines,7 where the colouring has led Prof. J. L. Myres to suggest
that, like modern Cretan boots, they were made of white or pale buff-coloured
leather; the details, however, are more clearly indicated than on any pre-
viously known example. The sole is flat, and heel-less; the quarter-pieces
are cut with a triangular slope up to the ankles where a seam runs round the
entire leg, and on the outer side a smaller seam runs directly down from the
ankle-seam to the edge of the quarter-piece. On the front is a pointed toe-cap
with a raised seam on each side running back to the quarter-piece, and a
third seam running up the middle of the foot. Above the ankles, the boot is
in one piece.

Round the waist comes a thick band of strongly convex outline; on the
right half of the front of this are incised half a dozen lines sloping up to the
left, of varying length and roughly parallel—obviously a fold-over in the cloth.
At the back, a flat loop projects on the right above this band; on the left side
the surface is worn, but traces of a second loop are still visible. Below this
band comes a second and much narrower belt, marked off by incised lines;
the markedly concave profile of this second zone at once suggests that it is
the familiar Minoan metallic belt, to which presumably would be attached
the 'Libyan sheath' worn underneath the kilt. The presence of this sheath
in combination with the kilt is suggested also on the Tylosos and Leyden
statuettes; 8 but in the present instance this feature is so exaggerated as to
raise a doubt as to whether a 'gliedfutteral' is intended, or whether we have
not to deal with an actual case of ithyphallism.

Below the belt falls the kilt; at the back it assumes the form found on
the Tylosos and Psychro statuettes—rounded and reaching to just above
the knees; an incised line represents an ornamented border. On the left
thigh the kilt is cut away to expose almost the whole of the leg; then in the
front it falls almost to the feet in a long flap or apron; the left edge of this
is slightly sloped inwards, with a rounded edge at the bottom, and a faintly
incised line runs just within the edge. The right side of the flap falls straight;
and a raised band, with an incised line running down the middle, falls parallel
to the edge. This may be a band of raised ornament; the Psychro statuette,
which has a similar flap, shows furrowed lines down the right side; but it
seems rather to be an object distinct from the kilt, and the question may be
raised whether it does not represent a hanging tail, the combination of which
with the kilt is not infrequent.9

6 The footgear is best illustrated in M. M. M. M. M. R., Vol. IX, p. 305, Fl. IX.
9 E. g., on a seal impression from Hagia
Trondia, Mem. Ant. xiii, p. 43, Fl. 46; and
on a gem from Mycenae, Fortwanger, Ant.
Gemmen, iii, p. 44, Fig. 20.
The kilt is fastened on the right hip, both ends passing up under the belt; and at the junction hangs down a loose end with a heavily indented border. This appears to be the end of the rear part of the kilt. The end of the fore part may be the fold over the upper band round the waist; but it is not certain whether this upper band, above the belt, is to be regarded as the top of the kilt, or as a separate object. In favour of its being part of the kilt is the fact that the loops are attached to it, and similar loops are shown in the Rekhmara fresco (Fig. 3) clearly attached to the kilt, while against this view is the fact that in no other example does the kilt so far rise above the belt. If it is a separate piece of clothing, it would appear to be a folded waist-cloth, like the modern cummerbund; in shape it strongly recalls the girdle of the Berlin 'snake-charmer,' which appears to be a votive ceinture, fastened in front, and allied to the snake girdles of Knossos.

In the Rekhmara fresco we may trace the belt, the two loops and the kilt fastened on the right side with the end hanging down in front. The prolongation of this loose end into the rounded apron is seen on the Psychro bronze, which, save for the absence of the upper roll about the waist, presents an exact parallel to our bronze. In discussing the Psychro bronze, Sir Arthur Evans calls attention to various seal impressions which seem to show a similar rounded flap, and suggests that it is a ritual garb used in ceremonial processions, a conclusion which is supported by the hieratic attitude of the British Museum statuette. The seal impressions are all of M.M. III. date, and the Psychro bronze is also assigned to the same period. It seems probable that the apron is characteristic of that epoch, in which case the position of our bronze in Minoan chronology is fixed in the Third Middle Minoan period.

The head is disfigured at some points by blurred casting; the rough furrows beneath the chin are particularly noticeable. The ears are cast flat with no attempt at interior modelling; the eyes are deep sunk; the nose is slightly aquiline and finely modelled; and the lips appear parted in a smile. The top of the head is smooth as though clean-shaven, save for three ridges, of which the two at the side, beyond doubt, represent hair; they originate in a spiral curl over each temple and sweep back as a slightly raised line behind the ears to unite at the back of the neck in a flat plait or hair-slide, whence two thick snaky pigtails fall down the back. The third ridge is larger and in

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10 Reproduced from Bossert, Alt Kreto, Pl. CCCLVI.
13 J.H.S. xxii. p. 78, Fig. 5 (ritual procession with the double axe); cf. also ibid., Fig. 6 and Pl. VI. 7; Proc. Ant. xiii. p. 41, Fig. 33.
14 Hall, Aegean Archaeology, Pl. XIX.; see also Evans, B.S.A. ix. p. 83.
higher relief; it rises on the front of the head, immediately behind the raised hand; the end is broad and flat, in shape strongly suggestive of a snake's head; it then falls in serpentine curves behind the left ear into the hair knot, out of which the tip of a tail just emerges on the left side (Fig. 1). The interpretation of this third ridge is a matter of doubt. If it represents hair, we have three pigtails, as on the Gournia bronze; but the analogy is not convincing, for in the Gournia statuette all three locks are of equal thickness, and the middle one is the longest of the three; whereas in the British Museum bronze, the middle ridge is the shortest, and by its more pronounced relief is clearly differentiated from the side-locks. Supposing it not to represent hair, and eliminating it from the analysis of the coiffure, this will consist of two locks knotted behind and falling in two tails, an arrangement which is exactly paralleled by the hair-dress of the Tyllissos and Psychro bronzes. Comparison with these two closely allied examples suggests strongly that the arrangement of the hair in all three statuettes is intended to be identical, and that the middle lock on our bronze is not hair at all; and its resemblance to a snake has already been noted.

Interpreting the centre ridge to be a snake, or possibly an artificial representation of a snake, a new light is thrown upon the significance of the statuette, which now enters the numerous company of figures associated with the Minoan snake-cult. In the case of some of these doubt exists as to whether deity or votary is intended, but in the present instance there is no suggestion of divinity; a worshipper is represented and in this respect the statuette may be considered the masculine counterpart of the well-known Berlin bronze, formerly known as the 'Mourner.' Thiersch has denied any religious significance to this, seeing in it merely a snake-charmer and comparing it with the bull grappling. Caskey has called it a priestess performing magical rites with serpents in honour of the goddess. But on an almost identical statuette found at Hagia Triada, while the snakes are omitted, the posture of the right hand is repeated. Similarly the Psychro and Tyllissos bronzes reproduce the hieratic attitude and almost the costume of our bronze with the exception of the snake. Obviously no stress need be laid on the presence of the snake, which is merely a ritual attribute. Whether the bronzes display the snake or not, all alike represent the same class of worshipper, male and female, standing in stiff reverence before the shrine of the goddess.

F. N. Pryce.
THE GREEK OF CICERO.

It has occurred to me more than once that there was yet some work to be done on this topic, even after the meritorious and very accurate labours of Steele, the notes and indices of a series of editors, notably Ernesti, Orelli, and Tyrrell and Purser, and the dissertations of Bolzenthall, Font, and Laurand. Of these, the editors are concerned chiefly with establishing a correct text, and explaining the meanings of the words, which last task has for the most part been satisfactorily performed (see Tyrrell and Purser, passim, also Boot's excellent edition of the Letters to Atticus). Laurand mentions the matter only incidentally, and gives a list, not very reliable, of the words used in the rhetorical works; Font's chief interest is not lexicographical, but rather an attempt to answer the question why Cicero should ever use a Greek word at all when a Latin one was available. Bolzenthall I have not been able to consult, but gather from Font's synopsis of his work, pp. 3, 28 sq., that it is largely superseded by Steele. Steele sets out to study the whole vocabulary of the letters, including quotations, but omitting the Greek words in the other works; and his chief interest, apart from tracing the quotations to their sources, is in a grammatical analysis of the words used by Cicero and his correspondents, with a list of those words which occur only or for the first time in the letters. How admirably this work has been done is evident to any one who studies it closely; the very few errors I have been able to detect arise almost wholly from the fact that the materials for forming a judgment which were available in 1900 were less abundant than those which were at hand at the time of writing (1920).

My object has been, first, to give as complete and reliable a list as possible of the words used by Cicero himself (not his correspondents, though I have included half a-dozen words quoted from Atticus and Caesar), omitting literary quotations of all sorts, including proverbs and the chapter-headings of the Paradoxa; and taking account of all the works, whole or fragmentary, which have come down to us. This list is my own compilation, not taken over from the earlier ones, which, except that of Mergueit, are not full alphabetical lists of all the words, and include quotations as well as Cicero's own words. Within its assigned limits it is, I think, fairly complete and in accordance with up-to-date texts.

1 Amer. Jour. of Phil., xxi. (1900), pp. 387-410.
2 Caelius Cicero, at the end of his ed.
3 Oecumen, in Baiter-Orelli's ed.
4 De graeco servio proprietatis quo in Ciceronis epistolae inventur, Castrut, 1884.
5 De Ciceroni graeco usque autem usupte, Paris, 1894.
6 Études sur le style discours de Cicéron, pp. 61, 73-78, Paris, 1907.
7 Lex. zu den phi. Schriften, end. This gives the words in the philosophical treatises only.
Secondly—and this is the more important object—I have tried to compile some material for answering the question: How did an educated man talk, in Greek-speaking circles, at that date? We know fairly well how he wrote, for publication at least; we have much evidence of the style of speech of provincials, more or less educated, in the non-literary papyri of Egypt; but outside of Cicero, I know of but little that can tell us what the Greek *sermo urbanus* was like after the classical period. The question is of some interest in itself, but more so as helping to throw light on two other questions, viz.: To what extent did the Atticizing movement, initiated apparently in part by the Rhodian school, affect educated speech? and, Would the vocabulary and syntax (apart from rhythm and other rhetorical features) of a non-literary work, such for example as the second Gospel, strike a cultured reader as offensively rustic, or as merely artless? And would a markedly literary, yet still Hellenistic style, say that of Diodorus Siculus in one of his bursts of platitudinous reflection, or of Dionysios of Halikarnassos in a speech, be so far different from the language of every-day life, as to be hard of comprehension by, say, a poor and uneducated Greek?

It may be objected that Cicero is a foreigner, and thus poor evidence for colloquial usage. But it must be remembered that even for a well-educated Roman his Greek appears to have been very good; that he commonly wrote, spoke, and disputed in it, had Greek correspondents, had lived for years in Greece, and was the close friend of Greeks, and of the largely Hellenized Atticus. No doubt an Athenian could have told by small nuances of pronunciation and perhaps of choice of words that a foreigner was speaking to him; but if we remember how often in our own experience the nationality of an English-speaking Frenchman is betrayed only by slight differences of intonation which would disappear on paper, we may, I think, assume that a passage of plain Greek written by Cicero, and one written, for example, by his old tutor, Antonius Molon of Rhodes, would differ only in an almost imperceptible degree.

In my list of words I have given full references, save for those words which occur very commonly. Letters to Atticus are cited without title; *ad familiare*, by the abbreviation F; other works, by the usual abbreviated titles. I have annotated the words as follows: c denotes a classical usage, including Attic prose, unless followed by the sign -a; a, Attic prose and comedy, including Menander, but not Xenophon or Aristotle, who, as transitional authors, are cited by the usual abbreviations of their names. C indicates a word found only in Cicero; C1, a word which occurs for the first time in him; h, a Hellenistic word. Unless the contrary is stated, words marked c or a persist in Hellenistic usage; where a nearly contemporary author, such as Diodorus or Philodemos, seems to have been the first to use the word, he is cited by name. Here I have been greatly helped not only by the investigations of Steele, but by the *Lexicon Suppletorium* of Herwerden. Liddell and Scott, on the

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8 Christ-Schmidt, *Greek Lit.*, ii. 2, p. 263, exile and after the death of Tullia, he used Greek as little as in his official communications.
other hand, bristles with sins of omission and commission to such an extent that I have marked with a query all information for which I can find no better authority. No part of the lexicon stands in more need of revision than the articles on post-Attic words; and a good dictionary of Hellenistic, which should take into account the evidence of papyri and inscriptions, is greatly to be desired. Words found in the N.T. are marked accordingly, on the authority of Soutar's lexicon; LXX usage I have seldom taken into account, partly because of the abnormal character of much of its Greek, partly owing to the length of time over which its compilation was spread.

A.

'Αβδορίτικος, 'silly' vii. 7/4. Luc. quomodo historia 2; hence perhaps a.

άβλαβεα, Tusc. iii. 16. C in this sense (άβλαβης, iunocens, a).

άγέλαστος, Fin. v. 92. a.

άγένεσια, x. 15/2. h.

άγωντεύσω, xiii. 3/1. C (—θος h, late).

άγων, i. 16/8. c; N.T.

άδεως, xiii. 52/1. a.

αδοφος, Acad. ii. 54. c; N.T.

αδίαφορια, ii. 17/2. C.

αδίαφορος, Fin. iii. 53. Stoic t.t.

άδικαιος, xiii. 9/1. a (αικεδίκητος, N.T.).

άδικαίαρχος (pun), ii. 12/4. C; cf. for formation αδεκαίαδος, Diod.

άδικοθεστος, xiii. 21a/1. a, but h in tech. sense 'unrevised'.

άδολος, xvi. 11/2. a.

άδονας, i. 1/2. c; N.T.

άδορωδος, v. 20/6. a.

άδροτοτύπος, xiv. 19/4. C.

άδυνης, xii. 9. a.

άδμαι, Fin. v. 87. c (Demokritos).

άδεως, N.D. i. 63, iii. 89. c; N.T.

'Αδρανος, ii. 9/4 and quot. c; N.T.

αιγυμος, ii. 19/5; vi. 7/1. c (a poetical).

αιρεθη, F xv. 16/3, haevsis, xiv. 14/1, 'school.' h in this sense. N.T.

αιρετος, xv. 19/2. c.

αιχρος, ix. 6/5 and quot. c; N.T.

αιτια, xv. 12/2. c; N.T.

'Ακαδημικος, sc. εικαταξει xiii. 12/3; the full phrase 16/1. h.

'ακαιρος, ix. 4/3. c (—ος; N.T.);

'ακαταληψια, xiii. 19/3. h (Academic t.t.).

'ακαταληπτος, Acad. ii. 18.

'ακενοστουθος, F xv. 17/4. C.

'ακεραιος, xv. 21/2. c; N.T.

'ακηθια, xii. 45/1. h mostly.

'ακκειχους, ii. 19/5. a.
άκισσώρος, xvi. 18/1. c.
άκισσώρος, vi. 3/7. a. — τος vi. 1/7. C.
άκισσώρης, xiv. 11/1. a, less commonly h.
άκισσος, F xvi. 18/1. C (άκοπος c).
άκισσος, xii. 4/2. a.
άκρατος, F xiv. 7/1. c; N.T.
άκροστήξες, de diu. ii. 111. h.
άκροπτελέρων, v. 21/3. a.
άκροστήριον, v. 20/1. c.
άκτις, ii. 3/2 (math.) c in general sense.
άκηθηρος, vii. 32/2. h.
άκρανος, xvi. 17/1. h (άκοραί N.T.).
Άκαβαδείς, F xiii. 50/1.
άλη, x. 1/4. c, mostly poet.
άλεμενος, ix. 13/5. a.
άληκ, ii. 2/8. 19/1. c.
άλοισθηκ, xiv. 13/1. h (Diod., Strab.).
άλλογοι, vi. 20/3; x. 94. h (Phi hdemos) as rhet. t.t. [a, ἄπαντα]
άλλος, vi. 5/2 etc., and quot. c; N.T.
άλλακτος, xii. 3/2. c—a; h.
άλλαξομαι, vi. 4/3. C.
άλλογείτος, ix. 10/4. a.
άλλος, xii. 35; xiii. 48/1. a (άλογος, N.T.).
άλογος, vi. 5/1. c—a; h.
Άμαλθεία, i. 16/18; Amalthia, ii. 20/2; ' Αμαλθείου', 16/18.
άμάρτημα, xiii. 44/3; xiv. 5/1. a; N.T.
άματος, vii. 1/9. a; N.T.
άματιμεληθός, vii. 3/2; xiii. 52/1. a; N.T.
άμαρχαία, xv. 29/1. c.
άμαραίος, vii. 8/5. c.
άμαραίος, F vii. 32/2. Arist., as t.t.
άμαραίος, Q.E. ii. 4/3, 14 (15 b)/3. C (άμαραίος c).
άμαραίος, ix. 4/2, etc. c; N.T.
άμαραίοι, i. 21/1. c; N.T.
άμαραίος, xiv. 15/1, 16/2. C; cf. Diod. xiii. 35/4.
άμαρακτία, i. 1/5. a; N.T.
άμαρακτία (usually analogy in Varro), vi. 2/3; x. 11/4, Tim. 13. a; N.T.
άμαρακτίς, Q.E. ii. 8(10)/1. C.
άμαρακτίσματος, xvi. 13/2. αμαρακτίσματος, vi. 1/23. Both C.
άμαρακτίσματος, ix. 4/3. C.
άμαρακτίσματος, xvi. 7/5. h; N.T.
άμαρακτίς, ii. 10/1. C, c; N.T.
άμαρακτίς, xii. 49/1; with dat. c (but mostly with civ and acc.); N.T.
άμαρακτίς, ix. 4/2. c; N.T.
άμαρακτίς, ii. 6/2; xiv. 17/6 'unpublished.' h (Diod.) in this sense.
άμαρακτίς, xvi. 19/1; — διαφάνεια, xii. 45/1 (— ὅς quot.). c; N.T.
ανεμέσθης, xiii. 12/2; xvi. 7/2. a.
ανεμοφόρης, xiii. 37/4. h.
ανεξία, v. 11/5' ut Sieli disunt,' C.
ανήσσοτος, x. 9/6' not in character.' h (Diod.).
αντικεῖστος, ix. 4/2. c.
αντίρ. i. 18/6 and quot. c; N.T.
αντίπρογραμμαπ, ii. 6/1. Cf.
αντίσε (pl., 'elegant extracts'), xvi. 11/1. h.
αναστράφη, vi. 1/18. C (ανιστράφης, h).
αντικείμενον, xvi. 11/4. h (Diod.).
αντιθετον, orat. 166. a.
αντιμακαρίζω, F. xv. 19/4. C; but cf. εξου —Le. 16/4.
αντιπολιτευματική, vii. 5/5. a.
αντιποντος Acad. ii. 123. a, h (Strabo).
αντιγύμνων, Tusc. i. 68 ('S. hemisphere'). C in this sense.
άνω, xvi. 4/1. c; N.T.
ἀβία, Fin. iii. 20, 34 ('honestium') Stoic t.t.
ἀβίσσος, xiii. 37/3. a.
ἀβύθα, Acad. ii. 95; Tusc. i. 14; de fat., i. 20, 21. Arist.
ἀβύθεα, Acad. ii. 130. Stoic t.t.
ἀβύδιενσις, xiii. 16/1. a (ἀβύδιενσις, N.T.)
ἀβύδοπερατρος, orat. 229. h.
ἀβύδων, vii. 5/3. c; N.T.
ἀβύδωνις, ix. 7/2; xvi. 11/6. h; N.T.
ἀβυδοπρασταστος, ix. 20/2. h.
ἀβύδωρα, Fin. i. 21. c (ἀβυδωρος, N.T.)
ἀβύδωρος, vi. 4/3, 5/2. a; N.T.
ἀβυδωστομολογια, xii. 9. C.
ἀβυδωστομολογια, vi. 5/2. c.
ἀβύδωστος, xii. 51/3 ('copy'), h, but elsewhere —os.
ἀβυδωστος, Acad. ii. 29. c.
ἀβυδουσις, i. 16/13; xiii. 12/1, 36/1, 37a ( = 37/4). h.
ἀβυδουσις, ὑ. χρεος.
ἀβυδουστων, viii. 16/1. The superl. is C.
ἀβυδουστως, xvi. 7/3. a.
ἀβυδουστως, F. ix. 7/2; F in iii. 151; αψωμεϊνους, iiid. 15. Stoic t.t.
ἀβυδοστως, vii. 12/4, 21/5, etc. c; N.T. 
ἀβυδοστως, vii. 11/3; vi. 1/8, etc. c; N.T.
ἀβυδωστως, xii. 5/1. c.
ἀβυδυστομολογια, xii. 27/1; F. ix. 21/1; Q.F. iii. 2/2. Stoic t.t.
ἀβυδυστομολογια, x. 11/5. a; N.T.
ἀμδριβως, vii. 5/5. a.
ἀμδριβως, topik, 49. Arist. t.t.
ἀμδριβως, F, ix. 16/4, de off., i. 104. Xen., Arist., h.
ἀμδριβως, i. 14/6. a.
ἀμδριβως, xvi. 13/1. C.
ἀμδριβως, v. 20/6. h; N.T.
ὁ προσφόνητος, viii. 8/1. C.
ἀρά, xii. 5/11 and quot. c; N.T.
ἀργός, u. λόγος.
Ἄρειος, u. τίγες.
ἀρέσκω, ii. 3/3 (τὴν ἀρέσκωσαν sc. γνώμην). h in this sense.
ἀρετή, x. 10a/4 and quot. c; N.T.
ἀρέτης, ix. 4/2. c—a; Xen.
ἀριστερά, xiv. 15/2; xvi. 9. e.
ἀριστοκρατικός, ἡ. 15/3; — κός, i. 14/2; ii. 3/4. a.
ἀριστοκράτειν (optimates) ix. 4/2. c.
'Ἀριστοτέλης, xii. 40/2; — εἰσ, xiii. 19/4. h.
ἀρμονία, Tusc. i. 19; Tim. 27. e.
ἀρφαστήματα, Tusc. iv. 23 ('moral imperfection'). Stoic t.t.
ἀρχαίος, vi. 1/18 (τὸν τῆς ἀρχαίας, sc. κομψίας). h in this sense.
ἀρχήτυπος, x. 5 c (= 5/4), xvi. 3/1. h (Dion. Hal.).
ἀρχή, x. 10/4. c; N.T.
'Ἀρχέμεδεος, xii. 4/2; xiii. 28/3. h.
ἀσαφέστερος, xiii. 25/1. a.
ἀσέλγης, ii. 12/2. = (ἀσέλγεια, N.T.);
ἀσιμενστικός, ix. 20/2, 16/9. h.
ἀσιμετατα, xiii. 22/1. a (= σις, N.T.).
ἀστάρμον, ii. 9/4, 12/4. c; N.T.
ἀστύκος, ix. 10/5. c.
ἀστρατηγός, vii. 13/1, h. ἀστρατηγικός, viii. 16/1. c.
ἀστή, vi. 5/2. c (h mostly uses πόλις).
ἀσφάλεια, ii. 19/4; xvi. 8/2, ἀσφάλης, vii. 13/3; — ὡς Q.F.I. 2/3; All c; N.T.
ἀσφάλεια, N.D. i. 30. a.
ἀταραξία, F xv. 10/2. Demokritos, Epicurus.
ἀτελικός, xiv. 12/1 (possibly a quot.). c.
ἀτεχνός, topic. 24 (rhet. t.t.). Arist. in this sense.
ἀτομωτατος, xv. 26/1. c; ἄτομος, N.T.
'Ατρεδαῖα, vii. 3/5; I parody of Kur.
ἀτραψία, xiii. 16/1. C.
ἀττικισμός, iv. 19/1 ('atticism of style'). h in this sense.
'Αττικός, i. 13/5; — ἄτατος, vi. 5/3 (pun); — ἄτατα, adv. xv. 1a/12. c.
ἀτυπός, ('Balbus'), xii. 3/2 e coni.; clypeo, M. C in this sense; atypus Cell. iv. 2/5.
ἀτυφός, vi. 9/2. a.
αὐθεντικός, x. 9/1. C9.
αὐθεντεύς, ii. 13/1. h.
αὐτός, ix. 4/2, etc. (xv. 27/3 e coni.; automat. M.) c; N.T. αὐτότατος, vi. 9/2, ci. αὐτότατος Ar. Plut. 83 (πεπαίκται κομψίας Schol.).
αὐτοματικά, vi. 1/15. c.
αὐτόχθων, vii. 2/3. e.
THE GREEK OF CICERO

άφαιρεσις ('lessening regimen'), vi. 1/2. θ C in this sense. Cf. the use of ἄφαιρεσις, Ar., Ran., 941 and comm. ad loc.

άφαστος, xiiii. 9/1; xvi. 19/2. c.

άφελısıς, i. 18/1; — δεν, vi. 1/8, 7/1. Both ο (άφελώτης, N.T.), άφελωμα ('shrine'), xiiii. 29/1. θ ο (Diod.). ά, άφελωμα.

άφισμα, ix. 4/2. ο; N.T.

άφιδεός, ii. 17/1. C (other comp. of α + φιλ— in N.T.).

άφισταμαι, vi. 5/2. ο; N.T.

άφιστώι, Φ. xvi. 17/2. C.

άφρακτον or ἀφρακτί, iv. 11/4, 12/1. h.

άχαριστια, ix. 7/4. a (άχαριστος; N.T.).

B.

βαθύτης ('mental depth,' 'profundity of thought'), iv. 6/3; v. 10/3; vi. 1/2. θ C. in this sense.

βατταρίζον, vi. 5/1 ('chatter'). h; cf. N.T. βατταρίζω.

βδελττσια, xvi. 29/2. ο; N.T.

βλάμμα, Fin. iii. 69. Stoic t.t.

βλάσφημος, xvi. 11/4. ο; N.T.

βουλευτήριον, 2 Verr. ii. 50. c.

βουλέων, ix. 4/2. c; N.T.

βουλής, Tusc. iv. 12. c.

βουλον, xvi. 27/3. C (βουλατός c).

βουνίς, ii. 9/1, 12/2, 14/1, 22/9 (nickname of Clodia).

βροτός, xii. 12/2.

Γ.

γαμμος, xvi. 5/5. a, but mostly h.

gε, vi. 1/20; xvi. 15/3. ε; N.T.

γειώκος, i. 14/2. —ωτέρω, ix. 10/6. Arist. in this sense.

γεωρτικός, xii. 1/2. a, but rare; —ωτέρω, ibid. C; γέρων, de r.p. ii. 50. c; N.T.

γεωγραφικός, ii. 6/1 (title of a book); γεωγραφικά, 7/1, etc. h (Strab).

γεωμετρικός, xii. 5b. Arist.

γραμμή, xii. 67.

γλαυξ, F. vi. 3/4; ix. 4/2 (prov., γλαυξ' είς 'Αθήνας; but translated, Q.F. ii. 15/16/5.) a.

γλαύχρως, xvi. 1/5. c.

γλαυκύσιες, xvi. 21/4. c.

γραμματικός, iv. 8a/4 and understood ii. 3/2 (math. t.t.), c.

γυμνασία, i. 6/2, 9/2. C.

Δ.

δέ ('Book IV'), xii. 38a/2. h in this sense.

δαίμων, de diu, i. 122 (of Sokrates). a; h, generally δαίμων in this context.

J. H. S. Vol. xlii.
δασμών, Tim. 38. c.
δάκων, xiii. 20/4. c; N.T.
δάμμαρ, vi. 4/3. c (archaic).
δέ, ii. 10/4, etc., and quot. c; N.T.
δέδοικα, vi. 4/3, 5/2 and quot. c.
δέ, vi. 1/20. c; N.T.
δέρρες, iv. 19/1 (sense doubtful). a.
δευτέρος, vi. 5/2. c; N.T.
δή, vi. 4/3 and quot. δήπου, ibid. c; N.T.
Δημήτρη, iv. 8a/2, N.D. ii. 87.
δήμος, vi. 6/2, vii. 3/10. c; N.T.
Δησαθήνης, xv. 1a/2.
διά, with acc. ix. 4/2; with gen. ibid. c; N.T.
διάθεσις, xiv. 3/2. a.
διάφωτος, vi. 1/15. c; N.T.
διαλεκτική, de Or. ii. 157, topic. 6, 57; dialectici topic. 56. a.
διάλογος, v. 5/2; xv. 13/2, orn. 151.
διαμένε, xv. 12/2. a; N.T.
διανοητικός, F xv. 16/1. a.
διαπολιτεία, ix. 4/2. C1.
διαρρήση, F xvi. 21/6. c.
διάφωσ, F vii. 26/2. a.
διάστωσας, Q.F. iii. 5/4. Arist.
διάφανης, ii. 3/2. Theophr.
διαφόρησις, F xvi. 18/1. C1.
διάβασος, ii. 9/2. h.
δίδακτος, x. 12a/4. c; N.T.
διευθέτω, vi. 5/2. h. (διασκευαζω, a).
διενεκέρ, vii. 8/3, 5.
δικαίω ("execute") 2 Verr. ii. 148; said there to be Sicilian, but c in this sense.
δίκρατον or δισχρατον, v. 11/4, etc. a.
Δίοδος, F ix. 4.
διολεκτικός, F xiii. 57/1 (administrative t.t.). h (Strabo).
Διοδοκουρος, N.D. iii. 53. c — a (- κορός). h; N.T.
διήθεσα, xv. 24/1. c.
διπλῆ (critical sign), viii. 2/4. h.
δογμα, Acad. ii. 27, 29. a.
δοκιμάζω, ix. 4/2. a; N.T.
δοκό, vi. 4/3, 5/1; ix. 4/2. c; N.T.
δόξα, Fin. ii. 20., N.D. i. 85.
δούμαζε, ix. 6/5. c; N.T.
διωτάκος, F ix. 4, de fato. 1, 17. c; N.T.
διοδόγκωστος, v. 4/1. C1; h (Dion. Hal.).
διουκλάντος, v. 10/3. C1; h (Dion. Hal.), cf. N.T. ἄνεξ —
διουσινερία, F vii. 26/1; — ικός ibid. c.
δυσομία, x. 10/4. c.
δυσχρηστία, xvi. 7/6 (tight money'), h; δύσχρηστος, vii. 5/3. c. δυσ-

χρηστιμα, Fin. iii. 69, Stoic t.t.
δυσωμία, xiii. 33/2; xvi. 15/2. C.

E.

ἐ (Book V'), xii. 38a/2. cf. δ.
ἐν, xv. 12/2. c; N.T.
ἐκτινό, ἐκτίνας, vi. 5/2; ix. 4/2, etc., and quot. c; N.T.
ἐγγέρσα, xii. 25/2, 29/2, 44/2. C (from Atticus).
ἐγκακιστικός, i. 19/10. Arist.
ἐφώ, vi. 4/3 (ους, ωις) and often quot. c; N.T.
ἐθέλωστι, ix. 4/2. a.
ἐς (ςτ') ii. 16/4 ('num'), ix. 4/2, etc. c; N.T.
ἐδόκο, topia. 30 and quot. a, late; N.T.
ἐδέσσαν, ii. 3/2; F xv. 1/6, Fin. i. 21. c.
ἐκεῖ, vi. 5/2. c; N.T.
ἐκκερασθής, Q.F. ii. 0(8)/1. c; N.T.
ἐκαρασθής, N.D. i. 55, de fin. i. 125. c.
ἐκύι, vii. 5/2, etc., and quot. c; N.T.
ἐλομ, ix. 4/2; xiv. 22/2. c.
ἐρων, de Or. ii. 270, Brut. 298, de offic. i. 108. c.
ἐρωτεύομαι, P.iv. 4/1, bis. c.
ἐρωτεύει, xvi. 11/2, Acad. ii. 15; ironia, Brut. 292. a.
ἐκι, ii. 3/3; i vi. 4/3, 5/2 (with ellipse of vb. of going). c; N.T.
ἐκ, vi. 4/3 (ἐκ Lachmann) and quot. c; N.T.
ἐκάνερς, ii. 3/3, 9/3. c.
ἐκλογή, xvi. 3/6 (Reid; ecologar vulg.). h (N.T. as theol. term.).
ἐκτείνει, x. 17/1; ἐκτείνεσθαι, xiii. 9/1 ('officious friendliness'; 'ostentatiously
friendly'). h (N.T. in different sense).
ἐκτοπισμός, xii. 12/1. h (Strab.)
ἐκτόωος, x. 1/3. h.
ἐκχυνος, ii. 3/2. Arist.
ἐλαχιστος, de fat. 22. c; N.T.
ἐλευθερία, ix. 14/2. c; N.T.
ἐλπίζω, vi. 5/2. c; N.T.
ἐμετική, xiii. 52/1 ('regimen of emetics'). h († c in this sense).
ἐμος, vi. 5/1 and quot. c; N.T.
ἐνέργεια, Acad. ii. 17. a.
ἐν, i. 13/4, etc.; ii. 19/5, expressing agency; ἐν δινάμει, προ ἵππω, ix.
6/4. c. last two uses chiefly h; N.T.
ἐνδελεχεσθαι, Tusc. i. 22. c.
ἐνδορθυς, vi. 14/3, 21/4. c—a (poet).
ἐνερευθέστερος, xii. 4/1. h; comp. C.
ἐπανοιασάντος, Q.F. iii. 4/4. a.
ἐνθάδεμα, i. 14/4, topic. 56 (rhet. t.t.). Arist.
ἐπανσώζεται, v. 14/1. c.
ἐνεμα, topic. 31; Acad. ii. 30; Fin. iii. 21; Tusc. i. 57. a.
ἐπατάφων, xii. 29/2. c.
ἐπεχερος, F vii. 32/2 (rhet. t.t.). Arist.
ἐπιτραμπτομαί, ii. 19/1. C.
ἐπικακαθίζεται, vi. 6/1. C.
ἐπισφαλίζομαι, vi. 4/3. C'; Strab.
ἐπιελεοθερος, vi. 5/1. h; N.T. uses ἀπ—only. Dio. Cass. seems to use ἀπελ. = libertinus, ἐξελ. = libertus.
ἐξογγυ, iv. 15/7 (ε' eminence'). C in this sense; N.T.
ἐξεπτρεπόμενοι, iv. 16/2; Fin. v. 12. Arist.
ἐπαγγέλλομαι, ii. 9/3. a; N.T.
ἐπαγω, ix. 4/2. C; N.T.
ἐπαγωγή, topic. 42. Arist.
ἐπέγχει, vi. 6/3; Acad. ii. 59, 148. Skept. t.t.
ἐπὶ with gen. ii. 5/3, with dat. quot. only. c; N.T.
ἐπιγενηματικός, Fin. iii. 32. Acad. t.t.
ἐπιδικτικός, orat. 37, 207; epidicticus, ibid. 42. a.
ἐπιδιόκειον, xii. 10. c.
ἐπικεφαλίζον, v. 16/2. h.
ἐπικτετορ, vii. 1/5. c.
ἐπίκωπος or ἐρείκως, v. 11/4; xv. 16/1. C. Cf. Gell. x. 25.
ἐπίληγον, vi. 5/2. c.
ἐπιμελεύμα, x. 10/6 with gen. c; N.T.
ἐπιστημασία, i. 16/11; xiv. 3/2. h (Diod.).
ἐπισκεπτός, vii. 11/5 (administrative t.t.). a.
ἐπίστευμα, xiii. 27/1. h (Diod.).
ἐπιστμή, v. 20/1. h.
ἐπισφορά, F xvi. 23/1 (med. t.t.). C.
ἐπισφόρημα, i. 19/3. C.
ἐπισχιῶν, vi. 9/3. c, but rare.
ἐπος ('epic') Q.F. iii. 9/6; but epicus, opt. gen. or 1, 2, etc. c.
ἐποχάη, vi. 6/3, 9/3; xv. 21/2 (Skept. t.t.). xiii. 21/3 (nautical). h.
ἐπέταλοφος, vi. 5/2 C; ἐπιλόφος, etc., c.
ἐπιταμμανίος, x. 18/1. h; —μυρος, c.
ἐρανος, xii. 5/1. c.
ἐργον, xiii. 25/3 e coni.; at e.g. codd. c; N.T.
ἐργαδός, xv. 19/1. c.
ἐρμανος, xiii. 19/5. c.
ἐρωτικος, ix. 10/2. a.
"Εσπερος, N.D. ii. 53. c.
'Εστια, N.D. ii. 67.
ἐσω, iv. 88/4. c; N.T.
ἐτοι, xvi. 1/1 and quot. c; N.T.
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ἐπιμολογία topic. 35; Acad. i. 32. h (Dion. Hal.).
eὐάργυρον, ii. 3/1; xiii. 40/1 ('good news') h; N.T.; ii. 12/1 ('reward
to bringer of good news'; plur.). c.
eὐαγγέλιον, xiii. 23/3 c cont.; εὐαγγέλιον or εὐλαβία codd. C; — so a.
eὐαναπτυττον, ii. 14/1. C1.
eὐγνεῖα, F iii. 7/5. c; εὐγνεῖα, viii. 9/3; xiii. 21a/4. C; N.T.
eὐδαίμων, ix. 11/4. c.
eὐδοκία, Fin. iii. 57. c.
eὐδολιστία, ii. 17/2. h.
eὐφρενής, ix. 4/2, 5/3. c; N.T.; εὐφρενήτο, ix. 4/2. a; N.T.
eὐθεία, ii. 2/10. c (μορία; N.T.).
eὐμετέρημα, v. 21/2. h; εὐμετέρια, ix. 13/1. c.
eὐβασία ('honourable death'), xvi. 7/3. Quoted from Atticus; ἀπ.
elp. in this sense.
eὐθυμία, Fin. v. 23. 87 (Demokritos).
eὐθυρρημὸν, F ix. 22/5. C1; cf. εὐθυρρημονέστερος, F xii. 16/3; from
Trebonius.
eὐκαιρία, xvi. 8/2; Fin. iii. 45, de offic. i. 142. εὐκαιρος, iv. 7/1; εὐκαίρως,
xiii. 9/2; Q.F. ii. 9/6. All a; N.T.
eὐκόλας, xiii. 21a/3. a.
eὐλαβούμαι, ix. 4/2. c; N.T.
eὐλογία, xiii. 32/4. a; εὔλογος, xiii. 5/1, 7, 33/3; xiv. 22/2; xiii. 6a. c.
eὐλογία, F xvi. 18/1 (med.) C1.
eὐμετέρημα, xvi. 11/2. c.
eὐτιπής, xii. 6/4,—oς; xv. 17/2. C1 in this sense; Dion. Hal.
Εὐπολίς, iv. 1/18.
eὐτορίστος, vii. 1/7. h.
Εὐφρονίδης, F xiii. 15/2.
eὐφρονιστός, xiv. 5/2. C1.
eὐφρονίσκοντος, xv. 5/2 ('good-naturedly'). C1.
eὐταξία, de offic. i. 142 (phil. t.t.) C1 in this sense.
eὐτόκευσ, x. 18/1. h, including the form of the augment.
eὐτραπελία, F vii. 32/1 (pun.). Arist. in this sense; N.T. (= βιολογία).
eὐχρήστημα or — ia, Fin. iii. 69. Stoic t.t.
ἐφιμοῦ ('permit'), ix. 4/2. c, but frequent in h.
ἐφισταμαι ('notice'), xiii. 38/1. Arist. in this sense.
ἐχο, xv. 12/2. c; N.T.
ἐχω, xvi. 1/1 unless corrupt, and quot. c; N.T.
ἐχελως, xiii. 21a/1, F ix. 2/1. c.

Σ.

ζηλοτυπία, Tus. iv. 17 (18). a (rare); h.
ζηλοτυπία, xiii. 13/1, 17/2 (18). a.
ζητήμα, vii. 3/10; F ix. 20/1. a; N.T.
ζῆ, ii. 12/2 (ζῶνες φανης), xii. 2/2; xiv. 21/3. c; N.T.
ζωάκος, de dium. ii. 89. h.
H.

γγεμονικός, N.D. ii. 29. Stoic. t.t.

δάνει, F xv. 19/2, 3; Fin. ii. 8, 12, 13; iii. 35; c; N.T.

θίκος, orat. 128 (rhet. t.t.). Arist.

θυλός, x. 10/6, 12a/4, de fat. i. c; N.T.

μείβος, vi. 5/2, etc., and quot. c; N.T.

ημιεροκλήδων, iv. 15/3. c.

Ἡμακλίδης, x. 4/3, 13/3, 27/2; xvi. 2/6. h.

Ἡρώδης, ii. 2/2, etc.

Ημερός, vii. 13/1; xiv. 4/2, etc.; often written heros. Homer. and h in this sense.

Ησινάξας, ix. 4/2; Acad. ii. 93. c; N.T.

Θ.

θάμα, vi. 5/1. c.

Θεότοκος, xii. 40/2.

θέος, xiii. 29/1 (πρὸς θεόν) and quot. c; N.T.

Θεοφάνης, ii. 5/1.

θέων ('generalised case.'), ix. 4/1; topic. 79, orat. 46. Arist.

θετικός, Q.F. iii. 3/4; — ὡς Parad. 5. ? O in this sense; Strab.

θεώρημα, xiv. 20/3, de fat. ii. h, θεώρητικός, ii. 16/3. Arist. θεωρία ('enquiry.'), xii. 6/2. c.

θοροβουσώ, F xvi. 23/2. h (Diod.).

θυμικός, x. 11/5. h.

θύμωσις, Tusc. iv. 21. h.

Ι.

ἴδεα, orat. 10; Acad. i. 30; Tusc. i. 58. a.

Ἰλαί, viii. 11/3 (1. κακών). c.

Ἰων, vi. 5/2 and quot.; see section on grammar. h; N.T.

ἰσοδύναμω, vi. 1/15. h.

ἰσονομία, N.D., i. 50, 109. Epic. t.t.

ἰσος, xiii. 51/1. c; N.T.

ἰστορία, xiii. 10/1. c; Ἰστορικός, i. 19/10; vi. 1/8, 2/3; h in this sense.

ἰσχύω, ix. 4/2. c; N.T.

Κ.

καθηκόν, xv. 13/6; xvi. 11/4; Fin. iii. 20, de off. i. 8 ('officium'). Stoic. t.t.; h; N.T.

καθοδος, vii. 11/1. a.

καθολικός; xiv. 20/3. h.

καί, ii. 12/1; vi. 1/20, etc., and quot. c; N.T.

κατοί, ix. 4/2. c; N.T.

κακία; Fin. iii. 39, 40; Tusc. iv. 34 (κακός quot. only). c; N.T.

κακοστόματος, F. xvi. 4/1 ('fastidious'). ? O; Anth. xi. 155, 4, the right reading is clearly κακοστόματων.
kalos, ii. 19/1; vii. 11/1, etc. (kalos quot. only). c; N.T.
Kallistheos, xiii. 12/3, see comm. ad loc.

kampyth, i. 14/4 (rhet. t.t.). a.
Kaimillos, vi. 5/3.

kaves, F xvi. 17/1. a; N.T.

katakentos, ix. 10/8. c.
kata, ii. 7/4, 17/4, etc., and quot. c; N.T.
kataebasos, xiii. 13/2, 31/3, 32/2 (title). c; N.T.
katachusis, xiii. 1/2. C1.
katakeleis, ii. 3/4 ("clausula"). 1 C1 as t.t.
katalypsis, Acad. i. 41 and u.l. ii. 18. katalypsis, Fin. iii. 17; Acad. ii.

17, 31, 145. Both Acad. t.t.
katalusis, ix. 4/2. a.
katastaekentosai, vi. 5/2. h.
katastaskeu, i. 14/4. a (—αδω; N.T.).
katastasax, iv. 13/2. c (h rather peri—).
kataxhesis, orat. 94. Arist.
kataxhesis, Tusc. iv. 21 ("predicate"). Arist.
katafrh, xiii. 42/1 (a quot. l.). c.
katafrh, xv. 12/2 ("education," "upbringing"). h (kathex, N.T.).
katodhema, Fin. iii. 24, 45; iv. 15, de off. i. 8. katodhesis, Fin. iii. 45.

Stoic t.t.
kakektos, i. 14/4. h.
kedeos, v. 20/3. Cf. Thuc. iii. 30/4 and Classen, ad loc.; u. inf.

kendostos, ix. 1/1. C1.
kentros, Tusc. i. 40 (math. t.t.). a.
kataphiomai or kekentos, xiii. 40. C1.
kera, v. 29/9, 21/9; vi. 1/13 ("musical instrument"). Xen.

kefaleios, v. 18/1; xvi. 11/4. a; N.T. (kephaliet quot. only).

kephalikos, ii. 17/3. h.

kiekrois, ii. 9/4, 12/4.
kivedusin, ix. 4/2. c; N.T. kivedusin, ix. 4/2. c; N.T.

kephronos, vi. 5/2. a; N.T.

kolida, F xvi. 18/1. c; N.T. koiolasia, x. 13/1. C.
koinoterps, xiii. 10/2. a.
kolakeia, xiii. 27/1, 30/1. c; N.T.

kouma, orat. 211, 223 (rhet. t.t.). h.

Koune, vi. 5/2.

Kopia, N.D. iii. 59.

koumos, Tim. 35. c; N.T.

kranos, xiii. 31/3; F. ix. 4. c; N.T. kropomenos ("point at issue") orat.

126, topic. 95 seems h.

krisis, F. ix. 4. c; N.T.

Kronos, N.D. ii. 64.

Krotoynatys, vi. 4/3, 5/6; —ικός, 5/2.
kuklos, N.D. ii. 47. c; N.T.
κύριος, Fin. ii. 20; N.D. i. 85 (the κ. δόξω). Epic. t.t.
Κίρος, ii. 3/2; ix. 25/1; xiii. 38a/2; in the last Wilamowitz—Moellendorf
would read Κυραίος, Platon, Vol. II. p. 275.
κάλλος, Brut. 162; orn. 211, 223 (rhet. t.t.). Arist.
Κορυκέλειον, x. 18/1.
κοφάς, xiii. 19/3 (x. πρόσωπον). h in this phrase.

Α.

Λακωνικός, x. 10/3.
λακωνικός, F xi. 25/2 ('laconic saying'). h, ? C.
λαμπρώς, v. 20/6. c; N.T.
λευων, vi. 1/8. c; N.T. λευκότατος, vi. 5/3; F ix. 2/8. h.
λατιπίζε, ix. 13/4 ('swagger'). C in this sense. λάπισμα, ix. 13/4. C.
λέγω, vi. 4/3; ix. 7/13. c; N.T. Clo. never uses λαλάω, but ἰεβάλλομαι.
λεξικός, xvi. 4/1 (παρά λ. 'ungrammatically') ! C). Elsewhere quot.
λεπτός, li. 18/2 (κατὰ λ.) and quot. a in this phrase.
λέοντες, vi. 5/1; xii. 1/2. c.
Λευκοβία, Tusc. i. 28; N.D. iii. 48.
λεικύθων, i. 14/3 ('purple patch'). C in this sense.
λέμμα, de diu. ii. 108. Arist.
λόγος, xiv. 21/4; xvi. 1/4. a; N.T.
λύσα, vii. 7/3; ix. 2/1, etc. ('attack', 'sc. of fever'). c.
λυπώμα, vii. 26/2 (not rhet. t.t.). h (Diod.).
λογικός, xiii. 19/5; Fin. i. 22; Tusc. iv. 33, de fat. i. Arist.; N.T.
λογοθεωρητός, Dicta fr. 22. C.
λόγος, ἅρπος λ., de lato. 20; Stoic t.t. Elsewhere quot.
λοιπός, vi. 1/30 (τί λοιπόν). c; N.T. cf. Mod. Gr. λοιπόν = ὄλλον.
λύτη, Tusc. iii. 61. c; N.T.
λυρικός, orn. 185. h in this sense.

Μ.

μάκαρ, xii. 3/2 u. νήσος.
μᾶλα, i. 14/2; xiii. 42/1; xv. 12/1. c; μάλλον, ix. 4/2. c; N.T. μάλιστα, quot. only.
μαρία, Tusc. iii. 11. c; N.T.
μαντική, N.D. i. 55, de diu. i., de legg. ii. 32. c; μάντις de diu. i. 95 and
quot. c.
μάνγα, ix. 4/2 and often quot. c; N.T.

μεθαρμόζω, xii. 12/2. a.
μελετήρα, ('inference'), xiii. 27/2. a.
μελαγχολία, Tusc. iii. 11. c.
μέλας, xii. 2/2, 3/3; xiv. 17/3 and quot. c; N.T.
μελέτη, v. 10/3. c.
μέλας, ix. 4/2; το μέλας, ix. 10/8. c; N.T.
μέμψε, viii. 2/2; xiii. 13/2, 49/1. c.
μέν, vi. 5/2; F xvi. 8/1 and quot. c; N.T.
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µένω, ix. 4/2. o; N.T.
µέρος, xiii. 22/2 (τὰ κατὰ µ.). a; N.T.
Μεσοποταµία, ix. 11/4.
µεσότης, Tim. 23 (math. t.t.). c.
µετέωρος, v. 11/6; xiv. 14/4. c.
µετωνυµα, orat. 93. h.
µῆ, ii. 16/4, etc.; µῆτω, often; µηδέ, vi. 5/2; xvi. 15/3; µηδείς, vi. 1/16
(never µηθ—). c; N.T.
µῆλαµαι, xii. 61/2. C in middle; act. c, but rare.
µήν (‘ month ’), vi. 5/2. c; N.T.
µικρός, ii. 9/4; xiii. 21a/1 (σµικ— quot. only). c; N.T.
µικράνθρωπος, Tusc. iV. 25. a.
µίτος, xiv. 16/3 (κατὰ µ.). h.
µία, vi. 5/2. c; N.T.
µίϑοµος, xiii. 44/3; xiv. 5/1. a.
µισασπάστακτος, Q.F. 8 (10)/1. C.
Μιλασείς, F xiii. 56/1.
µυστικός, iv. 2/7; vi. 4/3 (‘ private ’). h in this sense, mysteria always in
Lat. letters.
µύµος, v. 20/6, o—a; h; N.T. in peculiar sense.

N.

νέκυια, ix. 11/2. Tusc. i 37. h (Diod.).
νεκυοµαντεῖον, Tusc. i 37. c.
νεµέοι, v. 19/3. c.
νεφέτιστος, vi. 2/3. c.
νεωτέρισµον, xiv. 5/3. c.
νεωτέρος, vii. 2/1. c.
νῆσος, xvi. 13/2; µακώρν, v. xii. B/2. c; N.T.
Νίκαιν, F vii. 20/3.
Νόµιος, N.D. ii. 57.
νοµαφίλαξ, de legg. iii. 46. c.
νοσήμα, Tusc. iv. 23. c; N.T.
νοµηµία, vi. 5/2. c; N.T.

Ξ.

ξίλλωνος, vi. 5/1; οὐλὰ—, xiii. 30/3, 32/3. c.
ξυνάρων, vi. 5/1. c (Doric) only.

O.

ὁ, η, τὸ, passim; οἶς, quot. only. c; N.T.
ὄξελίζω, F. ix. 10/1 (gram. t.t.). h.
ὀξύλως, vi. 5/2. a.
όδος, v. 21/13; vii. 1/6 and quot. c; N.T.
οίσι, vi. 4/3; ix. 7/3, etc., and quot. c; N.T.
ολεοίς, i. 10/3; ix. 4/2. Acad. ii. 38. c; N.T.
ολεοσαπτικός, xii. 44/2. C (—της; N.T.).
ολκονμία, vi. 1/1, 11 ("arrangement"). h mostly in this sense.
ομοίωμα, Q.F. iii. 9/8 (1 a quot.). a.
οίχορας, vi. 1/1 and quot. in Pis. 25/61. c.
ολιγορόθ, vi. 5/2. a; N.T.
"Ολος, i. 17/3; xiii. 40/2. a; N.T.; but u. infr.
ολοσχερός, vi. 5/2. h mostly.
'Ομηρικός, i. 16/1. h.
ομοιόπτωτων, Dicta. fr. 16. h.
ομειδής, ii. 6/1. Arist.
ομοιος, xiii. 15/1 and quot. c; N.T.
ομολογία, Fin. iii. 21. Stoic. t.t.
ομολογομαινόω, ii. 17/1. Xen.; N.T.
ομοπλωκία, xvi. 1/3; 5/3. C.
ομώμονος, vi. 5/2. c.
οναρ (adv.), i. 18/6. a (nom in N.T.). ἀνεφον, vi. 9/3 (proverb).
δεύτερος, ii. 12/2; iv. 13/1. c.
'Οπιος, 'Οπιοτης, vi. 2/3.
οργανος, F xi. 14/1. c.
ορίζεσαι, de din. ii. 92. Arist.
ορμη, de fin. iii. 23; v. 17 and often in phil. works; Stoic. t.t. ὀρμαίνω quot.
only.
ὁρᾶ, x. 8/7 (misquot. of Thuc.); ὀρώμενον, ii. 3/2 (math.). c; N.T.
δε, vi. 4/3. c; N.T.
δόκος, vi. 5/2. c; N.T.
οὖ, οὖ, οὖθεν (never οὖθες), οὔποτε, οὔτι passim, but mostly quot. c; N.T. (but once or twice οὖθες).
Οἴρουs or Vrims, 2 Verr. iv. 148 (title of Zeus); v. 12/1. c.
οὔτος, passim. c; N.T.
οψεκίμη, vi. 5/2. a; N.T.; ὠψελλω, ibid. c; N.T.
ὑφιμαθής, F ix. 20/2. a.
ὑφις, ii. 3/2 ("sight"). c.

II.
παγων. "Ἀρεως π., i. 14/5, elsewhere Arionopus, —λεια. a; N.T.
pαθητικός, orat. 128. Arist.
pαθεος, xii. 3/2; F vii. 26/1, often in phil. works and quot. c; N.T.
pαθείς, ii. 3/2 (Κύρων π., with pun); F ix. 25/1. c; N.T.
pαῖς, ii. 15/3 and quot. c; N.T.
pαλαγμενεία, vi. 6/4. h (Philo).
pαλαμφέδια, ii. 9/1; iv. 5/1; vii. 7/1. a.
pαναιτιος, xiii. 8.
pαπήγαγος, i. 14/1. c; N.T.
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παντός ("canard," "scare"), v. 20/3; xiv. 3/1; xvi. 1/4; F xvi. 23/2.
πάνω, xv. 27/1. c.
παρά, xiii. 10/1, 16/1 and quot. c; N.T.
παραβεβλημένοι ("spurious," sc. στίχοι), F, ix. 10/1. C in this sense.
παράγγελμα or παράγγελμα (kind of joke), F, vii. 32/2. Arist.
παράλληλος, vi. 5/2; uid. inf.
παράδοξος, vi. 1/16; Acad. ii. 136; Fim. iv. 74; Par. 4. a; N.T., but
also Stole t.t.
παραιτητικός, x. 10/1. h.
παρακεντικός, xiii. 27/1. a.
παρακλήτω, x. 12/2. a.
παράλληλος, xvi. 1/3. Theopl.
παράτηρημα, v. 14/1. h.
παρακθητήριον, vi. 4/2. a.
παραθύριον, vi. 9/2. a.
παρεξισμος, xv. 3/3. C.
πάρεμα, iv. 13/2; vi. 5/2; x. 8/7. (Thuc., misquoted). c; N.T.
πάρεγγον, v. 21/13; viii. 1/6; eu π. Q.F. iii. 95. a.
παριστατο, vi. 12/5. C.
παρόδω, eu, v. 20/6. Arist.
παρασκυπασία, de Or. ii. 256.
παράστασις, i. 16/3. a; N.T.
πάν, vi. 5/2; F xv. 17/1. c; N.T.
πάσαχ, ix. 4/2; xv. 20/3. c; N.T.
πατήρ, vi. 5/2 and quot. c; N.T.
πατρίς, ix. 4/2, etc. c; N.T.
πεθάνον, Brut. 59. c.
περικομαι ("be attacked by," sc. a disease), xvi. 7/8. h (Strab., cf. N.T.).
περιπήθη, xii. 5/1.
περίστασις, ix. 4/2. c.
πεντέλαιον, xiv. 21/4; xv. 2/4. C.
πεπλαγματικός, xvi. 11/3. C; but πέπλατ = miscellany, h.
περί, xii. 52/2; x. 13/1, etc.; after its noun ix. 4/2; an archaism? c; N.T.
περιστον, Brut. 162, orat. 204; i. 14/4. Arist.
περιγραφή, xii. 15/3 ("passage"). C in this sense, for which cf. Act. 825.
Περιπληκτικός, xiii. 19/4. h.
περίστασις, F xvi. 15/1. a.
περισκεψάμενος, vi. 4/3. a.
περιστατικός, iv. 8a/2; xvi. 11/4. h.
Περσεφόνη, N.D. ii. 66.
Περσηφόνη, sc. στοά, xv. 9/1, where see comm. a.
πένθος, F xvi. 18/1. Arist.
πεντάμα, iv. 8/2 ("binding" of book). C in this sense.
πενθανός, xiii. 19/5. a.
πίνειο, πεπινωμένον, xvi. 7/2. h; —ως, xv. 16/1. C.
Πλάτων, ix. 13/4.
παλαιά, C; cf. καρδοκώ.
πλούς, xv. 21/3.
πλούς, N.D. ii. 66.
πολικός, xi. 5/1; πολικός, ix. 4/2.
ποιητής, ix. 10/1.
ποιητικός, Fin. iii. 55.
ποιήτης, Acad. i. 25; N.D. ii. 94.
ποιήτης, ix. 4/2.
πολεμός, πολεμώμα, passim. c, πολέμος, vi. 1/13; ix. 7/3.
πόλις, F xv. 17/2.
πολιτικός, passim. -κάτερον, i. 1/3; -κώς, ibid., -κάτερον, adv. v. 12/2.
πολυγράφωτος, xiii. 17/2(18). C1.
Πολυκλής, vi. 1/17.
πολύ, passim. c; N.T. πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ, vi. 1/20.
πολυτεύμα, xiii. 32/3 (figurative). C1 in this sense.
πορεί, ix. 4/2.
πορέμα, vi. 1/17.
πορεματικός or prymaticus, xiv. 3/2, de Or. i. 198; -κώς, Q.F. ii. 14
(15 b)/2. h; in sense of 'attorney.' C1.
πρακτικός, ii. 7/4, 16/3.
πράξεως, x. 13/1; xiv. 12/1, 19/5 (with pun). c; N.T.
πράξεως, xii. 16/1; orat. 70; de off. i. 93.
πράξις, N.T.
πράξις, xii. 2/2, 4/2, etc. Arist. in this sense.
προβαλόντας, xiii. 21/3 ("boxer's guard"). Carneades.
προσκεκλημένος, vii. 5/2.
προστάτων or proctemenon. Fin. iii. 15, etc. Stoic t.t.
προστάτων, viii. 11/3. Aesch.; h.
προστήθην, xv. 16.
προκαταλήψει, N.D. ii. 114.
προκάταλήψει, topic. 31, N.D. i. 43, 44; Acad. ii. 30.
προκάταληψει, N.D. i. 18; ii. 58, 73 and quot. c; N.T.
προκαταλήψει (mid.) Q.F. ii. 3/6. C1 in this mood.
προκάταληψει, xii. 42/4.
προστάτων, vi. 1/26, 6/2.
πρός, often; προς, xiii. 29/1.
προσπαθήσομεν, vi. 1/2.
προσπαθοκίνης, Fin. vii. 32/2. Arist.
προσθήψεις, xiv. 108 ('minor premise'). h.
προσθέσεις, v. 4/2.
προσπάσχει, ii. 19/1.
προσφονών, xii. 21a/1; xv. 13/6; xvi. 11/4 ('dedicate'). h, προσφώνων, xiii. 12/3. C1.
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πρόσωπον, xiii. 32/3 ('person,' 'character'). h; xiii. 19/3, u. καφός; F xv. 17/2 ('face.'); c; N.T.
προτέρος, i. 16/1, 2 and quot. πρώτος, vi. 5/2 and quot. Both c; N.T.
προφητα, ix. 4/3. a.
πρόβεγγε, vi. 4/3. c.
πυθαλομαί, x. 1/1 and quot. c; N.T.
Pπρόσειν, N.D. ii. 52. h.
πυροί, vi. 6/2. c.

P.
ραθμότερα, Q.F. ii. 15(16)/5. a.
ρήτωρ ('orator'), orat. 61. c; but rhetores ('rhetoricians'), 93. h; N.T.
ρητορικών, xv. 16a. a.
ροπή, xvi. 5/4. a.
ρυθμός, orat. 67. f 170. a, rhythmici, de Or. iii. 190. h (Dion. Hal.).
ρωτογραφία, xv. 16a. C.

Σ.
σαρόμενος (γέλας), F vii. 25/1. c.
σεμείο, ii. 1/3; xii. 5/1; xv. 12/1 (u.L. —ως). c.
σημεία, xiii. 32/3 ('abbreviation'). c; N.T.
σημαδεύειν, vii. 17/2 (a coinage).
Σίστος, Σιστόμην, vi. 2/3.
σιλλαβος or sillybus, iv. 4a/1, 8/2. C.
σιστή, vi. 8/5. c; N.T.
σκιέμα, vii. 8/3, 21/3; x. 1/3. c.
σκέφαι, xii. 3/2. a.
σκηπτείμαι, xvi. 9. c.
σκηπτής, i. 12/1. c.
σκιαρχία, F xi. 14/1. C.
σκόλας, xiii. 39/1 and quot. c; N.T.
σκότος, ii. 18/1; xv. 29/2. c; N.T.
σκόρης, xiii. 42/3 (so Tyrrell). h; a frequent vulgarism.
σκοτείνος, Fin. ii. 15. c; N.T.
σκυλάς, iv. 13/1. h.
σκυτάλη, x. 10/3. c.
σκόλικος, xiv. 6/2 ('in bad taste'). Xen., cf. άποσέλ.
Σκόπιλος, Q.F. ii. 15/3.
σοφίζομαι, ii. 16/2. a (act. LXX, N.T.); σοφιστείω, ii. 9/3; ix. 9/1. a, σοφιστής, quot. only.
σοφός, F ix. 22/5; Fin. ii. 24; Tusc. v. 7 and quot. c; N.T.
σοφία or sophia, F F ix. 10/2, de off. i. 153. c; N.T.
σφίδραμαι, xv. 29/2. c.
σφυκείμαι, vii. 2/1. h.
σποντάζω, xiii. 21a/1; F xv. 18/1. a; N.T. σπουδάζω, v. 3/2; xiii. 52/3. a; N.T. σπουδή, ii. 1/8; F. xvi. 21/6 and quot. c; N.T.
στάσις, topic. 93 ('depulsio criminis'). h.
στείχος, vi. 5/2. e—a (poet.).
στέργεια, ix. 16/7; στοργή, x. 8/9, both c.
στερεύματα, N.D. i. 49. Epic. t.t.
στερητικός, topic. 48 (rhet.). Arist.
στεφάνη or stephané, N.D. i. 28 (Parmenides).
Στιλβέω, N.D. ii. 53. h.
στραγγυρικός, F vii. 26/1. c.
στρατήγημα, N.D. iii. 15. a.
στρατιλάχας, xvi. 15/3. O (Stratilax in Plaut. True. dram. pres. is a
ghost-word; see Lindsay's crit. note.)
σύ, ρασσιμ. c; N.T.
σύγγραμμα, xvi. 6/4. c.
συγκατάθεσις, Acad. ii. 37. Acad. t.t.
συγκινούντας, ix. 4/2. a.
συγκόρμα, ii. 12/2. h.
συγχωνικ., vi. 9/1; vii. 8/4. c; N.T.
συγχώνας, F xvi. 21/4. h; N.T.
συγχώρησις, topic. 12, 38. Arist.
σύλλογος, see ξυλ.—
σύμβιωσις, F ix. 10/3. h. συμβιωτής, F ix. 10/3. a.
σύμβολον, topic. 35. Arist. in this sense.
συμβούλευτικόν, xii. 40/2. Arist.
συμμετρία, F xvi. 18/1. c.
συμπάθεια, iv. 15/1, etc., N.D. iii. 28, etc. Arist., h, συμπαθος, v. 11/7;
xii. 44/1. h. συμπάθος, xii. 11. a; (N.T. συμπαθῶ).
συμπληρωματικός, vii. 7/7. a.
συμπλήρωμα, ii. 12/2. c; N.T.
συμφιλισμὸς, v. 17/2. h.
συμμετεχόν, F xvi. 21/8. C.1.
συμφιλισμοφιλία, iv. 18/2. Arist.
συμφωνία, xii. 41/2. c.
σίώ, quot. only.
συναγωγή, ix. 13/3; xvi. 5/5. a (N.T. in different sense).
συναινεῖ, v. 12/2. h.
συναγοραγράφω, ('enlist along with'), ix. 4/2. a, late.
συναποθέματα, vii. 20/2. c.
συνδετικός, Q.F. ii. 15/3. c, συνδετικός, F ix. 20/3. a.
συνδιαμερισμός, viii. 9/3. Xen.
συνέχεια ('next point'), ix. 7/1. a.
συνέναι, xii. 45/2. h.
συνενώσις, ii. 2/1. e—a.
συνένωσις, xiii. 42/1 (? a quot.). a.
συντάσσει, xiii. 12/3; xv. 14/4. h.
συνταγμα, xvi. 3/1 ('collection of writings'); C.1; Diod.
συντάσσομαι, xvi. 7/3 ('compile'). h.
σύνεσθε, x. 8/3 (metaphorical). Arist. C in this sense.
συσκευάζομαι, ii. 17/1. a.
σφαίρα, N.D. ii. 47. h, as t.t. σφαίροειδής, Tim. 17. c.
σφάλμα, x. 12а/2. c.
σφάδια, vi. 5/2. c; N.T.
σχεδιασμός, vi. 1/11. a. σχεδιάσμα, xv. 19/2 ('invention,' 'trumped-up story'), cf. σχεδιαζων = νεκτρί (Diod. often). C in this sense.
σχέδων, vi. 5/2. c; N.T.
σχήμα, topic. 34, Brunt. 141, 275; orat. 85, 181 (rhet. t.t.). Arist.
σχολή, ii. 5/3 ('leisure'), a. schola, ix. 22/5; Fin. ii. 1 ('disputation'),
h. σχολών, xvi. 7/3. C1 (from Atticus).
σφίξ, vi. 5/2; xvi. 15/3. c; N.T.1
Σωκρατικός, ii. 3/3. h.
σώμα ('collection,' 'collected edition'), ii. 1/3. h.
σωφρασίνη, Tusc. iii. 16, σωφρων, ibid. c; N.T.

T.

tαξιάρχης, xvi. 11/3. c.
tε, vi. 5/2, etc. and quot. a; N.T.
tέθμπα, v. 21/7. c.
tάκτων, vii. 21 and quot. c; N.T.
tελευτώ, iv. 8/1 (Soph., with a pun). c; N.T.
tέλος, xii. 6/2; xiii. 12/3; Fin. i. 42; iii. 26. c; N.T. τελευταίοις, Fin. iii. 55.
Стoις t.t.
tέμπη, iv. 15/5. c—a.
tένων, faceteon, i. 16/13 (comic hybrid).
tέρας, viii. 9/4. c; N.T.
Τείχρις or Τειχρίς, i. 12/1, 14/7.
tεχνολογία, iv. 16/3. C1.
tίς; iv. 1/20 and quot.; τις, vi. 5/2, etc., and quot. a; N.T.
Τίττος, ii. 9/4, 12/4.
tος, ix. 7/3 and quot. c.
tοιωντος, xvi. 15/3. c; N.T.
tόκος, vi. 5/2. c; N.T.
tοτητή, sc. τέχνη topic. 6. h.
tοτοποθεσία, i. 13/5, 16/18. C1.
tότε, ix. 9/3 and quot. c; N.T.
tρεῖς, xiii. 57/1. c; N.T.
tρισαρευσταφίνας, iv. 15/4. c.
tρίπτυς, F xvi. 18/1 ('massage'). C1 in this sense.
tρύπος, Brut. 69 (rhet. t.t.); ix. 4/2. Former sense h, latter c; N.T.

1 Whether Cicero wrote σφίξ, or σφίξα, etc., can hardly be determined.
τύμβος, de legg. ii. 64. c.

πύρος ("statuette"), i. 10/3, c. τυπυγός, iv. 13/2. h (Strab.).

τυραννός, ii. 17/1, etc., and quot.; c. τυραννός, ix. 4/2, etc.; c. τυραννοκτόνος
ος τυραννοκτόνος, vi. 4/3; xiv. 6/2. h.

τυραννοκτονία, iv. 8/1; xiv. 16/1; F ix. 16/9. f C.

τυφλός, ii. 19/1. c.

typhos, xii. 26/2. a; N.T. τύφος, xiii. 29/1. a. Written as Latin by


T,

υγίνη, x. 12/4 and quot. c; N.T.

υπάλλαγη, orat. 93. h (Dion. Hal.).

υπάρχουσα ("property," "goods"), vi. 4/3, 5/1. h (χρήματα, οίκεια, c), cf.

1 Cor. 13.

υπεκτιθεμα, vii. 17/4. c.

υπέρ, with gen. ix. 4/2. c; N.T.

υποταττόμον, xv. 1a/2 (with pun). C.

υπερδολή, F vii. 32/2, topic. 45. a, υπερδολικός, v. 21/7; vi. 2/4. h.

Former also N.T., but not in tech. sense.

υπέρογκα, x. 1/3. a.

υπερήμορος, xiv. 10/1 ("windy"). h.

υπερσία, ix. 13/5. a.

υπο, with gen. xvi. 15/3; with dat., quot. only; with acc. ix. 2/1. c; N.T.

hypodidascalus, F ix. 18/4. a, rare.

υπόθεσις ("case"), topic. 79; i. 14/4, etc. a.

υποθέσει ("counsel"), ii. 17/3; υπ. or hypodeko ("pledge," "pawn"), F xiii.

15/2. c.

υποκαταλέλμα, ix. 10/4. a.

υπομετρήσιμον, vi. 1/2. C; cognates h.

υπομνήμα or hypomnema, ii. 1/2; xv. 23; xvi. 14/4. c.

υπομνηματικός, v. 11/6; F xiii. 1/5. h.

υποταττόμον, ii. 10/1; xiv. 21/3. C; cf. σολοκός.

υπόστασις, ii. 3/3 (δ. nostram ac politiēan), h in this sense (προαιρεσις; c).

υπούλος, x. 11/1. c.

υποφύρω, vi. 5/1 with tmesis. C, but ϕυρῶ, c.

υποστήσας, i. 20/5 ("disgrace," "one in the eye for . . ."). 1 C in this sense; cf. υποστηθα, Luc. 18/6, 1 Cor. 9/7 ("treat contemptuously").

υπότερος, i. 16/1. (υ. τρότερον, Οµηρίκος, i. c. wrong end first, like Homer's τρίφειν ἢ ἔγειντο, A 251). 1 phrase.

υυα, N.D. ii. 111; Hyades, ibid. c.

Φ.

Φαίδων, N.D. ii. 52. h, as name of planet.

Φατέρος, xiii. 39/2.
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φαίνουσθα, vii. 21/1; xiv. 22/2. C.
φαλάκρωμα, xiv. 2/3 and e. ibid. 2. h (LXX).
φαλάφαρος, vii. 12/2. C.
φαλάθος, xvi. 11/1 (Guritt, wallo coll.; 'indecency'). e, but C in this sense.
φαντασία, ix. 6/5; F. xv. 16/1; Acad. i. 40; ii. 18. a. h often (N.T. always) in sense of 'display,' 'showiness.'
φέρω, vi. 5/2. c; N.T.
φθάνω, v. 10/3; ix. 4/2. c; N.T.
φθάνομαι, xii. 41/2; xiii. 20/2; F iii. 7/6. c;
φθαλαθός, Q.F. ii. 15(16)/5. h.
φθαντία, xiii. 13/1. h (φθαντος, N.T.).
φθειόθηκος, xii. 6/2 (doubtful). C1; Strabo.
φθέλλης, i. 15/1. c.
φθειόστος, xii. 19/3. h.
φθίλασε, F xv. 19/3. c; N.T.
φθίλεπίζω, de diu. ii. 118. a.
φθίλωνικα, Tusc. iv. 25. h.
φθίλωνικός, F xv. 19/2.
φθιλεθαρος, F vii. 16/1. a (late) and h.
φθίλωνικός, F xv. 19/3. a.

Arist.

φθιλόσοφος, de Orat. i. 9, and often as a Lat. word. φθίλοσοφος, ii. 12/4: -ος, xiii. 20/4; -οτερας, vii. 8/3; φθίλοσοφος, i. 16/3; ii. 5/2, 13/2; F xi. 27/3. c, the first two also N.T.

Arist.

φθιλοσοφός, xiii. 9/2. The posit. in Xen.; N.T. φθιλοσοφός, xv. 17/1. Arist.

φθιλέφθω, xiii. 9/1. C2.

Arist.

φθιλεμμα, vii. 9/2; vii. 1/1. e.
φθιλεος, vii. 2/3.
φθιλιας, F xv. 18/1. a.
φθιλιας, xii. 37/2. e; N.T.
φθιλιας, vi. 5/2. c; N.T. φθιλιας, de orat. i. 153. a; N.T.
φθιλιας, vii. 11/1. c.
φθιλιας, xiv. 5/1. C4 (Diod.).

Arist.

φθιλιας, ii. 12/2. e; N.T.

Arist.

φθιλιας, N.D. ii. 53. h.

i, h. s. VOL. XII.
The above list might be lengthened by including a number of established loan-words from Greek, such as *acratorophoros*, *dies* (2 Verr. ii. 44), *idiotas*, and others; but as these have been sufficiently discussed by Laurand (op. cit. p. 62 sqq.) and others, and in any case belong rather to the history of Latin than of Greek in their Romanised form, I omit them. Neither do I intend to make a detailed study of the words listed (about 1000, including proper names). From the point of view of their structure, I have nothing to add to the remarks of Steele in the article already cited; but I would call attention in general to certain outstanding characteristics of the vocabulary, perceptible without elaborate statistics. Cicero might, to judge by his tastes in Greek literature, be expected to classicise. Of the scores of quotations, for which see Steele p. 398 sqq., from various poets, two only can be traced definitely to post-Attic writers, one to Rhunton and one to Leonidas of Tarentum (Q. ix. 18/3, x. 2, where see T. and P.). while another, viii. 5/1, *πολλὰ μάτην κεφάσαι ἐς ἄρα θυμήματα*, has perhaps an Alexandrian flavour. In prose, the Platonic epistles and Thucydides divide the honours, save for one scrap of Epicurus. It would seem as if the later philosophers whom he read for their content furnished him in matters of style only with the many technical terms with which his works are besprinkled. In his own Greek style, when he wrote for
the public, he no doubt showed himself a true follower of the classicising Rhodian school which had so profoundly influenced his Latin. Yet the familiar style of his letters is interspersed with as plain and colloquial, in other words, as Hellenistic, a Greek as his Latin is easy and informal. A very large percentage of the vocabulary is Hellenistic; not a few words are unexampled elsewhere, i.e. formed part of the current vocabulary of his day, for that he should coin them is most unlikely; there are one or two frankly vulgar words, as αὐτόρδον and probably ἑuéρεσιμα.

In more detail—in small matters of spelling, such as the assimilation or non-assimilation of αυτον, we cannot gather much information from our ill-written MSS.; yet it would seem that the Hellenistic verb ἑύρεσιμα has the Hellenistic augment ἑυ- for ἑυ-. Hellenistic formations, such as the long list of compounds of αὐτο-, meet us at every turn; and very numerous words have non-classical meanings while classical enough in form. In this connexion it is noticeable that τὰ δίκαια, on both occasions that it occurs, means τὰ πάντα, resembling the modern usage.

Pronunciation is indicated in two places. One is the reading τὰ κενᾶ helping to date the variant καινῶν-κενῶν in Thuc. iii. 30/4, cf. Arist. Eth. iii. 1118b 6, and agreeing with Diod., who likes the phrase and often uses it (xvii. 86/1; xx. 30/1, 67/4), which indicates that α and ι were pronounced alike, and incidentally that even to the educated ear Greek quantity was growing less distinct. A clearer indication is given in F ix. 22/3: cum 'bini' (loquimur) opscenum est. 'Grecis quidem inæquus, i.e. bini sounded like biini, the distinction between αι and ι being lost. We now see the significance of a point in Cicero's translation of the epitaph on Thermopylae,


dic, hospes, Spartae nos te hic uldisse inclementium

dum sanctis patriae legibus obsequimur.

To him, the original was a series of I-sounds, and his rendering brings this out most clearly.

Turning to the discussion of his grammar, we must note in the first place that almost the only pieces of continuous Greek we have (in vi. 4 and 5) are written in an affected and purposely obscure style, in riddles, as Cicero himself says. To this fact we owe the archaic ἀστυν, διάμαρ, διάνωρος, the last being also Doric; the tmesis ἔσω-το το παρακάτων; and the whole roundabout and artificial tone. Still, even here the syntax is Hellenistic. The chief characteristics of non-Attic grammar which I have noted here and elsewhere are as follows:

1. Disappearance of the dat. case has already begun; it is replaced by εἰκ with the acc. vi. 5/2.
2. ἐνα after a verb of commanding, expressed or understood, as vi. 5/2.
3. Perfect as a historic tense, xiii. 20/4; xiv. 6/2. This would be particularly natural for a Roman.

10 I think it likely, though it is not yet proved, that his prose rhythms are Rhodian in origin.
11 The recovery of a good part of Philodemus gives us new examples of more than one σίμυτος of Cicero.
4. An odd construction, of which I can find no other example, is the use of \textit{παραδίδωμι}, vi. 5/2, where, apparently in the sense of 'submitted accounts showing that...', it is followed first by a participle and then by an infinitive. We may, however, recollect the fairly numerous cases in Attic where the infinitive carries on a construction which began with some other form of oratio obliqua.

There are also a few things which seem like Latinisms. The quasi-imperative fut. indic. \textit{μηλώσῃ}, xii. 51/2 is, indeed, in itself passable Greek, but Cicero's reason for using it is likely enough his fondness for that construction in Latin. In vocabulary, the odd words \textit{τοποφορεῖναι} and \textit{φυρᾶν} are naturally accounted for by \textit{conturbare}. How easily Cicero could slip from one language into the other is indicated by the macaronic \textit{factaeos} and \textit{ζυμιωτατα} (xiv. 51/1), which seem to look forward to Ausonius' oddities, Drummond's \textit{heighissimus}, and Lowell's \textit{stickere bouecknise}. Often, again, a name is written in Greek letters for no particular reason, as F xiii. 15/2, 56/1. An isolated archaism is \textit{δεινηρίας πέρι}, ix. 4/2, perhaps motivated by some reminiscence of a tragic tag, such as \textit{τυραννίδες πέρι}, Eur. \textit{Phoen.} 524.

It is instructive to compare this non-literary Hellenistic with the equally non-literary style of most of the N.T. Here we find indeed a general resemblance in vocabulary and grammar, but the details are very different. Putting aside the theological terms of the one and the philosophical and other technicalities of the other, we see that the words common to the two documents are for the most part found also in classical style. Now and then we can see how a tendency just appearing in Cicero has become developed a century later; thus Cicero uses \textit{συμπάθεια}, etc., but \textit{συμπάθως}, while in the N.T. the secondary formation \textit{συμπάθῳ} has displaced the latter. To Cicero again, \textit{περιπερενομαι} is apparently a slang word, from its jocular context; St. Paul can use it in the gravest and most elevated writing. But on the whole, Cicero's departures from the older forms of expression lead in a different direction from those of the later writers. They coincide with him but rarely in the use of words which we find for the first time in him, as a glance down the word-list will show clearly. We are thus reminded of the fact that, quite apart from Hebraisms, Latinisms, and all the vagaries natural to a language in process of becoming a lingua franca, Hellenistic, even as revealed by our imperfect records, contains many divergent tendencies, and therefore it is hazardous to generalise from the documents of one region to the practice of another.

H. J. Rose.
RED-FIGURED VASES RECENTLY ACQUIRED BY THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

[Plates II.-VIII.]

In Vols. XVIII. (1888) and XXXI. (1911) of the Journal I gave some account of black-figured vases acquired by the British Museum subsequently to the appearance of Vol. II. of the Catalogue of Vases in 1893. On page 1 of the latter volume a promise was made that another paper should follow, describing red-figured vases similarly acquired; but its appearance has been delayed by the war and other circumstances, with the result that the number of vases now included amounts to nearly fifty. Seventeen other vases acquired during the period 1895–1900 are omitted here as having been already published elsewhere, but a list is appended on page 150. The total number of red-figured vases added to the collection since 1894 is thus over sixty. The terminus post quem for this paper goes back over a year previous to the publication of the Catalogue in 1896, as several vases were acquired while it was passing through the press, and were too late for inclusion.

In view of the large number of vases included in this paper, I have thought it advisable to make the descriptions as brief as possible, especially as the majority are not remarkable for their subjects. The vases are described as far as possible in chronological order, and for this purpose they may be roughly classified in five groups, corresponding more or less to the classes adopted by Mr. J. D. Beazley in his recent work on Attic Red-figured Vases in American Museums, from which I have derived much valuable assistance.

These five classes are:

1. Early archaic or 'severe' style (Chachrylion, Epirketos, etc.).
2. Ripe archaic or 'strong' style (Euphranorios, Douris, etc.).
3. Late archaic.
4. Early free or 'fine' style.
5. Ripe free or 'late fine' style (Meidias).

In the last class are included one or two vases which more strictly belong to the period of the South Italian wares, though they still retain much in common with the work of Athenian artists. Beginning with a cup which illustrates the transition from the B.F. to the R.F. method, we thus cover in our survey the whole period of the development and decline of this phase of Greek art.
I. EARLY ARCHAIC PERIOD.

(1) KYLIX of 'mixed' technique.
Ht. 17 cm. Diam. 37-2 cm.

This cup was presented to the Museum by Miss A. F. Pariss in 1896, and is mentioned by Klein in his Lieblingsinschriften, 2nd edn., p. 54, no. 2. It belongs to the transitional class with B.F. interior design and R.F. exterior designs, which I have discussed in a previous paper in connexion with the potter Hischylus (J.H.S., 1909, pp. 110, 115). It is there mentioned in the list of kylikes of mixed style, and is assigned to the workshop of Chelis, who on one occasion uses the καλός-name Mennon, which also occurs on this vase. Hoppin, in his list of vases attributed to Chelis,\(^1\) does not include those which bear the name Mennon, which in point of fact is also used twice by Chachrylion. We

![Fig. 1.—INTERIOR: KYLIX OF 'MIXED' TECHNIQUE.](image)

cannot therefore be absolutely certain from what workshop the cup came, but it must belong to the earliest phase of the R.F. period, while the new method was still in the trammels of the B.F. method, the treatment of the exterior with the large eyes leaving little room for figure subjects.

The B.F. design in the interior (Fig. 1), which is a rough piece of work and in very bad condition, represents a slinger moving to the right and turning round to aim with his sling in the opposite direction. He wears a Corinthian helmet, greaves, a short tunic ornamented with an engraved pattern of crosses, and a cloak with purple stripes and border over his shoulders. A bag made of the skin of a panther, which hangs at his back, may be a case for holding the sling. Round the figure is inscribed ΜΕΜ. ΟΝ ΚΑ... s. Μεν(γ)κα Κα(λό)κ. Slingers are not a very common subject on Greek vases; other examples are

\(^1\) Handbook of R.F. Vases, i. 183 ff.

On the exterior (Fig. 2) we have on either side the typical large eyes of the B.F. kylix, but in the R.F. method. The space between is occupied on one side by an ithyphallic mule, which stands braying to the right, and on the other side is a trefoil-shaped object, probably intended to represent a nose. On each side of the handle is a palmette of the type common on B.F. vases.

(2) **Kyx by Euerghides** (Plate II.).
Ht. 13 cm. Diam. 30 cm.

This cup was known some 70 years ago, but had since then been lost sight of. It reappeared at a sale at Sotheby's in 1920, and the Museum had the good fortune to secure the vase, which bears the signature of the potter Euerghides, and is the best existing example of his work. It was published in the *Annali* for 1849, but the illustration, which was used by Rizzo in his monograph on Skythes, and by Hoppin in his recently-issued handbook, is now shown to have been a most unsatisfactory one. Beazley's verdict that Euerghides' painter was of rather mediocre ability must, I think, be modified now that the vase itself is before us.

The cup has both interior and exterior decoration. In the interior is represented a dancing girl to right, with head turned round to left, holding castanets in her hands. She wears a long chiton of crinkly and partly transparent material with short sleeves. Her right leg is kicked up behind. Round the edge of the circle runs the potter's signature *ΕΥΕΡΗΓΗΣΙΟΝ*. An almost identical figure occurs on an alabastron at Athens,
with the same signature, and another on a kylix in the Louvre, which Pottier assigns to Epiketos.

On the exterior we have two scenes each closed by a Sphinx, seated with head turned away from the centre; each one on the left holds up her right paw. The side A represents a nude youth leading two horses with halters, and carrying a stick or goad behind his head. Above him is inscribed ΠΑΕΧΙΠΠΟΣ, ΠΑΕΧΙΠΠΟΣ or 'Whipper,' a sort of descriptive name. It occurs on two other cups in the Museum (E 20–21), which may also be from Euphorides' workshop. On B, a nude athlete walks to right, looking round and holding a javelin in both hands; facing him are two draped youths, one of whom holds a rod, the other a flower. The attitude of the javelin-thrower shows that he is just preparing for a throw, drawing the pointed end back with his left hand so as to pull the thong of the amentum tight, as explained by Mr. Norman Gardiner in describing a similar figure on a kylix at Munich.

As regards the artistic qualities of this cup, the interior figure is distinctly good, and almost equal to the contemporary work of Epiketos. The exterior figures are somewhat dwarfed in proportions, and recall the work of the painter Sklythes, whom Rizzo is probably right in regarding as the actual painter of Euphorides' cups. The composition has not really advanced beyond the stage of the transitional cup-painters. The vase is in astonishingly fine condition, and there is not a trace of injury about it; the varnish is brilliant in the extreme. The shape of the rim should be noted, recalling the cups of Brygos.

(3) KLYX signed by Chachrylion (Fig. 3).
Diam. of complete vase about 23.5 cm.

These fragments of a cup, which were purchased in 1897, are illustrated by Hopkin in his Handbook, i. pp. 158, 159, but as he only gives one of the exterior subjects (B), I publish the other here also for completeness' sake. The cup is also given in Nicolle's list of Chachrylion vases, but is not mentioned by Beazley.

The cup is in very fragmentary condition, only the upper part of the interior design and isolated bits of the exterior designs being preserved. A peculiar feature of the decoration is that the interior has been left red, except for the central design, and the exterior only is varnished over. The surface of the red clay is ruddled over. The interior design exhibits very fine drawing. Purple pigment is used for the wreath, flames, bow, and inscription. Below the exterior designs is a band of palm-leaves and lilies alternating.

In the interior a beardless archer with long hair kneels or sits to the right, and looks down at an arrow held in his left hand; in the right he holds an unstrung bow. He wears a Corinthian helmet with two bull's horns and a flowing crest rendered in silhouette. Only the head, shoulder, and left fore-arm remain, and above is painted the inscription ἸΟΝ...ΕΝ, ΧΑΧΡΟΥΛΙΟΝ ΓΝΗΡΩ[ΡΟΝ]. The subject is one typical of early R.F. interiors, but I have not come across an exact parallel.

* J.H.S. xxvii. 262.
RED-FIGURED VASES ACQUIRED BY BRITISH MUSEUM

The exterior design (A), which is not given by Hoppin, represents a sacrifice or libation. A woman (of whom only an arm holding bowl, sleeve and edge of chiton, and part of feet remain) holds a fluted libation-bowl over an altar, of which only part of the base and the flame on the top remain. On the left is visible part of the torso of a man to right, who carries a large basket on his shoulder. On the right are seen the right half (to the waist), and right forearm of a youth looking to the left, who has drapery twisted round his waist and holds a fruit in his left hand. On the extreme right are seen the foot and part of the leg of a figure moving to right. Above the altar is the inscription ... ΟΣ ΚΑ ... , which must be intended for Λιαγρός Καρλός, as that is the only καρλός-name ending in -ος used by Chachrylion.

The fragment remaining of the other design (B) represents a procession of three youths moving to the right. The first youth, whose figure is complete except one knee and part of the right hand, looks back, and wears a myrtle-wreath and a mantle ornamented with stars, and a border over his right shoulder; in his right hand he carries a rod held behind him, and in his left are flutes. Of the second only one foot and part of the leg are visible; and of the third (on the right) only one heel. Above is part of an inscription ... ΒΟΣ ... καρελος.
(4) **KYLIX.**
Ht. 7.7 cm. Diam. 19.8 cm. Found in Asia Minor, and purchased in 1866.

This cup also belongs to the early archaic period, but is of somewhat inferior workmanship, and cannot be assigned to any particular workshop. It has been made up from fragments and is practically complete; the varnish is of a dull black.

There is only an interior design (Fig. 4), which represents a young soldier stooping to left, with crouched lance. He wears anklets, a helmet with flowing crest and cheek-pieces, and holds a circular shield with device of a cock to left at the level of his knee. The legs are out of proportion in the drawing.

![Fig. 4.—KYLIX: EARLY ARCHAIC PERIOD.](image)

(5) **ALABASTRON,** of the school of Epiktetos (Plate VIII.),
Ht. 8.2 cm. From Attica; purchased 1902.

The vase is complete except that one ear-handle and part of the edge of the lip are missing, and it has been repaired at the neck. The varnish is brown, and purple is used for wreaths and inscriptions. The minute and careful drawing is of the early archaic period, to which the inscriptions also show that it belongs. The designs consist of two single figures in panels separated by broad vertical bands of upright palmettes. Above and below the designs are continuous bands of enclosed palmettes, those above being upright, the lower horizontally placed to left. On the bottom of the vase is a large single palmette.

(A) A woman stands to right, with left hand raised as if in greeting; she wears a long chiton with wide sleeves, and her hair is tied in a knot behind
with a fillet, the ends of which hang free. On the right is inscribed ἜΡΩΙΣΕΝ, ἔσεισεν, but no artist's name.

(B) A woman stands to left, facing the other; her right hand is held in front of her with fingers upright and palm outwards; she wears a coif, sleeved chiton, and mantle over her shoulders. Round her head is inscribed ἙΡΩΣΑΟΡΕΥΟ, προσαγόρευο, and on the upper edge of the lip is the inscription Ο ἈΣΚ... ὑ προσαγόρευο.

This vase is discussed by Brueckner, Lebensregeln auf athenische Hochzeitsgeschenken, pp. 8, 11, who explains it as a 'Besuch bei den Exanien,' or visit paid by a friend to the bride on the ἐκληρια or day following the wedding. The expression προσαγόρευο was probably a ceremonial form of greeting used on these occasions. It occurs on other vases of the school of Epiktetos, one of which, an alabastron similar to the one under discussion, is in the Louvre, and has been published by M. Pottier, who refers all these vases to a supposed artist Παῦλος. The signature ἔσεισεν by itself is also found on other vases of this period, mostly of the school of Epiktetos, but one in the Louvre (G 10) is assigned by Pottier to the school of Chachrylion.

It would therefore seem that we may assign this vase to the school of Epiktetos. But it is worth noting that the signature of the painter Παῦλος is found on two other alabstra, one at Karlsruhe, the other at Odessa, each of which has a single figure painted each side, and we must not therefore ignore the possibility that this little vase is also his work.

II. RIPE ARCHAIC PERIOD.

(1) KYLIX, of the school of Euphronios (Plate III.).
Ht. 9.5 cm. Diam. 24 cm. Bought 1897.

This vase has been made up from fragments, but is almost complete; it had been broken and riveted in ancient times. The surface is covered with a good black varnish, and the red clay of the design has been reddled over. The inner markings are in brown, the inscriptions in purple. The drawing on the exterior is hasty and careless, but that of the interior is more meritorious. It would seem that, as in the case of Pamphaios' 'Sleep and Death' cup (B.M., E 12), two hands had been at work on it. The use of the σπαλλακτικα names Athenodotos and Leagros clearly brings it within the circle of Euphronios and his school. It is also mentioned by Klein (Lieberman, p. 92, no. 10).

The interior design, which is enclosed within two red circles, represents an Amazon striding to the left, holding a spear couched in the right hand. She wears a chiton of crinkly material, a large chlamys with bands of pattern (embattled, rays, zigzags, and dots) over her shoulders, and a helmet with crest and cheek-pieces; on her left arm is a pelta ornamented with two eyes

1 Pottier, Revue des Etudes Grecques, 1893, pp. 40, 41; cf. also G 32 and G 101; in that collection; and see id., Cat. des Vases du Louvre, p. 924. Hopkin, Handbook to R.F. Vases, ii. 275, assigns this group to Euphronios, but does not mention the B.M. vase.

2 See Klein, Meisters, pp. 111, 220; J.H.S. xii. 340; Recueil, p. 341; Pottier, Cat. des Vases du Louvre, p. 919.
divided by a band of maenander. In the field is inscribed AEIOEATOS, Αθηναῖος ὁρὸς.

The exterior design (A) represents three nude youths kneeling to left, each with spear in right hand and circular shield in left; they have long hair, and wear crested helmets with cheek-pieces. On the shield of the first is a kylix; on the second, a horse to left; on the third, ΣΟΛΑɅΞΑ, Δέαγος. Above is the inscription ΑΕΑΡ.. ΚΑΛΟΣ, Δέαγος Καλός.

The design on (B) is similar, but the head of the foremost youth is missing; the shield-devices are (1) bull's head between eyes; (2) tripod; (3) the word ΣΟΛΑΞΟΣ, Καλός, which is also repeated in the field.

Beazley, in his discussion of vases by the 'Panaitios Painter,' incidentally refers to this cup as resembling a fragmentary one in New York with the Καλός-name Panaitios. It may therefore be assigned to the vases of the Euphronios-cycle which were decorated by that artist; the producer of the Theseus cup in the Louvre and of the Brit. Mus. Eurythoys-cup (E 44). Five of his vases bear Euphronios' signature as maker; seven have the Καλός-name Athenodotos, and one besides the present example has that of Leagros in addition. Mr. Beazley may, however, be right in preferring to associate our vase and the New York cup with the Colmar Painter, another artist of the beginning of the ripe archaic style. He assigns to this painter sixteen cups, three of which have the Καλός-name Lysias. The style of our cup, at all events that of the exterior, is hardly worthy of the man who could produce the lovely interior of the Theseus cup in the Louvre, to say nothing of the Eurythoys scene on the Brit. Mus. example.

(2) KYLIX, of the school of Euphronios.  
Ht. 8-6 cm. Diam. 18 cm. Found in Rhodes, and given by Sir A. Biliotti, 1901.

This vase is much broken, nearly all of the right side of the design being deficient. From the style of the drawing it may be assigned to the Panaitios painter already discussed; the style resembles that of the B.M. vase E 46, attributed to him by Beazley. The black varnish is good; the inner markings are executed in light brown, the wreath and inscription in purple. The pupil of the eye is close to the inner angle, which is open.

The design is in the interior only, and represents, within two circles of red, a youth kneeling to left, who is just about to drink from a large cup shaped like a female breast (μαστός), which he holds tilted up in his right hand; he has apparently partly filled it from a krater beneath. His left hand has held a knotted staff, and he wears a wreath and a mantle hanging from the right elbow and left arm, which latter is now missing. In the field is the inscription ΟΣ, ΝΟΛΑΣ, . . . ΟΣ Καλός (?), which may be intended for Δέαγος, Καλός; a name which also occurs on the B.M. cup E 46.

(3) KYLIX.  
Ht. 9-2 cm. Diam. 23 cm. Found at Vulci, and presented by Miss A. F. Pariss, 1896.

* Vases in Amer. Mus. p. 87.  
This vase was found at Vulci in 1845, and is included in a Sale Catalogue of that year (No. 116). It has been made up from fragments, and most of the rim is wanting. The black varnish is good; there are no inner markings, but purple and thinned-out varnish are used for accessories. The eye is of transitional type, with inner angle open.

The design is on the interior only (Fig. 5), and is surrounded with a border of 'stopped' meander; it represents a nude woman stooping to right and plunging both hands into a laver on a fluted stand, the capital of which is ornamented with an egg-and-tongue moulding; round the bottom of the laver is a hatched band in thinned varnish. The woman wears earrings and a tight-fitting coif, the strings of which are in thinned brown varnish, the clasp being indicated by two black dots. Above the laver is inscribed (in thinned varnish) $\text{ΑΙΟΣΙ}$, and on the left is $\text{ΛΑΩΣ}$ in purple.

Beazley assigns the kylix to the 'Briseis Painter,' the artist of the two Museum cups E 75 and E 76, the latter of which represents the story of Briseis. These were formerly assigned by Hartwig to his 'Bald-head Painter.'

(4) *Kylix*, of the school of Douris.

Ht. 9-2 cm. Diam. 23-5 cm. Found at Orvieto.

This cup was formerly in the Bourgignon collection, and was acquired at the sale of the same in 1901. It is No. 52 in the Sale Catalogue, and an inadequate illustration is given on p. 18 of that publication. The vase is much broken, and has been repaired in antiquity. The drawing is of the 'late strong' style, and is suggestive of the school of Douris; the vase is given by Hoppin.

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11 Notice d'une collection de vases peints
12 Amer. Vases, p. 110; see also Hoppin, Handbook, i. 102.
13 Handbook, i. 283.
in the list of works which have been attributed to that master. The pupil of the eye is near to the inner angle, which is slightly open, thus showing an advance in the treatment of that organ. Purple is used for inscriptions, wreaths, and strings of suspended objects.

In the interior (Fig. 6), within a circle of "stopped" meander, is represented a youth seated on a stool to right, holding on his knees a large bird-cage, containing a bird, perhaps a fighting quail; he appears to be opening the cage with his right hand, the fingers of which are outspread. He wears a fillet, and over his legs and left shoulder hangs a garment. Above are the inscription ΑΙ ΚΑΛΟΣ, δι πατρις καλος, and a bird-clapper with long handle. That such instruments were used in antiquity for scaring birds off crops is suggested by

Fig. 6.—Kylix: School of Douris.

an allusion in Virgil, Georgics i. 156, "Et sonitbo terrebis aves." But the lexicons give no hint as to the name by which they were known.

Exterior (A): Three ephbe, of whom the middle one sits on a stool to right, the others stand facing him, leaning on sticks. All wear cloaks, and the right-hand youth holds out an open set of tablets in his right hand. In the field are a bird-clapper and a writing-tablet with stylus, also the inscription ΑΙΣ ΚΑΟΣ, δι πατρις καλος.

Exterior (B): Similar; in the middle, youth as on (A) with stick in left hand; on the left, wreathed youth in cloak, leaning on stick and holding out an open tablet-case. The right-hand figure is missing. In the field, clapper and tablets, and the inscription ΑΟΓΑΞ, ΝΛΑ δι πατρις καλος.

Tame birds and other animals kept in cages are represented on other vases; one is given in No. V, 16, below (Plate III.); other examples are Petrograd 1791 (Compte-Rendu, 1860, Pl. I.); Bibliothèque Nationale 561 (Reinach, Rép. nú. 262); and Mon. dell Inst. x. Pl. 37 (rabbit in cage).
(5) Nolan Amphora (Plate IV.)
Ht. 30-5 cm. Found in S. Italy or Sicily, and given by Mr. E. P. Warren, 1896.

Although not mentioned by Beazley or Hoppin in their lists, this vase is evidently one of the works of the 'Charmides painter,' as the kalos-name implies. The drawing is of the 'later strong' period, the treatment of the eye being transitional, with pupil in the open inner-angle. The vase is slightly repaired, and has the usual brilliant-varnish, with inner markings in brown, purple being used for inscriptions and other details. The handles are double-grooved, and below the designs is a band of 'stopped' meander.

Like most vases of this class, it has a single figure painted on each side,

Fig. 7.—Lekythos, by Bowdoin Painter.

the action of the two being connected. Usually in such cases the scene is of the 'pursuing' type, a god, hero, or man pursuing on one side, and the pursued figure, generally a woman, on the other. In the present case we have:

(A) Eros flying to right, wearing fillet; he holds out flaming torches, two in the left hand and one in the right. On the right is the inscription KALOS KAPMIDES, Kalos Xapmidis (see Klein, Lieblingsinschr., p. 145, No. 17).

(B) Youth retreating to right with hands extended, wearing a mantle with border. In the field is inscribed KALOS.

(6) Lekythos (Fig. 7).
Ht. 17-8 cm. Found in Rhodes and presented by Sir Henry Howorth, 1916.
Slightly repaired; good black varnish; purple for inscriptions and details. Treatment of eye archaic. On the shoulder, black rays and palmettes; below the design a band of maenander.

A nude youth to right plunges his hands into a laver; above hangs a sponge. In the field is inscribed KA... S, καθ'άνεα, and on the laver is ΤΗΚΟ in large black letters.

Beazley (Amer. Vases, p. 72) assigns this vase to the painter of the Bowdoin box. As he points out, red-figured lekythi are not found until the archaic style was fully developed, owing to the survival of the B.F. technique for this shape. But he reckons no fewer than sixty-two examples which he attributes to this one artist alone.

(7) Lekythos.
Ht. 32.8 cm. Presented by Miss Preston, 1899.
Style still somewhat severe, the treatment of the eye being archaic, but the vase is assigned by Beazley to the painter of the Paris Gigantomachy vase, which is of more developed style. Good black varnish; purple for fillet and inscriptions. Round the neck, egg-pattern.

Nike flying to right, looking back, and holding out a phiale in right hand. She wears a chiton, ornamented with stars, and bordered himation, and her hair is looped up at the back with a long purple fillet. In the field is inscribed ΚΑΛΟΣ, καλός εί.

Beazley's verdict on the painter of this group is that he has 'reduced the fabrication of Brygan pieces to a mechanical process,' his work entirely lacking originality. The subject of a flying Nike, though always decorative, is certainly a stock one on R. F. lekythi, and occurs, for instance, on ten of the lekythi by the Bowdoin artist mentioned above.

III. Late Archaic Period.

(1) Kylix.
Ht. 8.5 cm. Diam. 23 cm. Bought 1895.
The vase has been repaired, but is almost complete. The surface of the designs has been ruddled, and the black varnish is of good quality. The drawing is somewhat careless, but still slightly archaic, the eye being in elementary profile. Inner markings in light brown. Below each handle is a double palmette.

Interior. Within a border of 'stopped' maenander, Satyr and woman. The Satyr stands to right in three-quarter back view, looking down on the woman and placing his right hand on her shoulder; a wine-skin hangs from his left shoulder. The woman is seated on a rock; she wears a coat, chiton, and himation, her arms being muffled in her drapery. In the field is an ivy-spray.

Exterior (A). Three youths with drapery over their shoulders: the first on the left holds a kylix by the foot in his extended left hand, and balances a

** See also Hoppin, Handbook, i. 98.
** Amer. Vases, p. 96; see also Hoppin, Handbook, ii. 324.
stick in the right; the middle one leans on a stick and raises a kylix to his lips, and the third bends forward, holding up a wine-jug.

(B). A similar design. The youth on the left moves to right with lyre in left hand and stick in right; the next has a stick over his shoulder and holds out a kylix; the third, who is bearded, retreats to right, holding a stick in his right hand. Part of the head of the middle figure is wanting. Above, a Νιβης is suspended by cords.

(2) OINOCHOE (Plate VIII).
Ht, 19 cm. From Cervetri. Bought 1912.
The form of this jug, with its trough-shaped lip, is an unusual one; there is a similar example in the British Museum (E 564). It is further peculiar for an oinochoe in having an obverse and reverse design. The varnish is a brilliant black, and the surface of the figures has been deeply ruddled. Drawing of the late archaic period, the eye being transitional, with the pupil near the inner angle, which in the figure (B) is slightly opened.

(A) Scythian or Persian, mounted on a mule, to right; he sits facing the front, with head turned to left, on a side-saddle, with a ledge to support his feet. He is bearded, and wears a Phrygian cap with flaps, and a tight-fitting garment, covered with dotted squares forming a chequer-pattern, which has long sleeves and reaches to the ankles; over this is a cuirass. In his right hand is a battle-axe with spike.

(B) A similar figure, walking to right, carrying a flail in right hand and a battle-axe over his left shoulder; a bow hangs at his left thigh. His under garment is decorated with a pattern of ovals, and he wears shoes, the points of which are slightly turned up.

Beazley assigns the vase to the painter of the Brussels oinochoae, 16 and calls attention to the strong, bold drawing of this artist, who excelled in his treatment of subjects on λοντοπόδαρος. His oinochoae are all of the same unusual form as this vase.

(3) OINOCHOE.
Ht. 21 cm. Found at Vulci. 17 Presented by Miss Paris, 1896.
Ordinary form; much broken, but only a small fragment wanting. Drawing of 'late strong' style, the eye archaic in treatment. Inner markings in light brown; purple for fillet and inscription. On the top of the handle is an enclosed palmette; on the neck band of similar palmettes; and below the design a broad red line.
The design (Fig. 8) represents a Satyr leaping to left, with head turned to right, wearing a fillet; his left hand is placed on his head, and in the right he holds out an ivy-branch. On the right are a θύρσος, and the inscription ΗΟΠΑΙΟΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ, ὁ παῖς καλός.

(4) ALABASTRON (Plate V.).
Ht. 20.5 cm. Presented by Mr. C. Fairfax Murray, 1917.
Late archaic period; eye still archaic; careful drawing.

16 Amor, Vases, p. 133; see also Hopkin.
17 Canino, Sala Cat. (Notizie de Vase point), 1845, No. 36.
Designs in panels, divided by vertical bands of spirals: (A) Priestess (1) moving to left, carrying olive-branches in left hand, and holding torches in her right; she has her hair gathered in a knot at the nape of the neck, and wears an embroidered sphenodone, chiton spotted with crosses, and himation over her arms.

(B) Woman to right, with left hand raised; she has long hair bound by a fillet, with a curl hanging down in front, and wears a long chiton fastened up the sleeves, and himation. At her side is a cock walking to right.

Above the design, elongated tongue-pattern and band of maeanders and diagonal-cross squares; below, a band of key pattern and a plain red line.

IV. EARLY FREE STYLE.

(1) STAMNOS.

Ht. 44 cm. From the Morrison collection, 1898 (Sale Cat. No. 281).

Brilliant black varnish; inner markings in brown, with purple for details and inscriptions. Drawing of the finest period, the eye in correct profile.

(A) Combat between a mounted horseman and a foot-soldier (Plate VII.). The latter thrusts with his spear at the former, whose horse advances to right; his left foot is placed on a high rock. The horseman is armed with a spear, and
a bow at his back; he wears a crested helmet, short chiton, breast-plate with Gorgonion, and shoes. The foot-soldier has crested helmet, chiton, and breast-plate, and is armed with sword and shield, the latter bearing the device of an arching snake. On the right a youth armed with spear hastens up; he wears a petasos, bordered chlamys, and high boots with tongues at the sides, and round his head is a fillet shown in the colour of the clay. In the field is the inscription ΚΑΛΕ, ΚΑΛΗ.

(13) Libation-scene: In the centre is a draped, bearded man to right, with sceptre and laurel-wreath, on either side of whom stands a draped woman, with a fillet wound several times round her head. The woman on the left holds a libation-bowl, from which wine falls on the ground, and the other holds an oinochoe tilted up so that the wine overflows from it; it is held with the spout to the front, and is consequently much foreshortened. In the field hangs a sash, and in front of the woman on the left is inscribed ΚΑΛΕ, ΚΑΛΗ.

Subsidiary decoration as follows: an lip and round base of handles, egg-pattern; above the design, B.F. tongue-pattern; below, continuous band of meanders in threes, broken by saltire crosses; above and below the handles palmettes joined by tendrils.

The paintings on this stamnos approximate in style to the work of the Altamura painter, and of the Lykaon painter. Though certainly not by either artist, it is more likely to belong to the period of the later one (the Lykaon painter), the drawing being of the earliest phase of the free style (contemporary with the vase-painter Polygnotos), with great attention to detail. It may be compared with G 342 in the Louvre (Millingen-Reimach, Pls. 49-50), which is by the Altamura painter.

(12) HYDRIA OF KALBE. (Plate IV.)
Ht. 18½ cm. Bought 1920.

This vase is one of the most charming and delicately-executed products of the later red-figure period. The care and refinement with which the vase is modelled and the decoration executed makes it difficult to believe that it is contemporaneous with the later free style. The group to which it belongs, of which there are three or four more examples in the British Museum, is included by Mr. Beaasley among the work of the ripe free period, but I am disposed to regard it as an earlier development. The drawing, it is true, shows no signs of archaism, and the subject is more in keeping with the pyxides and round-bellied lekythi of the end of the fifth century; but the treatment of the handle-palmettes and the meander-band under the figures recalls the work of the period of Duria and Brygos.

The subject is a simple one: a woman at her toilet, regarding her face in a mirror, and an attendant holding a perfume-jar and a box probably containing jewels. Most of the small hydrides and amphorae in this group are decorated with similar scenes.

The vase was purchased at a sale at Sotheby's in 1920.

(3) LEKYPHROS.
Ht. 35-2 cm. From Sunium. Bought 1905.

Careful drawing, of early fine period; eye in profile. Surface of design rudded; purple for details. Much repaired and neck restored.

Design (Fig. 9) representing Demeter with the car of Triptolomos. The goddess stands turning to the left and holding out a wheat-ear over the winged car, which is empty. She wears a laurel-wreath, chiton, and himation with crenellated border, and on her right wrist is a bracelet in thinned gold;

in her left hand is a long sceptre. On the seat of the car is an embroidered cushion. Above Demeter her name was inscribed ΔΗΜΗΤΗΡ; on the right of the sceptre was inscribed vertically ΔΙΟΤΙΜΟΣ К. ΝΟ... Διότιμον-κ(α)λο(ς), but these names were modern and have now been removed.

Round the base of the neck is an egg-pattern; on the shoulder of the vase, three palmettes and two honeysuckle ornaments; above and below the design are meander patterns.

(4) KANTHAROS (Plate V.).
Ht. 11-3 cm. Diam. 10-7 cm. Bought 1919.

Early free style, with eye in profile.
On one side of the cup is a woman seated in a chair; her hair is knotted up at the back, and she wears a chiton with wide loose sleeves, over which is a himation. She is engaged in spinning, and holds out the distaff in her left hand, the top inserted in a mass of flax, from which she draws out a thread with her right hand, to be wound on the spindle which hangs below.29 The same action is to be seen on a relief from the frieze of the Forum of Nerva at Rome.

On the reverse is a woman standing, turning to the left, and holding out in her right hand an object of embroidered material with a ring attached to the edge, probably a cap of comical form. In her left hand she holds up an alabastron. She is attired like the other, with the addition of a fillet round her hair.

(5) KANTHAROS.
Ht. 14 cm. Diam. 11 cm. Bought in 1898.

The drawing is of an advanced period; good black varnish. One handle with the rim and side adjacent, and the foot, have been restored.

(A) Scene at tomb: A nude youth with a staff in left hand stands to right before a tall stele on a base, down which is inscribed vertically ΠΑ. ΝΟΝ ΙΑΙΠΕ. ΠΝΩΝΩΣΑΟΣ (χύτρας).

(B) Similar: The youth stands to left and holds a thyrsos; the stele has no base, and on it is inscribed ΑΤΙΑ. The head of the youth is wanting above the mouth, as is also part of a plant on the right of the figure.

For other inscriptions on steles, see Walters, Ancient Pottery, ii. 263, 272.

(6) KYLIX.
Ht. 8 cm. Diam. 22 cm. Bought 1920 (Fairfax-Murray coll.).

This kylix is of no great artistic merit, but it gives a new version of a well-known subject. On one side of the exterior (Plate III.) we have a scene from the combat of Theseus with the Minotaur, but here the combat is over; the Minotaur is fallen dead, with closed eyes, against a column of the labyrinth, and the victorious Theseus is receiving a wreath from Nike in recognition of his valour. It is very rare to find any other moment represented except the actual combat, which is a great favourite with B.F. painters, and on the Theseus cups of the period of Euphrones and Douris usually occupies the interior design. On a B.F. amphora also purchased by the Museum last year, this subject is depicted on both sides of the vase. The subject somewhat lost its popularity after the early years of the fifth century, but was revived on the well-known cup at Madrid signed by Aison, and its counterpart, No. E 84 in the Museum collection.

The other designs are of no great interest; on the other side of the exterior we have a bearded man, marked as a king by his sceptre, between two women, one of whom holds out a wreath, the other a libation-bowl; in the field are the inscriptions καλή and καλὸς. In the interior Nike is represented, confronted by a draped youth. Between them is inscribed καλὸς.
(7) **Kylux.**
Ht: 9.8 cm. Diam. 32 cm. Presented by Miss Preston, 1899.

The vase has been broken across and mended. The varnish is poor and of a greenish tinge. Drawing hasty; with eye in profile; inner markings in light brown and details in purple.

In the interior, within a circle of meander pattern in three, broken by red cross squares, is a bearded man advancing to right, carrying a long wand, surmounted by a lotus-flower at the top, horizontally in his right hand. He wears a wreath, and a cloak hangs over his extended left arm; his hair appears to be long, and rolled up at the back. It is possible that the figure is intended to represent Zeus; there is a very similar figure on a vase in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Cat. 371), where, however, the thunderbolt carried by Zeus leaves no doubt of his identity. The lotos-topped sceptre is, as a rule, a mark of a superior deity, such as Zeus or Poseidon.

The exergue of the design is left red.

Exterior (A) Gymnasion scene: In the centre a nude youth with strigil in right hand and staff in left, moving to right; behind him is a goal-post. On either side is a draped youth facing him, each holding a stick. In the field hang a sponge, three aryballo, and a pair of jumping-weights.

(B) Similar scene: All three youths wear mantles, and the one in the centre stands holding a wreath (?) over the post; the other two look round as they turn away. In the field are two aryballo and a pair of jumping-weights.

Under the handles are double palmettes, with an ivy-leaf each side.

(8) **Kylux.**
Ht: 4.8 cm. Diam. 16 cm. Presented by Miss Preston, 1899.

Low foot; good black varnish, inner markings in light brown. Slightly repaired. Drawing late and careless.

Interior design only: Within a thin red circle a nude youth advances towards an altar on the right, his hands extended above it, with palms downwards. On the left is a fluted column on two steps. The exergue is left red.

(9) **Kylux.**
Ht: 7 cm. Diam. 21.7 cm. From the Deepdene collection; given by Mr. G. Durlacher, 1917.

The form of the cup is late, with low broad foot but no stem; the interior of the bowl is rebated about half-way down. Careless drawing; eye nearly in profile; no accessories in interior; good varnish.

In the interior, within a double circle, is a bearded man wearing a himation, with spear or wand in right hand, facing a woman wrapped in a mantle; she wears earrings and necklace, and her hair is covered with a coil.

The exterior (Fig. 10) is decorated on either side with panels of lozenges in oblique lines, forming a diaper pattern; they are alternately black, and red with black dots. On either side are panels of inverted elongated B.F. lotos-buds. Under each handle is a panel with vertical borders of network pattern, in which is a B.F. goat leaping to right, very carelessly drawn in silhouette.
Underneath the foot are carefully moulded and painted concentric circles. The style of ornamentation on the exterior is not unknown on vases of this period; compare, for instance, the B.M. kotyle E 151, and one or two others uncatalogued; but this and the following seem to be the only instances of its adoption for a kylix. We may also compare the "lattice-amphorae" of fifth-century date so often found in tombs in Cyprus and Rhodes.

(10) Kylēs, similar to the last, but somewhat later in style, the treatment of the eye being less archaic.

Ht. 8 cm. Diam. 21-3 cm. Similarly acquired.

In the interior, a bearded man, wearing himation and shoes, with a staff in his right hand, faces a woman who holds out a libation-bowl to him; she wears a chiton and mantle, and a coif covering the back of the head.

![Fig. 10.—Two Kylikes: Early Free Style.](image)

On the exterior (Fig. 10) are panels of lozenges as on the preceding vase, but with white crosses on the black lozenges, and under each handle a B.F. palmette between vertical bands of chevrons.

Underneath the foot, concentric circles as before.

V. Ripe Free Style.

(1) Bell-krater.

Ht. 27-5 cm. Bought 1900.

Drawing of late fine style, somewhat careless; no accessories. Much repaired; good varnish.

The principal subject (Plate VII.) represents a group of boxers. In the centre of the scene is a small Doric column, on the abacus of which rest a cushion and an aryballos with cord; round the centre of the shaft is a fillet.

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On the left are two youths boxing, with the left feet well advanced and arms nearly horizontal; each has seized his opponent’s nearer arm above the elbow, and raises the other arm, as if to ward off a round-hand blow. They have thongs bound about their wrists. On the right of the column a bearded judge hastens up with raised rod; he wears a wreath and cloak, and his face is partly missing. Behind him Nike, wearing radiated fillet and long chiton with double overfold, holds out a wreath in both hands.

In reference to the position of the boxers, each with the left foot well advanced, Mr. E. N. Gardiner points out that this is characteristic of boxers on Greek vases, and that it is not, as suggested by Mr. K. Frost, a mere convention, but is the result of the sideways position usually adopted for blows at the head. The Greeks appear to have disdained body-hitting altogether.

On the reverse of the vase are the usual three draped youths, the two outer holding sticks and facing the middle one, who turns to left. Below the rim of the vase is a laurel-wreath with a purple line below; below each design is a maenander pattern, that on the obverse broken by two cross squares.

(2) Bell-krater.
Ht. 32 cm. Diam. 36 cm.

This krater, which was purchased in 1920, was formerly in the Dendene collection, but does not appear to be included in Tischbein’s engravings of those vases, though he illustrates a very similar one in Vol. V. Pl. 8. (Reinach, Rép. ii. 335). Like the majority of the Dendene vases, it belongs to the latest stage of Attic vase-painting, and was probably actually made in South Italy. The work is rather careless; purple and white are occasionally employed for details. The ornamentation is of the usual type: a laurel wreath round the neck, maenander with chequer-squares below the design, and egg-pattern round the bases of the handles.

The principal design represents the contest of Marsyas and Apollo, a very favourite subject at this period. The Satyr is seated on a rock in the centre of the scene to right, playing the flutes; he has shaggy hair and beard, and wears a wreath coloured purple. Before him stands Apollo, in an attitude of surprise, with a long branch of laurel in his left hand; he wears a laurel-wreath, and a chlamys hangs over his left arm. On either side of the central group is a woman facing the scene, wearing a long chiton with overfold; the one on the left holds a lyre, and the other draws up the edge of her garment on her right shoulder.

On the reverse are the usual three draped youths.

(3) Calyx-krater (Plate VII.).
Ht. 31.5 cm. Bought 1907.

The style resembles that of the school of Meidias, but is coarser and more careless. The foot has been repaired. The varnish is of a reddish-brown, much discoloured; the Erotes and part of the central figure on (A) were in some opaque pigment, which has completely disappeared, leaving a red

4 Greek Athletic Sports, p. 419.
5 J.H.S. xxvi. 219. This is even less likely in the cases of vases of the later period such as the present one.
silhouette, the wings being in the usual R.F. technique. Gilding has originally
been used for the raised beads of which the necklaces are composed.

(A) This scene may represent the courting of Anchises and Aphrodite, the
principal figures being a youth in Oriental costume and a woman accompanied
by Erotes; but, as in many other scenes on vases of this style and period, the
characterisation of the figures is not strongly marked, and there is also an
absence of action, which suggests that the painter had no very definite intention
beyond an effective grouping of figures. The same feature is to be observed
in some of the large vases from Kertch published in the plates of Stephani's
Comptes-Rendus, and also in many of the vases of Southern Italy.

In the centre is a woman seated to left, with head turned to right, lifting
up the end of her drapery with her right hand; her left elbow rests on a casket
ornamented with wave-pattern. Her hair falls in ringlets over her shoulders,
and she wears a radiated band over her forehead ornamented with wave-pattern,
and a garment over her knees embroidered with a broad border of wave-
pattern and rays. Owing to the disappearance of the opaque pigment, her
features and other details are no longer visible. An Eros stands with right hand
on her left shoulder, and below her another crouches to right with a sash across
his knees; the details of the wings alone remain, the rest of the figures having
been covered with pigment. On the woman's right, at a slightly higher level,
estands a youth (Anchises?) holding two spears in his left arm; he wears a
Phrygian cap with long flaps and a wreath round it, and a chlamys over his
left arm. His hair falls in long curls, and is visible over his head behind the
cap, which is drawn as if transparent. Beyond him a bearded Satyr, tutubulated,
leans forward with left foot raised as if on a rock, holding up his left hand.
Below him sits a woman watching the scene, wearing sphendone, necklace,
bracelet on right wrist, bordered chiton, and himation with girdle covering her
thighs; her hair is gathered in a bunch of curls at the back, and one curl falls
in front of her ear. Beneath the casket, in the centre of the scene, is a young
Phrygian seated to right, looking round; in his left hand he holds two spears.
He wears a Phrygian cap (like the other but not transparent), short chiton
richly ornamented with bands of wave-pattern and rays, and trousers with
horizontal bands of pattern; behind him is a myrtle-plant. On the right of the
scene are two women, each wearing earrings, necklace, bracelets on left arm,
sphendone, long chiton with girdle and himation, their hair being arranged
like that of the one on the left. The nearer one stands to left, fingering her
necklace, the other moves away, looking back and carrying a large casket on
her left hand; between them is an Eros (as before). Above the design are
four pairs of myrtle-sprays.

(B) Scene in the garden of the Hesperides: In the centre is a tree with
large fruit, on the upper level; on the left of it stands a woman conversing with
another seated to right on the other side of the tree and looking round; each
wears a radiated sphendone, necklace and bracelets, and sleeveless chiton with

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24 See Reclus, Répertoire des Vases, I. century B.C.) see F. Ducati, Saggio di studio
Greek painted vases of this period (fourth
girdle; the chiton of the one on the right has a border of wave-pattern. They have luxuriant hair, gathered at the back in a bunch of curls, with a ringlet falling in front of the ear. On either side is an Eros hovering in the air. Below the women another Eros attacks a goose with a club (?); the opaque pigment having worn away in both cases, the interpretation is not certain. A nude boy stands to left, looking down at this group. On the left of the scene a youth seated to left with drapery under him raises his right hand as if conversing with a woman, at whom he looks up; her hair and costume resemble those of the middle figures, and with her left hand she draws forward the edge of her drapery. On the right a similarly-attired woman leans to right, with left foot raised on a rock, and also draws forward her drapery with her left hand. Beneath the seated youth is a myrtle-plant.

Subsidiary ornamentation as follows: round the rim, egg-pattern, with a laurel-wreath below; below the designs on each side two rows of egg-pattern, enclosing on (A) palmettes horizontally enclosed, sloping to right; on (B) maeanders with a chequer-square in the middle; at the bases of the handles are also egg-patterns.

(4) Pelike.
Ht. 36 cm. Bought 1910.

Drawing of late fine style; inscriptions and fillets in purple. Lip repaired; varnish discoloured.

(A) Contest of flute-players (Plate VII.). In the centre of the scene is a base with two steps, on which a flute-player stands to right, and another is mounting it on the left. Each has a hand (φορεῖον) round his mouth, and wears a myrtle-wreath and long-sleeved robe with dotted border, embroidered with rows of pointed leaves. On the right, Nike floats down, holding a long purple sash in both hands; she wears a radiated sphendone, necklace, and long spotted chiton with overfold. On the left another flies down, holding in right hand a large libation-bowl in the left two; one inside the other; she wears a coif and radiated sphendone, and a sleeveless chiton with overfold and dotted border. Above the first Nike is inscribed ΚΑΛΗ, ΚΑΛΙ; above the other, ΚΑΛΟΣ, ΚΑΛΟΣ.

(B) The usual design of three ephébi, one on each side facing the central figure, who stands to the right; the one on the left leans on a stick. All wear purple fillets and thick cekkis. In the field hangs an alabastron.

Above the design, laurel-wreath; below, 'stopped' maeanders with diagonal-cross squares at intervals; under the handles, palmettes with tendrils.

For the subject on the obverse, which is not a common one on vases, compare B 188 and E 354 in the Brit. Mus.; the reverse of the Antaios krater in the Louvre (G 103); and a vase at Leyden (Roulez, Vases Grecs, Pl. 18; Reinach, Répertoire, ii. 274).

(5) Pelike.
Ht. 30 cm. From Capua. Bought in 1901.

The vase is of the late fine period, the drawing resembling that of many of the vases of this style found in the Cyreneica. The brilliant black varnish
is discoloured in parts; inner markings are rendered in thin black lines, thinned out to brown for the hair, and the body of Eros is painted white.

(A) Satyrs surprising a Maenad (Plate VIII.). The Maenad reclines to right in the centre of the scene against a bundle of reeds, her head resting on her left arm; below her is rocky ground strewed with flowers. She wears a short chiton. Above hovers Eros with wings spread, to right, and on each side of her a Satyr approaches in a stooping attitude, with hand extended. Behind each Satyr another retreats in an outward direction, looking round.

(B) Three draped youths, two standing to right, facing the third; in the field hangs a sponge.

Round the lip, and above and below the design, are egg-patterns, and at the base of the handles, addorsed palmettes.

The vase is mentioned by von Salis in his article on the Naples vase representing preparations for the Satyrin Drama. He points out that the sleeping figure must be an ordinary Maenad, and not Ariadne, and that there is no adequate reason for associating the subject with the Satyrin Drama. Similar scenes occur on the following vases: Brit. Mus. E 555; Berlin 2341; Naples S.A. 313; Reinach, Répertoire, i. 340, and ii. 261 (Bibl. Nat. 852).

(6) Oinochoe (Plate IV.).
Ht. 11 cm. From Athens. Bought 1910.
Late fine style.
In a panel, bordered above and below by tongue-pattern, is represented an infant in a high chair to right, waving a rattle in the form of a club; round his head is a purple fillet. The chair has a solid base, and a board above, through which the child's legs protrude, and is of the same hour-glass-shaped form as that depicted on a vase formerly in the Van Branteghem collection. On the left is an oinochoe; on the right a toy cart, with handle leaning against the edge of the design.

(7) Oinochoe (Plate V.).
Ht. 8.3 cm. From Athens. Bought 1910.
Late fine style. Slightly repaired; dull black varnish.
Design in a panel with borders of egg-pattern above and below, representing a child in cart drawn by two other children. The first child wears a garment leaving the right shoulder bare, and holds out a stick in the right hand; the other two are nude, with belts across the breast; the nearer one looks back and the other holds out a torch-holder in the left hand. The cart is in the form of a seat on solid wheels, with pole.

These two jugs belong to a well-known class of vases, evidently made as toys for children. Not only are the subjects appropriate, but jugs of this type are frequently depicted on them, and must have been used as playthings. The reason for their frequent occurrence is not quite clear, as they hardly seem suitable for toys. Possibly the game described by Pollux (ix.113) under the name χυτρίδα may give a clue. It corresponded to our "Tom-Tiddler's ground,"

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but the object of the attacking party was not to catch the player representing Tom, but to touch a jug which represented his property. Sometimes, however, the latter player was himself called the χόρτα.

(9) OINOCHE (Plate IV.).
Ht. 13 cm. Bought 1910.
Late fine style. Repaired; varnish discoloured.

The design is in a panel with a border of egg-pattern above, and represents a woman at a meal. She is seated in a high-backed chair on the left, before a table on which is a dish with domed cover between two high stands, to the nearest.

![Fig. 11—Lekythos of Rise Free Style.](image)

of which she puts out her right hand. She wears a spotted coif, earrings, chiton, and himation. On the right a boy with himation over his left shoulder stands touching the stand nearest to him with his right hand, his left holding a skyphos represented in silhouette. Above the table hangs a sash.

For the subject compare E 769 in Brit. Mus.

(9) Lekythos (Fig. 11).
Ht. 17 cm. Presented by Miss Preston, 1899.
Late careless work of fine style, with good varnish. Broken at neck.

Artemis, to right, aims with her bow and arrow; she wears chiton, spotted himation girl round her waist, and boots. The bow-string is indicated by a line of raised varnish. In front of Artemis is a square rock or box; behind hangs a sash.
On the shoulder is a band of B.F. palmettes; above the design, band of
quares of meander and of dotted crosses, alternating.

(10-11) Pair of Lekythoi (Plate IV.).
Ht. of each 35 cm. Acquired from the Rome collection, 1909.
Both have been repaired; they have wide lips and thick, short necks;
the varnish is dull. The body in each case is plain, with the design on the
shoulder.

The design on the one being complementary to that on the other, the
vases are evidently a pair, and the ornamentation is identical in each case;
round the neck is egg-pattern; on the top of the body, sets of four meanders
divided by chequer-squares, and at the bottom similar ornament except that
some of the squares have cross-squares instead of chequers.

The two designs represent Eros carrying a casket to a woman; on the
one vase he is shown flying to right holding a large casket, and on the other
is the woman seated in a high-backed chair to right, looking down into the
casket, which lies open on her knees, and taking a necklace therefrom with
her right hand. Her hair is drawn into a knot at the crown of the head, and
she wears chiton and himation. On each vase the design is framed each side
by palmettes enclosed and set horizontally inwards.

From the subjects it may be conjectured that this pair of vases was made
to be given as a wedding-present, and if so, they certainly show very good
taste on the part of the donor.

We may note here the predominance at this period of vase-subjects
dealing with the life of women. It does not, of course, imply any feminist
movement, such as we hear of somewhat later in the plays of Aristophanes.
The ladies represented on the vases are, like most Greek women, content with
their homes and the pleasures to be derived from the domestic arts or simple
pastimes. Their chief excitement in life must have been their own or their
friends' weddings. The popularity of these subjects is reflected in the six
following vases, four of which have wedding scenes.

(12) Lekythos of round-bellied type.
Ht. 14·2 cm. Found at Athens, and bought 1895.
Late fine style; brilliant glaze; jewellery, fruit, and hydria in low gilt
relief, but the gilding is largely worn away.

The design (Plate III.) represents a scene in a garden, with rocky ground
indicated by a line faintly incised in the varnish. In the centre is a tree with
fruit, on the left of which a boy is crawling on the ground, with drapery about his
feet. On the right of the tree a nude woman stoops down and holds out a bird
on her right forefinger to the boy; her left hand rests on her raised right knee.
Her hair is gathered in a knot and confined by a broad band with key-pattern
and jewelled upper edge; she wears necklace, bracelets, chiton, and himation
embroidered with crosses. Behind her stands a woman holding a necklace
suspended from her outstretched right hand; her hair is arranged as in the
preceding figure, and she wears earrings, necklace, jewelled girdle, chiton,
and himation embroidered with palmettes between bands of meander. Behind the boy a third woman advances, holding out her hands to take a gilded hydria standing on a high rock. Her hair has a jewelled band round it and flows loose behind; she wears necklace, earrings, and bracelets, chiton, and himation thrown over the left shoulder and fore-arm.

Round the lower part of the neck is a B.F. tongue-pattern; on the shoulder, a band of enclosed palmettes between lines. Below the design all round, egg-pattern; below the handle, double palmette with long upright tendril and two phialae each side.

(13) **Fragment of Loutrophoros-Amphora (Plate VII.).**
Ht. 12-5 cm. Length 28-5 cm. Bought 1896.
Best period of fine style; eye in developed profile. Varnish browned by fire.

The part which remains consists of a fragment of the upper part of the body and a small portion of the flattened shoulder, just showing where the neck springs. On the shoulder is an elongated tongue-pattern, and below this, two rows of egg-pattern.

The design, so far as it is preserved, represents a marriage-scene: on the left is the bride, wearing sleeved chiton and starred veil; only her face, the upper part of the body, and the right arm remain. On the right the bridegroom holds out his right hand to her; he wears a wreath and bordered himation. The lower part of his face, shoulders, and most of right side, and legs are missing. Between them Eros flies right with right arm extended. On to the left is the νυμφευτρια (1) wearing a chiton and holding a torch in either hand; the upper part of her head and all below the elbow are wanting. On the right is a similar figure with torch, wearing a bordered himation, her hair falling in long curls; only the lower part of the face and the right side remain.

The form of the vase probably corresponded to that illustrated by Perrot, *Hist. de l'Art*, x. 667, Fig. 365, an amphora of elongated type with slim neck and handles, derived from the 'prothesis-amphora' of the B.F. period. It may be noted that the change from funeral to nuptial scenes for the decoration of λατρευτή ροφέων took place about the middle of the fifth century. A change was also made later in the form, the body becoming spherical, with vertical handles formed of double loops, and resting on a detached stem, instead of being prolonged to a low foot. E 810 in the Brit. Mus. is an example of this type, which Wolters identifies as a λέβης γαμικής for providing warm water rather than a λατρευτή ροφέως. The old form was at all events preserved for the marble λατρευτή ροφέων which came into vogue for placing on tombs in the fourth century. See on the subject generally Wolters in *Ath. Mitt.* xvi. (1891), p. 371 ff.; Daremberg-Saglio's *Dict.* s.v.; and Perrot, loc. cit.

(14) **Loutrophoros, model of (Fig. 13).**
Ht. 13-4 cm. Bought 1910.

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Late fine style. Slightly repaired. On the shoulder is a tongue-pattern, and below the designs, egg-pattern.

On the body are two designs: (A) Eros and a bride: The bride is seated to right in a high-backed chair, wearing chiton and himation; at her feet is a tendril with volutes. Before her a diminutive Eros flies down with outstretched hands. On the left a female attendant in a chiton brings an open casket, and on the right stands another to left, wearing chiton and himation, holding out a spotted sash, which she has taken from an open casket held in her left arm.

(B) Bride and bridegroom clasping hands: The bride is on the left, veiled, with chiton and himation; the bridegroom faces her, extending his right hand to meet hers, and wears a chiton leaving the right shoulder bare.

On the stem of the vase are two figures: (A) Nike flying to right, holding in both hands a casket, over which hangs a sash. (B) Woman moving to right, with outstretched hands, wearing chiton with overfold. Below all round is a laurel-wreath.

The form of the vase is a combination of the two types discussed under the preceding heading; the upper part reproduces the older elongated form.
of body, neck, and handles, but the stem is organically distinct, though not actually detached from the rest of the vase.

(15) PYXIS (Plate VI.)
Ht. 17 cm. Diam. 17 cm.

This pyxis was bought at a sale at Sotheby’s in December 1920, and is one of the finest examples of its class, apart from the interest of the subject. Round the body is represented a wedding procession (Fig. 13), with several new features. The moment selected is that of the departure of the married pair from the bride’s home, indicated by a pair of folding-doors on the left of the scene, one of which is being closed by a maid who looks out to take a last sight of her mistress. The bridegroom mounts a car drawn by four horses, in which the bride stands, covered with her wedding veil. On the further side of the horses, facing them, is a woman with a torch, presumably the bride’s mother. The torch indicates that the procession took place at night. Behind the bridal pair is a procession of three figures: first a man, who may be the πάροχος, or groomsmen, also holding a lighted torch; next, a maid carrying the bride’s trousseau in the form of a flat square box, presumably for dresses, and a bundle of nondescript shape containing other articles of costume or toilet; and lastly, another attendant carrying a λυστράρχος, of the type represented by No. 14 above. The part which these vessels played in connexion with weddings we have having been taken under the supervision of Mr. A. H. Smith, the inventor of the machine.

already discussed. The composition is completed by the herald who leads the way, holding a caduceus or herald's staff, and wearing the usual pelasses, chlamys, and high boots of such officials.

This pyxis belongs to a class of which the Museum already possesses two or three fine examples, belonging to the ripe free style, and illustrating various aspects of women's life in Athens. But it is rare to find a representation of a wedding procession full of such interesting detail.33

The scene on the cover is also characteristic of the period. We have here three cosmic deities, such as are seen on the famous Blacas Krater, and on another pyxis in the Museum (E 776). First is Helios driving a four-horse chariot, and also distinguished by a representation of the sun at the upper edge of the design. Next comes a goddess in the close-fitting tunic of the charioteer, driving a two-horse chariot; and thirdly, within a space cut off by two parallel curved lines, a goddess on horseback seated sideways on the off-side of her steed, and holding up her hands with a gesture of surprise or encouragement.

The interpretation of these two figures presents some little difficulty. We may, however, assume that the riding figure is Selene the Moon, as she is usually represented on horseback on the vases, although in the East Pediment of the Parthenon she is undoubtedly driving a chariot. For the other figure the names of Eos or Nyx immediately suggest themselves, but the difficulty is that here the goddess has no wings, such as we are accustomed to associate with those two personifications. On the Sabouroff pyxis in Berlin (No. 2519) we have a scene almost exactly like that on the Museum vase, but here the third figure is winged. Furtwängler called her Eos; but Robert points out that the Moon would not come between the Sun and Dawn, and prefers to call her Nyx. There is indeed a Roman sarcophagus on which Nyx is unwinged, and she appears thus on Trajan's column; but this is not good evidence for Greek vases. But on the whole I prefer the identification as Nyx in the present case.

(16) PYXIS.

Ht. 7-3 cm. Diam. 16-8 cm. Bought 1907.

Late fine style; good black varnish; inner lines in light brown or black. Flat circular shape, with projecting rim and base (cf. E 776 and E 782 in B.M.). The bronze ring of the lid is broken away.

Round the body is a laurel-wreath, and the main design is on the lid (Plate III.), representing four women playing, each wearing chiton of crinkly material and himation. The first, who wears a broad band round her hair, picks up the end of her himation as she runs to right towards the second, who is seated facing her in a high-backed chair, and holds out a long spotted sash. Behind her is a large chest. The third woman runs to left, holding out an embroidery frame; below is a wool-basket, and behind her a stock to left. The fourth, who wears a cowl, is seated to right in a high-backed chair, and tosses up five

33 D 11 in the B. M. may be compared with this; but here the bride and bridegroom are on foot.

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balls in the air; before her is a bird in a large cage which rests on the ground (cf. No. II. 4 above).

Round the edge of the lid is a band of black chevrons.

(17) ΟΙΧΟΙΚΟΕ, with design in opaque pigment (Plate IV.).

Ht. 23 cm. Found in a tomb at Minoovo, Macedonia. Bought 1906.

Design in opaque colours over white, with yellow markings, and details in raised gilt; the hair is stippled yellow. On the neck, laurel-wreath with berries in raised gilt; below the design, a raised gilt line. The practice of painting in opaque colours on a black ground is not new, but it is very rare to find instances of it in the late R.F. period, and especially when executed with the care and delicacy of the present example.

The design represents the marriage of Dionysos and the Basilinna or wife of the Archon Basileus at the festival of the Anthesteria. In the centre is the Basilinna, seated to right in a high-backed chair, wearing wreath, earrings, necklace, bracelets, white chiton, and red himation. Her left hand holds a sceptre, and the right is thrown over the back of the chair as she turns to look at Dionysos, who stands to right with right hand on his hip. He wears a wreath, and in his left hand is a thyrsos, round which is tied a fillet. In front of the woman an Eros flies down, offering a casket in which are three gilt balls, and behind Dionysos another flies down with a sash in both hands; their wings are blue and gilt, and both wear fillets. On the right stands Nike to left, holding a burning torch in each hand; she wears a wreath, bracelets, armlets, and necklace, and a blue sleeveless chiton; her wings are red and gilt.

The mystic marriage of Dionysos and the Basilinna took place on the second day of the Anthesteria. The chief authority for the details of the ceremony is the speech of Demosthenes contra Neocles, 73–76, in which he accuses her daughter Phano of unlawful participation: αὕτη ἡ γυνὴ τοὺς ἄνθρωπος ἀνατύνει, ἵνα ἴσος τὸν διόνυσον αἰτήση καὶ τὸν διόνυσον ἤνθρωπον ἐν τῷ πόλεμῳ.]

Further on he says (§ 76): ἡ ἐκατόκτητος ἐκείνη ἐν τῷ ἄνθρωπῳ τῷ διόνυσῳ καὶ ἐν τῷ κυριωτέρῳ τῷ Πυκτώνας, τῷ ἄρχοντι τῶν Αρχιμανδρίων, τῇ Ἐρμήδῳ (ἐν τῷ Πυκτώνας, τῷ ἄρχοντι τῶν Αρχιμανδρίων, τῇ Ἐρμήδῳ).

The old temple of Dionysos ev Limmus contained a ξίφων of Dionysos Eleuthericus, and also a stele on which were inscribed the regulations concerning the union of the Basilinna with the god, who was represented by the old wooden image. Full details of the marriage ceremony and the solemn procession to the Boukalion are given by Mommsen; our vase, which probably dates from the first half of the fourth century, gives the proceedings in the

32 Mommsen, Putei der Stadt Athen, p. 392.
33 Demosth. s. Neer. § 73.
34 Ps. 1. 33, 8.
more conventional fashion in which bridal scenes are usually represented on vases of this period (cf. Nos. 13-15 above).  

(18) Oinochoe (Plate V.).
Repaired; varnish discoloured. Design in opaque white with yellow markings.

In a panel, with egg-and-dart pattern above, and egg-pattern below, is a design representing two Nikai flying towards a tripod, one on each side; each wears a long chiton with overfold (that of the one on the right has sleeves), and holds in both hands a long white eash with ends hanging. In the centre is the tripod, supporting a λεβέντι above which is an openwork design of circles in which are crosses Ψ; with a vandyked edge above; it stands on a double plinth on which is inscribed

ΑΓΗΜΗΛΑΟΣ
ΑΔΙΡΙΑΟΣ
ΤΟΙ ΦΙΛΑΣ

perhaps intended for

δεῖς μου.
δεί φιλάι.
τεί φιλάι.

(19) Oinochoe (Fig. 14).
Ht. 10.8 cm.  From Eretria.  Bought 1894.
Thin fabric with dull black varnish.  Base repaired.  Design in opaque colours over white with yellow markings, and in raised gilt.

A dog leaps to right through a hoop, which is held on the left by a girl and on the right by a boy; the latter is nude, the former wears a blue chiton with overfold, and each wears a fillet; the hair is in raised gilt, as is also the hoop. Above are three gilt dots.

(20) Lekythos of Abyrallo (Plate VIII).
Ht. 8 cm.  From a tomb in Eretria.  Bought 1894.
Design in opaque white and blue with gilding.  Repaired. At the base of the neck is a tongue-pattern; on the shoulder, egg-and-tongue with raised gilt dots; below the design, egg-pattern; below the handles, palmette with spirals.

Two gryphons confronted; their bodies are white, and their wings blue with gilt dots; between them an ant-hill covered with gilt dots.

The explanation of this scene is to be found in several passages of ancient writers which deal with a tradition of gryphons guarding gold in the far northwest. Herodotus locates them beyond the Isselones in Central Asia (Turkestan):
In another passage (iii. 116), speaking of the quantities of gold found in Northern Europe, he says: λέγεται δὲ ὕπεκ τῶν ἀρμαστῶν ἄθροισιν Ἀρμαστοῦς ἄνδρας μονοφθάλμους. The story is further amplified by Ktesias (quoted by Aelian, Nat. Anim. iv. 27, from the Indica, ch. 12): Βάστριος λέγουσιν αὐτοῦ (αὐτοῦ γυράτα) φύλακας εἶναι τοῦ ἄρθρου αὐτὸν καὶ ὑπότευχε τοι ἀντιόβανον καὶ τοι ἀντιόβανον... Ἡν ὅδε οὐ φασίν αὐτοῖς φρουροὺς εἶναι τοῖς προειρημένοις, μηδὲ

Fig. 14.—Oinochoe with Opaque Figures.

γνωρίζεται ἄρθρον γρύπας... ἀλλὰ αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐπὶ τήν τοῦ ἄρθρου ἀνατείλοντας. He does not, however, mention the Arimaspi, but it is probably to this story that we owe the representations of combats between Arimaspi and griffins so common on vases of this period. The story was also known to Aeschylus.37

The whole legend is, of course, as Rawlinson points out, "a mere Arabian Night's story," comparable with that of the roc in the tale of Sindbad the Sailor. The only truth contained in the tale is the productiveness of the Siberian gold-region, and the jealous care of the natives to prevent the intrusion of strangers. The griffin is a familiar motive in the art of Southern Russia in the fourth

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36 Rawlinson, ii, 503, points out that Herodotus regards Europe as including the whole of Northern Asia. The district of which he is speaking is that east of the Ural Mountains, i.e. South-western Siberia, to the north-west of the territory assigned to the Issedones.

37 Procl. Vinct. 830 ff. iii. 23.
century, and in the vases of Kertch, which the vase under discussion resembles in style.\textsuperscript{38}

It will also be noted that the gold is here represented as lying on an ant-hill, which suggests a reference to another passage of Herodotus in which he describes how, in Northern India, the ants throw up sand-heaps as they burrow, and these sand-heaps are full of gold (i\.i\textsuperscript{102}: κῶτοι αἱ μύρμηκες ποιεύμενοι οἴκους ἤπε ὑπ’ ἀναφέροντι τὴν ψάμμον... ὀ ἐλ’ ψάμμον ὑ’ ἀναφερόμενη ῥητ’ χρυσίτις). The painter of this vase, if not intimately acquainted with the text of Herodotus, was at least familiar with the legends which through the historian had become a commonplace of Greek literature.\textsuperscript{39}

(21) Guttus (Plate VIII.).

Ht. 14 cm. Bought 1920.

This vase, which may be regarded as more curious than beautiful, belongs to the later stage of R.F. vase-painting, when the industry had been transferred to Southern Italy. The technique and style are, however, purely Attic, except for the ivy-wreath in B.F. method round the neck, a pattern which is often found on South Italian vases. The shape is very peculiar, and rare among painted vases. It is of the form usually known as a guttus, from the long, narrow spout which enabled liquid to be poured drop by drop, as in the many varieties of the askos; but the handle and the neck are those of an oinochoe. The wide, squat body is also characteristic of the guttus.

The subject of the paintings is a procession of Bacchanalian figures, who from their equipment are probably setting out to a banquet or other form of revelry. On one side we have a Maenad brandishing two torches, and an elderly Satyr in a sort of fancy dress, comprising a large mantle in which his whole body is wrapped, and an ornamented sash wound round his head and tied in a large bow at the back. He carries a thyrsos in his left arm. On the other side another bearded Satyr, but this time nude, carries a skin bag in his right hand and a torch in his left. He looks round at his companion, a young Satyr who holds a cottabos-stand in either hand and kicks up his left leg in a sort of careless abandon. In his left hand he also holds a small oinochoe and a phiale with a long handle like that of a strainer. Both the cottabos-stands have three feet like those of a candelabrum, but it will be noted that one has the πλατύγυρα, or plate on to which the wine was thrown, at the top, the other about one-third of the way down. Both types are to be found on vases of this period, on which the playing of the game of κτίτασος is a favourite subject.

The figures are treated with a deliberate grotesqueness which is unusual, and I do not know of any other vase-painting quite in the same style.

H. B. Walters.

The following vases, acquired since 1894, are not included in this list, having already been adequately published elsewhere.

\textsuperscript{38} See Roscher, Lexikon, i. i768, for the griffin in Greek mythology, and for illustrations in art, Minna, Scythians and Greeks, passim, and Ducati, Ceram. att. fg. p. 92.

\textsuperscript{39} See also Minna, op. cit. pp. 112, 440.
RED-FIGURED VASES ACQUIRED BY BRITISH MUSEUM

(3) Pelike (1896). Zeus and Nike. Élite Céram, i. 14, 30; Stackelberg, Graber der Hell. Pl. 18, 2; Hoppin, Handbook, ii. 468.
(4) Amphora (1895). Triptolemos. Élite Céram. iii. 57 A-B; Gerhard, A. V. 46 (Reimach, ii. 34).
(5) Kylix (1896). Signed by Hermaios. Élite Céram. iii. 73; Hoppin, ii. 17.
(6) Stamnos (1896). Signed by Polygnotos. Robert in Mon. Antichi, 1899, Pl. 3, p. 7, Fig. 1; Hoppin, ii. 378, 379.
(14) Krater (1917). Anodos of Dionysos. Tischbein, Vases d'Hamilton, i. 32; Reimach, ii. 287.
(15) Krater (1917). Apollo on Swan. Élite Céram. ii. 42; Reimach, ii. 296.
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The writer of these tales served during the War as Naval Intelligence Officer in Crete, and had consequently exceptional opportunities of applying his wide knowledge of the Greeks and their ways to the picturesque incidents which such service provokes. He seems to have taken an active part in the events which resulted in the National Defence Movement, and the establishment of a Venizelist administration in insular Greece. As he confines himself to what he himself saw or experienced, some knowledge of the main course of events is presupposed, if these 'Tales' are to be fitted into their place in it. He has clear and emphatic views on some defects in our organization and war-policy, which are commended to those whom they concern. Of less ephemeral interest are the examples of propaganda-literature and mock-ballad in local dialect; and those who have seen other specimens will wish Mr. Lawson had printed more.


Mr. Jeffrey has been for many years Inspector of Ancient Monuments in Cyprus, and has exceptionally detailed acquaintance with architectural remains of all periods in the island. This handbook, therefore, is based on close personal observations throughout, and is a most valuable record of the present state of the monuments which it describes. The brief Introduction brings together all the general information as to the administration and topography of the island, which is necessary for the purposes of such an archaeological survey, with a select bibliography, list of maps of Cyprus, and outlines of a classification of the ancient buildings by period, and style, and purpose.

The body of the book is arranged topographically, and would serve therefore as a guide, as well as inventory, for any student who might follow in the author's steps; and as even the smaller settlements are distributed in accordance with natural features, they fall naturally into groups along the principal routes. At the end of the book are notes on the history and chronology of Cyprus, on mediaeval costume (in relation to the sculptured tombs of the period) and on the Venetian officials whose names are likely to be met in inscriptions. There is a full index; adequate plans, and a few well-selected photographs.

Mr. Jeffrey is much to be congratulated on the completion of this important and very handy volume. It reveals, as nothing else could, the wealth of ancient remains in this curious region, and the devoted enthusiasm which the author has devoted to their study and conservation.

J. L. M.


This book contains a record of the Embassy of Sir John Finch to Turkey, 1674 to 1681. It has a commendatory Foreword by Lord Bryce, and a frontispiece a reproduction of the portrait of Finch by Carlo Dolci.
Mr. Abbott has taken much pains over this record, and appears to have digested the State Papers of the period with success. It is a careful and detailed account of the activities of one of our Ambassadors—a man of good brains and considerable energy—who was in the difficult position of being in almost equal shares the servant of the King and the Levant Company. The story of his tribulations in his contact with the corrupt and dilatory Turkish officials makes interesting reading.

There are not so many details of seventeenth-century Turkish life and manners as could have been hoped, but this deficiency may be supplied by a reading of Mr. G. E. Hubbard’s The Day of the Crescent, published by the Cambridge University Press last year; the two books taken together enable the reader to reconstruct Turkish life in that century as far as an outsider could ever appreciate it.

As a point of exceptional interest attention may be drawn to the fact that our Ambassadors in Turkey appear to have exercised arbitrary authority over all British subjects; thus, if an Englishman conducted himself in a manner prejudicial to the peace or the interests of the 'Nation,' as the Community was called, the Ambassador would sometimes go so far as to expel the delinquent from the Turkish dominions.

Sir John Finch is of some importance in the history of our relations with Turkey at any rate up to the War, and in spite of the humiliating reception with which he met from Ahmed Kuprilli on his arrival, he appears soon to have succeeded in gaining the Grand Vizier’s goodwill, and it was he who obtained for us the English capitulations as they existed up to 1914. After Kuprilli’s death, under the administration of the terrible Kara Mustafa, extortion became more rampant still, and Finch had to fight hard for the interest of his nation, using bribes for Turkish officials and the practice (of which Mr. Abbott does not say much) of ‘tattulation’; this was a kind of boycott under which the Ambassador prohibited all Englishmen from trading with a particular Turk, or even sometimes with a whole class of Turks.

There is room for another volume to show how the old grants made by Kuprilli to Finch were later interpreted to allow far greater privileges than they were at first intended to confer. In the time of the later Stuarts, and even of the early Hanoverian Kings, no extra-territoriality was allowed to Englishmen, except in cases of lawsuits among themselves, and evidence appears that where a Turk was concerned the Englishman as a matter of course submitted to Turkish jurisdiction; hence, however, to the customary carelessness of the Turks, we were gradually allowed to wrest the capitulations into a sense vastly beyond their original meaning, and in the end we claimed for our subjects almost complete immunity from Turkish jurisdiction; usage, however, is so thoroughly recognised in Turkey as having fully the same force as law, that by virtue of this well-understood principle we were entitled to claim for Sir John Finch’s capitulations the liberal interpretation which long custom conferred upon them.


The first edition of this well-known book supplied a long-felt want when it appeared in 1901. Until then there was no good English commentary on Theocritus, the notes in Kynaston’s school edition being of a very elementary character. Those students who were able to read German notes were fairly well provided for by Hiller’s edition (Teubner, 1881), which is a model of good sense and sobriety. Unfortunately, it was never reprinted, and in course of time has become difficult to procure. It is now, also, out of date, since it does not take into account new facts and theories which have accumulated since 1881, including contributions of Hiller himself. To this day Germany does not possess a modern commentary, though a great deal of work has been done on the text and subject matter.

Cholmeley published his book some seven years after leaving Oxford. During this time he had been occupied in teaching, first at the City of London School, and afterwards in South Africa, where he fought in the Boer War. He was prevented by military service from seeing it through the Press, and it contained a number of misprints and some slips,
which would have been removed by the author under normal circumstances. Its merits were at once recognised. It was indeed a young man's work, not without blemish, but full of promise for the future. He was full of enthusiasm for his subject, he had a great capacity for taking pains, he was attracted by new theories, he advanced some novel explanations, sometimes very acute, his conjectures were frequent and clever, though sometimes over-daring. In his notes he sometimes seemed too subtle, especially when treating points of grammar, and he had a tendency to employ slang phrases which grated on many readers. It is no small praise to say of him that various suggestions which he has made will have to be carefully considered by all editors. He could be very conservative. Thus in Id. vi. 11-12 the MSS. give:

\[\text{έρωπος καθάρζον τον αυτολίθος.}\]

Editors had here read \[\text{καθαρίζω τον αυτολίθος.}\] from the Juntine to avoid the hiatus. Wilamowitz quotes one MS. for this reading, also the Scholia, but an inspection of these will show that the statement is incorrect. While "plashing" is naturally used of the waves, it is not natural to speak of the "plashing beach." Cholmeley retains the reading of the MSS., pointing out that hiatus after a trochaic cassura in the third foot is legitimate in Theocritus, and accepted by editors in other places. As an example of a neat emendation may be taken Id. xxiv. 125. Here the MSS. give:

\[\text{δόμησε καλόντος εἰς ἄνδρα γυναῖνα.}\]

It seems odd that an advancing warrior should have his shield hung over his back. Cholmeley restores the sense by reading \[\text{δόμησε καὶ δίσθασεν.}\] Here also the correction is due to a wish to avoid a legitimate hiatus. As a specimen of an ingenious, though somewhat subtle interpretation, we may take Id. xxvi. 29.

\[\text{αἰώνας ἀνθρώποις ἀνθρώπους ἐνυπότητα ἀνυπότητα.}\]

The words are simple enough, but in the context in which they occur the meaning is dark. Cholmeley shows by reference to the Anthology that children were sometimes initiated into the mysteries of Dionysus, and proposes the interpretation, "may he be pure of heart even as a young child." This can hardly be right; but it is certainly clever.

Most subjects connected with the life of Theocritus and the contents of the poems ascribed to him are highly controversial, and have been discussed in countless monographs and scattered articles, the great majority of which have proceeded from German scholars. Cholmeley made a determined effort to master this mass of literature, and there is very little which escaped his notice. His introduction, consisting of sixty pages, deals with the life of Theocritus, the subject matter of the poems and the MS. authority for the text in the light of the most recent information. The notes also contain much that must have been new to most of his readers.

The book passed through four reprints, in course of which most of the misprints were removed and some slips were rectified. At the outbreak of the Great War he was engaged on the preparation of the present edition. At that time he was lecturer in Greek at the University of Queensland in Brisbane. Although he was no longer young, and was a married man with a daughter, he threw up his post and came home to fight. The Preface to his new edition, which is dated June 1915, was written at sea. In it he speaks of the difficulties which he had experienced in procuring the necessary books when working in a distant colony, and the interruption of his studies, now that

Hinc movet Euphrates, illinc Germania bellum.

He received a commission in the Cheshire Regiment, and refusing work behind the lines took his place in the trenches. He gained the Military Cross for bravery and was wounded twice. The present writer made his acquaintance for the first time when he was lying in hospital at Oxford, suffering from a wound in the head received on Vimy Ridge. He had then passed through one operation and another was impending, but there were Greek
books beside his bed and he was full of Theocritus. His military ardor was not abated by the armistice, and, having acquired a knowledge of Russian, he volunteered for service in that country. He was drowned there on August 16, 1919, having been swept overboard while overhauling machine-guns required for action at daybreak.

It is to be regretted that the publishers did not allow him to issue a completely new edition. If this had been done, it is probable that certain immaturities of judgment and style would have been removed. Apparently they wished to make as few alterations as possible in the body of the book, which seems to have been stereotyped. Accordingly, the Introduction and notes have been left practically intact, and only a few changes have been made in the text. The new matter is to be found in the Addenda (pp. 32) and in an Appendix on the dialect (pp. 28). In the Addenda he frequently refers to previous views expressed, and adopts readings other than those printed in the text. His final views, therefore, are to be found in the Addenda, not in the body of the book. This does not seem to be a desirable arrangement. There are a number of new notes, the most elaborate of which deal with questions of folk-lore. This is a subject in which he had long been interested, as is shown by the frequent references in the first edition. It is probable that he was attracted, rather than repelled, by the hazardous character of some speculations which he discusses. The Appendix on the dialect is a fine piece of work, and exhibits strikingly his love of completeness and gift for minute study. No more admirable synopsis of the subject is to be found elsewhere.

It seems tragic that so clever a scholar, with all the instincts of a researcher, should have had so little leisure and, owing to his love of adventure, should have had to work under so many difficulties. The war has furnished other examples of students who have become enthusiastic soldiers, but no case is more striking than that of the editor of Theocritus.

ALBERT C. CLARK.


It is refreshing to read Sir Thomas Heath's Preface to this (needless to say) admirable edition of the first book of the Elements. 'Elementary geometry is Euclid, however much the editors of textbooks may try to obscure the fact.' 'There is no subject which, if properly presented, is better calculated than the fundamentals of geometry to make the schoolboy (or the grown man) think.' 'When compulsory Greek is gone, the study of Greek will be no whit less necessary to a complete education.' All which sentiments we heartily endorse. Whether schoolmasters will be found to make use of the means here provided for enabling their more intelligent boys to grasp how the Greeks thought things out from the beginning we do not know: but we hope that the experiment will be made. Sir T. L. Heath provides exactly what is wanted to make the study interesting; his discussion of Euclid's definition of a straight line, for instance, is a model of clearness and is packed with information. Many people probably have a hazy notion that Euclid defined a straight line as 'the shortest distance between two points.' The note refers to furnishes the antidote.


The rapid progress towards completion of the new edition of Dittenberger is a subject for unsniffed rejoicing. If the third volume, so anxiously awaited, does not entirely fulfill the anticipations of those who meet with it, this will not be because of any decline in the editorial standard, which remains as high as ever, but solely by reason of the fact that it
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has not been expanded as much as we could have wished by the inclusion of new material: we miss, in fact, some familiar friends, and do not feel that the loss is sufficiently compensated. For example, the statue of the Carpeus of the Agora at Delphi (No. 438 in ed. 2) has disappeared, together with the accounts of the Iepoi at Eleusis (No. 587) and those of the Delian Iepoi (No. 588); all of these should have been retained if possible, and we should have welcomed the inclusion of some specimen of the third century Delian accounts, the importance of which for economic history is considerable. In the selection of new documents the chief stress seems to be laid on religious antiquities, of which we have no complaint to make. The Leges Sacrae of Cos (No. 1000), Miletus (No. 1002) and Priene (No. 1003) are welcome additions, and we may especially note No. 985, referring to an aulos lege at Philadelphia, from Kill and V. Premserstein's third Bericht. It is needless to say that the texts of the other inscriptions have been brought up to date with the aid of Zeiller's Leges Sacrae and such like works: thus the word ηθοςευδασ now appears in the funeral law of Julius (No. 1218 = No. 877, ed. 2). Misprints are exceedingly rare (gamma 1003.26, ις ιουρος 1221.1): No. 1268 should be indicated as a new addition. The first volume of the Index is arranged on a new principle: place-names form headings, and individuals are subjoined thereunder. We cannot regard this as an improvement, as some loss of time is inevitable in the process. Some cross-references should be added. "Eli, for example, is not to be found, and it requires presence of mind to turn to "A e without delay.


Since the publication of Ueber's Epicurus in 1887, much incidental work has been done in elucidating the text of Epicurus' writings and expounding his intimate and subtle doctrines. In Germany Binger wrote several tracts on the subject, and by excessive enumeration of the text; and Wrede in 1888 published the eight new fragments discovered in a kind of philosophical Anthology in a Vatican MS. of the fourteenth century. In our own country there have been the studies of Wallace, Professor A. E. Taylor and Mr. R. D. Hicks (Stoic and Epicurean) together with the works of Dr. Musseus' Laocita, Poet and Epicurean, all of which appear to be unknown to Dr. Bignone. But the chief work has been done in Italy, where several scholars have of late devoted themselves largely to the study of the outlying Greek philosophies. The brilliant essays of Giussani in his Studi Laociani were followed up by Pascal and Torelli and by several articles in periodicals by Dr. Bignone himself. No writer has, however, had the courage hitherto to undertake a complete edition of the Epicurean remains. It may therefore be said at once that the present volume is a most valuable contribution to the study of Epicurus—it is the first complete translation in any language—and that the execution of the work is fully worthy of its importance.

Dr. Bignone gives us a translation with full annotations of the three Letters and the Κίτων έλκει presented by Diogenes Laertius, of the Will of Epicurus and his Life from the same source, of all the actual cited fragments—including the Vatican Florilegium, which constitutes an important addition to the collection of Ueber—and of certain of the more important statements of his doctrines in other writers. To these he has added an Introduction concerned chiefly with the style of the Letters and "Main Principles" and certain problems connected with them, together with a very valuable Appendix, in which some of the chief difficulties of the Letter to Herodotus are discussed at greater length. We are promised a second volume, which will presumably contain essays on Epicurus' doctrine.

The obvious want for a student using this volume is that of the Greek text. It was presumably excluded by the scope of the series in which the book is published, but with so difficult a writer as Epicurus it is a mental gymnastic of the first order to follow Dr. Bignone's translation in Ueber's text, making for oneself the many incidental corrections.
Le Phèdon de Platon et le Socrate de Lamartine. By J. Orsier. 

M. Orsier is rather a lawyer and historian than a philosopher, and his accustomed field is modern rather than ancient times. He explains that the French Ministry of Education sent him in 1916-17 to teach ancient philosophy at Toulon, and that the present essay is the fruit of this mission. The volume consists of two or more equal parts; of which the first was originally published separately. This is a detailed criticism of Lamartine's well-known poem, Socrate, by comparison with its source, the Phèdon of Plato. Apparition, illustrated by frequent quotations, of Lamartine's eloquent alexandrines is intermingled with protests against the poet's occasional modernizations, falsifications, and flights of imagination. Much of this is interesting, though more from a literary than from a philosophical point of view, and more, perhaps, to a Frenchman than to an Englishman. The second section is called by M. Orsier "un aperçu historique et critique sur la
philosophic ancienne jusqu’a la renaissance.' It is in fact an attempt to outline the history of philosophy from Thales to Descartes. Seventy pages are really not enough for this, however great the writer's skill and knowledge. M. Osier's ability to master his material may be judged from the four pages devoted to the pre-Socratic philosophers. These are grouped as (1) Materialists (the Ionians and the Atomists), (2) Idealists (Pythagoreans, Eleatics, Empedocles, Anaxagoras), (3) Sophists. We see no justification for this kind of compendium.


This book, which is based upon a course of public lectures, discusses with admirable lucidity the chief systems of philosophy from Thales to the Neo-Platonists. The author is frankly critical and gives short shrift to any doctrines which do not contain at least the germ of modern idealism. Some readers may therefore feel that his treatment of, for example, part of Plato, the Stoics, Epicureans and Neo-Platonists is a little too summary and heavy-handed. The scorn for 'symbolism' and 'sensuous thinking,' Mr. Stace has no patience with the 'mythical' side of Plato's thought. The ardent friend of the 'rational' and the 'objective,' he condemns the mysticism of Plotinus as the extreme of subjectivism, which, forsaking reason, tries to reach truth by means of a miracle. This perhaps is hardly fair. The mystical consciousness is a fact, and a very important fact for those who have it, and such persons may fairly retort that a philosophy which fails to take account of it is inadequate. Moreover some of us, alas! may feel doubt whether all the concepts of modern idealism are quite as 'objective' as their upholders maintain. But this is not the place to discuss fundamental problems of philosophy, and if we admit that Mr. Stace's standpoint is the only correct one and that subjectivism can be entirely eradicated from metaphysics, we must hasten to add that the author has performed his task extremely well.

His treatment of the earlier philosophers appears to us excellent. In discussing the Sophists and Socrates he concerns himself almost entirely with the problem of the reduction of subjectivity to objectivity. In this connexion might it not have been well to mention that Protagoras held some perceptions to be better than others and thereby made some approach to an objective standard? Mr. Stace's views as to the order of the Platonic dialogues, cannot, we think, be accepted. The Theaetetus, Sophist, Statesman and Parmenides he assigns to Plato's middle period, regarding them as earlier than the Symposium, Republic and Phaedo, which he thinks are the works of Plato's maturity, when 'the style returns to the lucidity and purity of the first period.' The second period was concerned with the formulation and proof of the theory of Ideas, the third period underakes its systematic application. This is quite contrary to the usual view: that the Parmenides, Sophist, etc., correct crudities in the metaphysical doctrines of the Republic and Phaedo. In speaking of the Timaeus he summarily dismisses the Creator as a myth and a Deus ex machina, introduced because 'in the Ideas themselves there is no ground of explanation.' Plato, he says, has failed to deduce his Ideas from the Idea of Good, which ought to serve as an Absolute, but does not. This criticism is very much to the point. It is a criticism, however, which, we fear, can be levelled against any and every absolutist philosophy. We far from 'deducing' the world from an Absolute, modern idealists merely try to convince us that 'somehow' all contradictions are resolved in that transcendent mystery.

Mr. Stace has profound respect for Aristotle, whose system is 'the perfected and completed Greek idealism.' His account of Aristotle's advance upon Plato is clear and interesting, but to his just critique of the Aristotelian philosophy should he not have added a fuller statement of the difficulties and lacunae in the doctrine of essâ€”Post-Aristotelian philosophy occupies less than forty pages of the book. Its cursory treatment is deliberate, because in Mr. Stace's opinion it lies outside the main stream of idealistic development. Although this may be true of the Epicureans and a less degree of the
STOKES, it does not seem true of the Neo-Platonists. Mysticism may be distasteful to some idealists, though not to all.—Mr. Bradley himself has been called a mystic,—but there is much in Plotinus and Proclus which foreshadows, and indeed has contributed to, the idealism of to-day.

J. H. S.


This book displays great diligence and accuracy and a love of detail for its own sake. Scholars especially interested in the technical criticism of ancient rhetoric will find something of value in the discussion of the Major Parts of the Oration. The main body of the book consists of statistics arranged under a ingenious technological shorthand which would be more tolerable if the subject were of more importance or if the statistics issued in useful conclusions, as for instance, about the date of speeches. Transitions in Attic Orators are far more the distinctive fact of a clever speaker than the conscious application of highly complicated rules, and Mr. Elliott's method of analysis does less than justice to speeches like Lysias, "il ne faut pas que je boive soif plus lourd que je,faisam. There is a good deal to be learnt from this as from all careful and well-arranged work, but readers of it will do well to take a speech of Lysias after every chapter as a corrective.


The value of ethnology has long been recognised as a means of illuminating the problems of antiquity, and of indicating the true source and meaning of such primitive features as remain embedded in our own civilisation. It was with a view primarily to tracing the origin and pedigree of the ancient Greek calendrical system that Professor Nilsson undertook that intensive study of primitive methods of reckoning time, which is embodied in the present volume. He has ransacked ethnological literature and collected nearly all the available data relevant (as well as some that are not wholly relevant, e.g. star lore) to his subject; these he quotes verbatim, and with full reference to his authorities. The work has, in fact, the character of an encyclopaedia. At first sight one might be excused for questioning the utility of multiplying examples illustrative of a single principle. Undoubtedly the author's argument would not suffer by excision and compression. On the other hand the book's very copiousness of detail makes it invaluable as a work of reference. Moreover, it is only by a comprehensive survey of this kind that fundamental principles are seen to emerge in clear perspective from a solid background of fact, and that the marvellous resemblance in mentality shown by the most diverse races in tackling similar problems becomes apparent.

The author disclaims exhaustiveness; nevertheless his survey is so comprehensive as to make certain omissions the more noticeable. He himself points out the incompleteness of his data from northern Asia, which is due to the relevant publications being in Russian. But the omission of any reference to the remarkable calendrical systems of pre-Columbian Mexico and Peru, though no doubt intentional, is none the less regrettable. The ancient Mexican calendar is peculiarly interesting on account of its dualism, and it presents the unique features of having 20-day months, and cycles of 104 years regulated by the synodical revolutions of Venus. The Peruvian calendar, too, is of interest on account of the analogy it presents with that of ancient Egypt in having 12 months of 30 days each and an appendix of 5 odd days. Perhaps the author considered these systems too highly developed for inclusion under the present title.

The actual contents of the volume may be briefly summarised. After an Introduction in which the general nature of the subject is explained, there are separate chapters dealing
with the following subjects: the day; the seasons; the year; the stars, including a
discussion on star-lore; the month; the months, regarded as a series; old Semitic months
(Babylonian, the Israelites, and the pre-Mohammedan Arabs); calendar regulation, with
special reference to intercalation and the determination of the beginning of the year;
popular months of European peoples; solstices and equinoxes; artificial periods of time,
especially in connexion with markets and religious feasts (including a discussion on the
origin of the Sabbath); the calendar-makers as a professional class; finally there is a
chapter of conclusions, to which is appended a brief discussion of the ancient Greek
calendar, a subject which the author has treated more fully elsewhere.

There are certain fundamental points in which, in spite of endless varieties of detail,
almost all primitive peoples seem to agree. Keep observation of the changing phenomena
of nature and the absence of a developed mathematical sense leads them into descriptive,
as opposed to numerical, terminology. Regularly recurring concrete phenomena are
used to indicate season or time of day. Thus the Nandi of East Africa would render
"November 30th at 8.00 p.m." by saying "in the month, of the strong wind, on the day of
the moon's darkness, at the time when the porridge is cold." A list of the time indications
used by this tribe is in fact practically a description of their life. The method survives
with us poetically in such phrases as "cock-crow" or "the fall of the leaf." Moreover,
primitive peoples conceive of time not in connected periods but arithmetically as a number
of discontinuous points. Periods are reckoned on the pure pere-reco principle, a day
and night being frequently denoted by a "moon," a month by a "new moon," a year by a "winter.
"Ekronunciation occurs only sporadically, the Maoris of New Zealand being unique in having
a numbered series of months.

Practically all primitive peoples agree, too, in adopting the moon as their indicator of
longer periods of time, and lunar months are related to seasonal phenomena and occupations.
Cycles of 12 or 13 months are adopted as a rough approximation to the year,
primitive mathematics being inadequate to the appreciation of a period of 305 days,
except in the case of certain North American tribes who kept tables in the form of notched
sticks. The replacement of the month in relation to the seasons becomes obvious after
a few years, and is corrected by intercalating or omitting ("doubling" or "forgetting")
a month, as the case may be. Such intercalations are empirical, not systematic; the
preservation of the calendar's disorder is therapeutic rather than prophylactic. An addi-
tional check on the months is provided by the stars, of which most "uncivilized" peoples
are careful observers, particularly the Polynesians (as navigators), and the South American
Indians. The rising or setting of the Pleiades and Orion are most commonly used to
indicate the proper time for sowing or planting. The solstices and equinoxes are in rarer
cases observed, and the influence of environment is here apparent; the Eskimo near the
Arctic circle being particularly favourably placed for observing the solstices. One would
be inclined to doubt whether any people closely in touch with nature can have failed to
notice the turn of the year by the changing position of sunrise and sunset, though records
of the fact may be lacking.

The author considers the Greek calendar of historic times, with its cyclical inter-
calation, to have been derived from Babylon, and he makes out a fair case for its trans-
mission through Ionia to Delphi, which naturally acted as a means of its diffusion through-
out Greece. His argument is also partly based on the absence in Homer of any mention
of the terms of intercalation from which the later system could have grown. He considers
Homer's time-reckoning to have been essentially primitive. But it is at least doubtful
whether he is justified in laying so much stress on the negative evidence of the poet. We
should hardly expect to obtain a clear idea of the Julian or Gregorian calendar by an
appeal to the evidence of our own poets. Such phrases, for instance, as μηδένως μέλατα
has cannot be seriously treated as evidence in this question. As regards the Baby-
lonian calendar the author agrees with Kugler, as opposed to Weidner, that cyclical inter-
calation did not come into force before the Persian period, although knowledge of the
astronomical facts in Babylon long antedated their practical application.

The evolution of a true calendrical system is primarily a question of mathematics,
since it presupposes the power to assess the year in terms of days, a thing beyond the
mind of primitive man. It is difficult to recognize a logical and continuous development from what was essentially concrete and non-numerical to the purely abstract and numerical. It would appear more likely that the mathematical faculties were developed independently of time-reckoning (though this may have provided a contributory stimulus), and being subsequently applied to the proper regulation of time, as required in an organised polity, produced a revolution, in other words a system, in the calendrical world.

In a work of this nature we might perhaps have expected to find more than a passing reference to the water-clock, which in the form of a perforated bowl was in use from very early times in India and Ceylon, as well as in Britain in the early iron age.

The style of the book is not entirely free from the awkwardness to which translations are liable, while a fuller index including the names of tribes mentioned would add to its utility.

These are, however, minor defects, and whatever interpretation we may feel inclined to put upon the facts here collected, there can be no question that the author has performed a very thorough piece of research which should be of great value as well to the student of archaeology as of ethnology.

H. J. B.


This manual, adapted in language and content to the use of elementary students, forms a useful introduction to Greek Tragedy.

The book is conveniently divided into six chapters: (1) The Literary History of Greek Tragedy; (2) The Greek Theatre and the Production of Plays; (3) The Works of Aeschylus; (4) The Works of Sophocles; (5) The Works of Euripides; (6) Metre and Rhythm in Greek Tragedy.

The writer does not attempt to say anything new, nor does he state the orthodox views so concisely as he might. His chapter on Metre seems needlessly perplexing. But the combination of facts presented in his book is unusual, and for that reason it may be hoped that it will find purchasers.

A. W. M.


These volumes belong to an extensive series of handbooks compiled during the early part of the War by the Geographical Section of the Naval Intelligence Division, Naval Staff, Admiralty. They are now, with a few corrections and additions, made available for the general public.

The Handbook of Greece consists of brief, well-informed chapters on geographical and climatic conditions, ethnology, social conditions, trade, government and administration, and also a very extensive series of itineraries. The itineraries being written from a military standpoint contain no descriptions of antiquities, hotels, or other such attractions; they will nevertheless be found of considerable value by the tourist, especially if used in conjunction with a guide to Greece of the usual civilian type. The volume contains several good illustrations, including some of places that deserve to be better known. The bridge of Tzalma is a case in point. The large annual fair mentioned as being held at Magnesia nearby has, we fear, lost much of its old importance.

The Handbook of Macedonia is similar in plan, but of considerably less value. The data from which it had to be compiled were most insufficient and unreliable. During the
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War an immense amount of information was obtained on the geographical, climatic and hygienic conditions of Macedonia. Old maps were corrected, and a large strip of country behind the Allied lines from the Adriatic to the Aegean was carefully surveyed. A number of new roads were made, and old ones altered. The present volume is consequently of very little use. We hope its existence will not prevent a new handbook, materials for which are now available, from being issued in the near future.

M. S. T.


The fact that this book has reached a second edition in less than two years is the best testimony that could be given to its usefulness. Mr. Banerjee investigates very fully the possibilities of Hellenic influence in all branches of Hindu art, literature, philosophy and science. His book shows a remarkably wide range of reading, and few of the theories put forward by European scholars suggesting Hellenic influence in India seem to have escaped him. His judgments are eminently sensible, and he rightly holds that the possibilities of direct Greek influence on Hindu civilization have been exaggerated, notably by Niese and Windisch and even occasionally by Vincent Smith. The author opens with a discussion of the debt, admitted on all sides, that Indian architecture and sculpture owe to Hellenic art. He agrees with Sir John Marshall against Strzygowski and Vincent Smith that the influence is indirect and cannot be traced directly to any particular centre of Hellenic culture. Painting has every claim to be considered a native Indian art. In the case of the coinage which Mr. Banerjee next discusses we have a native invention fundamentally altered in character by direct foreign influence, although the earliest coins struck by Greeks in India follow native types. It was the great Kushan and Saka empires whose coinages, naturally following Greek metallic types, gave Indian coinage its definitely Western character. Our author next discusses astronomy, and has no difficulty in agreeing with the view that Hindu astronomy as an exact science can be traced to the Alexandrian schools. The case of mathematics is different: while Greek influence is not impossible it is more difficult to trace. There are, for example, no technical terms of obviously Greek origin as in the case of astronomy; and in the case of the so-called Arabic numerals it is the West that has borrowed from India. Mr. Banerjee discusses at some length the views that have been held on the relations of the Greek and Indian schools of medicine, but no fitness has yet been reached on this question. The chapter on the origin of the Indian alphabets, in which sufficient consideration is not given to Bühler’s views, hardly deserves a place in a book on Hellenism in India, as no one suspects Greek influence here; nor does any one seriously hold nowadays that the great Indian epics show direct borrowings from Homer.

The theory of the Greek origin of the Indian drama, first championed by Weber and Windisch, is still not without supporters; to the latter we recommend Mr. Banerjee’s able discussion of the characteristic differences between the Greek and Indian drama. He, however, is too ready to accept the nature-myth theory of the origin of the drama. The fourth part of the book discusses the independent evolution of religious, philosophy and fables in India and Greece, and contains a good deal that hardly comes within the subject of the book. The author does not seem to know of Professor Berriedale Keith’s important article on Pythagoras and the Doctrine of Transmigration in the J.R.I.S., 1900, pp. 562-568.

Mr. Banerjee has an excellent knowledge of his subject and shows considerable critical ability, but his book might be greatly improved in a future edition. It might with advantage be a good deal shorter; much that has no special connexion with the subject could be omitted. The author has a great fondness for quoting his sources in the original, and his book is full of long quotations in French, German and Dutch, which, while they may impress his compatriots with his learning, must be quite unintelligible to the majority of them. The book has an unnecessarily large number of misprints and the foreign passages

Jean’s Attic Orators is now long out of date, and since 1870 there has been no book published in English which covers the Orators as a whole. So Professor Dobson’s work is welcome, and will prove very useful to students. The book does not aim at the exhaustive completeness of Bliss, but at supplying a handy and interesting introduction to the Greek orators. This is the standard by which it is to be judged, and judged by this standard it can claim success. The author—though he clearly is master of the literature of the subject—rightly avoids polemical discussion of complicated points of chronology and law. Sometimes he is almost too careful to give both sides of the question. For instance, the unhappy theory of Beesly and Dobson: that the Battle “at Climax” in Isaeus V is the battle in 304 B.C., might by now be passed over in silence.

Professor Dobson has succeeded in being brief without obvious signs of compression, and has omitted little that is important. On p. 20 one misses a reference to the interesting, though tiny, fragment of Antiphon’s speech, παρακτικόν, published by Nicole in the Geneva Papyri (1907). So, too, we are told of Antiphon’s speech on the tribute of Samothrace, but not of that for the Lindians. But there is little in the way of omission of which a critic can fairly complain; in view of the scale on which the book is written. We are fortunate in possessing much ancient criticism of the Attic Orators, and to this criticism the author has done ample justice. His selection and translation of illustrative passages are excellent. As regards the treatment of the several orators, there is room for criticism, or, at least, for a difference of opinion. Andocides, for instance, gets more attention than he deserves in comparison with Lysias, so greatly his superior in the readiness and subtlety of his art. On the other hand, to accuse Andocides of extreme scrupulosity may produce discouragement in some readers and disappointment in others. For the full appreciation of the Attic Orators the nicer feelings are rather out of place, and throughout the book Professor Dobson seems a trifle too prone to censure. The chapter on Isaeus is extremely good, and so is that on Aeschines, where the author’s sober and discriminating criticism is seen at its best. A single, though a long, chapter on Demosthenes must always seem too short, but the chapter is skilful in compression and well balanced. Isocrates’ contribution to the development of Greek rhetoric is ably stated, though one regrets that Professor Dobson denied himself a little more space to treat of the orator’s influence on later prose, both Greek and Latin. In the last chapter, which deals with the decline of Oratory, the author seems to under-estimate the continued importance of rhetoric in the political affairs of Athens and other Greek cities. The philosophers of the second and third centuries owe much of their political authority to their eloquence, as did the medieval prelates with whom they have so much in common. Something, however, has to be sacrificed to the need of keeping such a book as this within useful limits of space and cost, and in this hard task Professor Dobson has succeeded admirably.
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Cambridge: University Press, 1920. 12s. 6d. net.

The author of this excellent volume apologizes for his intrusion into a sphere which is not his own. With yet far greater reason must the present reviewer make a similar apology: but so far as he is qualified to judge Mr. Evelyn White’s incursion is amply justified by results. The volume is indeed a very important contribution to a subject which offers so many points of doubt and controversy, that there is room for treatment from several sides. It shows mastery of the literature concerned with and bearing on the Sayings upon which the author is to be congratulated; and with this are combined a sound judgment and great acuteness in conjecture.

Beginning with a bibliography of the subject, the author first reproduces the actual text of the two MSS. (P. Oxy., 534 and 1), without restoration of lost words or letters, and next gives the restored text adopted by himself, not distinguishing (a feature which it is to be deplored) the restorations from the MS. readings. This is followed by an "Introduction," which is really an elaborate essay on the nature of the Sayings, and finally the Sayings themselves are given one by one, with the various readings proposed by scholars, and lengthy notes. The volume concludes, it is satisfactory to note, with an index.

The main theme of the introduction is the question as to the nature of the Sayings. Do they constitute an independent tradition going back to Apostolic times, or are they post-Apostolic, put together on the basis of the Gospels or of some one Gospel? And if so, which Gospel? Mr. Evelyn White rejects alike the theory of an independent tradition and that of a comparatively late origin. He places them, with the original editors, in the sub-Apostolic age, i.e. in the first half of the second century; and he believes them to come from the Gospel according to the Hebrews. They (and, of course, the Gospel from which they are taken) are, he thinks, based on the Synoptics, particularly Luke, but are worked up in a literary way, with the addition of original matter; and they show traces of Johannine thought, but as yet in an early stage of development.

It follows that the Sayings can claim an original authority; their interest lies, in the author’s view, in their character as early Christian literature, not in that of historical evidence, but from the former point of view they are of great value as illustrating the growth of a literary tradition, and, if the theory be sound, as throwing light on the nature of the Gospel according to the Hebrews. As to the theory itself, it must be admitted that it is extremely well argued, with converging lines of evidence, constituting, in their swerve, an undoubtedly strong case; but it is hardly to be regarded as established, and Mr. Evelyn White seems a little too positive in some of his conclusions. Thus, in point (1) on p. 14, his statement “there can be no doubt whatever that the evangelist of the Hebrews’ Gospel is here elaborating his main source, Matthew, with reminiscences of the Lazarus parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus” is surely too strong; and in point (5) on p. 20 the thread of evidence is extremely slender.

Mr. Evelyn White’s remarks on and restorations of the individual Sayings are always worthy of consideration, and not infrequently brilliant. Particularly does this last remark apply to his treatment of the Prologue. It would perhaps be going too far to say that his restoration of 1:2 solves finally the perplexing problem of the mention of Thomas in 1:3, but it is certainly beyond comparison the most satisfactory suggestion yet made, and his acceptance of Brunton’s Θεόςκοινεία in 1:1, taken in conjunction with his own version of 1:2, and the certain restoration of 1:4, gives the whole Prologue a connexion and inner unity which it has never yet received.

This is probably Mr. Evelyn White’s most brilliant single contribution to the text-critical criticism of the Sayings, but many of his restorations and comments are of considerable importance. His συνλέγειν, indeed, in 1:21 (Saying III), is very weak, though it must be confessed that the passage is puzzling. His common sense and soundness of judgment are seen in his view of Saying VIII (Logion III), as against the fanciful interpretations of some commentators, and he addsuce some excellent parallels for the words μονογενης and ἀναπαύεται, which have caused much unnecessary perplexity.
WHEN WAS THEMISTOCLES LAST IN ATHENS?

The twenty-fifth chapter of the Aristotelian Constitution of Athens contains a circumstantial account of the overthrow of the Areopagus, which differs from the accepted version of the same affair in ascribing an important, though not the foremost, part in the attack to Themistocles. The newly discovered version does not, it is true, stand entirely by itself. But it is found elsewhere only in an argument to the Areopagiticus of Isocrates, written probably by a sixth-century Christian. As between the argument and the papyrus, it is the latter that alone can give any serious historical value to the former. But what is the historical value of the account in the Constitution? If it is true, then, as was recognised at once by Kenyon in his editio princeps, it revolutionises the history of the later part of Themistocles’ career.

But it was at once recognised also that the version of the Constitution was difficult to reconcile with the accounts of Themistocles to be found in Thucydides, Plutarch, and other writers. These all say that the trial that drove Themistocles to Persia took place while he was living ostracised from Athens at Argos. The ostracism of Themistocles took place before the condemnation and death of Pausanias, with whom the Athenian statesman was accused of having intrigued during his period of ostracism. As the downfall and death of Pausanias have generally and with good reason been dated about 468 B.C., it has been inferred that Themistocles cannot have been in Athens after about 469 B.C.

This reckoning, again, has been thought to be confirmed by the accounts of the flight to Persia. Themistocles is said by Thucydides to have reached Persia when Artaxerxes was ‘nearly’ on the throne: Artaxerxes succeeded his father Xerxes in the year 465 B.C. Even on the loosest interpretation of ‘nearly,’ it is hard to see how even a Themistocles can have got through all the adventures that befell him between his ostracism and his arrival at the Persian court if the former event took place during or after the attack of Ephialtes on the Areopagus and the latter shortly after the accession of Artaxerxes. Furthermore, Themistocles is said by Thucydides to have fallen...
in on the way to Persia with the Athenian fleet blockading Naxos. The date of this blockade is not quite certain; but it preceded the battle of Eurymedon, which in turn preceded the siege of Thasos, which last event can be dated with some certainty as having begun in 465 B.C., or, at the latest, early in 464. If Themistocles was on the way to Persia at the time of the siege of Naxos, he cannot have been in Athens in 462 B.C.

The effect of all these considerations has been to discredit very seriously the narrative which states that he was in Athens at the later date. It has been commonly assumed that there is a flat contradiction between the writer of the Constitution and Thucydides, and that the earlier authority must be accepted. The narrative of Chapter XXV. of the Constitution is stated by two English scholars to reach the acme of absurdity. To take it seriously, so we are told by a leading German scholar, is a "Zeichen philologischer Unmündigkeit." 7

Of those who hold such views as have just been quoted, it is not surprising that some have proceeded to excise the offending passage, partly as being inherently improbable, partly because it is not reproduced in Plutarch's life of Themistocles. 8

Most scholars do not go so far as this. They regard the narrative as genuine but unauthentic, and quote other cases where our author makes mistakes in his history. 9 But if these other mistakes are compared with those that are alleged to occur in Chapter XXV., we shall find that they are of a quite different order: either slips in points of fact or chronology that have no important bearing on the narrative, or mistakes on difficult questions of ancient constitutional history (of which the most noticeable is the much disputed fourth chapter on the Draconian constitution), or lapses into partisanship, as when

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9 See the list given by Th. Reimach, Rep. Ath. pp. xxvi-xxvii (Cimon: "youngest" in 462 B.C., c. 26; Spartan peace proposals put after Arachnauros instead of Cyzicus, c. 34, cp. Philoc. F.H.D. 1, fr. 117-8; all the generals put to death after Arachnauros instead of all who were put on trial and appeared before the court, c. 34; confusions or contradictions in the accounts of the passagem, c. 4, and: beyond, c. 54, op. c. 48). For the Ath. Pol., drawing inferences, sometimes wrong, as to early constitution-usages, see Swoboda, Arch. Kplg. Mitt. xvi. pp. 57 f. on Ath. Pol. 18. 10.

It is, of course, easy to find in the Constitution's account of the fifth century much that is palpably legendary. De Sanctis, Stud. Crit. Ath., p. 11, if we regard such any new information that disagrees with our preconceived conceptions of the period. For a good protest against this attitude, see Politis, Aristot. Ath. Pol. in Parnassos, 1893, p. 13.
Themistocles is described as merely a soldier as contrasted with the statesman Aristides. Mistakes and slips of these kinds are inevitable in any historical writing, ancient or modern. The mistakes laid to the charge of the writer of Chapter XXV. of the Constitution are of a different and much more damming order. It is one thing to sum up the Duke of Wellington as a distinguished statesman, or George Washington as an eminent soldier. It would be an entirely different thing if a modern historian should be found assigning, let us say, a prominent and circumstantial part to John Hampden in the trial of Charles I. This latter is the sort of mistake that is alleged to occur in Chapter XXV. of the Constitution, but nowhere else in the whole work.

The prevalent attitude that has just been described seems, therefore, on the whole, less tenable than that of the extremists who resort to excision or abuse. But are we bound to accept any of the views so far quoted? Is Chapter XXV. of the Constitution really so impossible to reconcile with our other sources for the later history of Themistocles as has been generally assumed? More than one writer has accepted the Constitution on Themistocles and endeavoured to reconcile it with our other sources. The first attempt was made by Baner, who proposed a completely new set of dates for the events of the period, based on the information contained in Chapter XXV. The death of Pausanias is ascribed to 462 B.C., after which comes the ostracism of Themistocles, his final condemnation and flight, the siege of Naxos, the battle of Eurymedon, the revolt of Thasos at the time of the earthquake in Sparta, and the fall of Thasos, which last event is placed in 457 B.C. This chronology has not found any acceptance; as shown by K. M. Walker and others, it lends us in extreme difficulties, not only for the period of Themistocles, but also for the years that follow.

A different line of defence is suggested by von Schreiber, who supposes that the attacks on the Areopagus began long before the grand assault of 462 B.C., and that Themistocles took part only in the earlier phases before the generally accepted date of his ostracism. But this defence is as difficult to maintain as it would be damaging if maintainable. The Constitution says distinctly that the attack did not begin till 'about seventeen years after the Persian Wars.' The circumstantial account of the dealings with Ephialtes has to be explained away as part of a generally accepted Themistocles legend. In dates, in details, and in emphasis it has to be admitted that our author was seriously wrong.

The same objection may be made to Wilmotitz when he suggests that the basis of the story was a report spread abroad in Athens in 462 B.C. by the enemies of Ephialtes, to the effect that he was merely the tool of the absent and exiled Themistocles.

13 Op. Post. Chim. 5, x., where Cimon, the protégé of Aristides, is described as 'inconceivably the superior' of Themistocles as a statesman.
14 Fornell, Ath. Pol. p. 171 f.
17 Wilmotitz, Arsat. u. Ath. 149. The whole question as to how far by the time of Aristocle or even Thucydides Themistocles had won his way into the fabulous is beyond the scope of this article.
Still more unsatisfying is the attempt at a reconciliation between the Constitution and Thucydides made by A. Brieger,16 who suggests that the Areopagus was predominant after the Persian Wars, not for seventeen years but for seven. Seventeen years is confirmed as the original reading by the reference to the archonship of Conon, and by the fact that Ephialtes' death is dated as not long after his great success, and six years before 457 B.C. Brieger here emends six to sixteen, and there are other consequential changes that his suggestion leads to if it is carefully followed up.

In examining the discrepancies, apparent or real, between our author and Thucydides, it is important to remember that if we accept the former it does not imply any criticism of Thucydides half so serious as that which we must pass on the author of the Constitution, if in so recent and important a matter as the history of Themistocles he could record fiction under the impression that it was fact. The best of historians sometimes wrongly omit. Only the worst would in such a case as we are considering invent, and only quite inferior writers would be misled by the inventions of others. A truthful and careful writer in a position like that of Thucydides writing on Themistocles may easily omit important facts and get wrong in a chronology that he is himself constructing from not very adequate data.16 Nobody has ever recognised this better than Thucydides himself.17 His chronology for Themistocles is difficult and dubious on any showing, and his account of him is a digression that was never intended for a full biography. It takes him back beyond the period for which he claims special authority, and moreover, is confined strictly to events in which Themistocles played the leading part, which in the Constitution itself is disclaimed for him as regards the attack on the Areopagus.18 Omissions, therefore, and even misleading omissions cannot be ruled out of the question.19

It is certainly exaggerated by W毡amowitz in the work just cited. It is one thing to show that a historical character has become the victim of unhistorical anecdote; it is another to determine whether or to what degree the anecdotes in question are free to violate the historical setting.


17 Thucydides quotes (I. 138) relatives of Themistocles as stating that his bones were brought back to Athens and secretly buried; but it does not follow that the historian was able to get full information about the life of the dead statesman from this source. The only relative of Themistocles known to have remained in Athens, his son Kleonastes (Plato, Memo, 93), was notoriously interested in nothing but horses and athletics.

18 Note, too, that Atk. Pol. 18 tacitly corrects Thucy. vi. on that it has been claimed by Well, Journ. d. Sav. 1891, p. 206, that Thucydides himself in I. 20 appears to realise the mistakes of the Book VI. account, which is probably the earlier. Thucydides is also corrected by the Atk. Pol. (31-3) on points of detail about the four hundred: Well, ibid. p. 204.

18 Ephialtes is much the more prominent all through the chapter. Where both are mentioned together, Ephialtes is put first. Themistocles has merely a share in the responsibility, συγκειμένον ἡμῖν ἔργον κάθοικος. The same inference is to be drawn from c. 41. Ephialtes is òi פורטס בושב, Εφίλατος γλῶσσας ἀπενέκδοτος στοιχεῖον ἑπιστήμης. In these last words Mathieu, Bibl. École Histor. Études, 216 (1915), p. 64, wrongly finds traces of a tradition according to which Ephialtes was not aided by Themistocles.

19 Compare the remarkable omissions in Thucydides' synopsis of the history of Athens between the Persian and Peloponnesian wars, i. 97 ff. There is nothing about the political measures of Ephialtes
Is it possible to discover in Thucydides any comparatively unimportant omission or inaccuracy that would account for the discrepancies between his narrative and that of the Constitution? If I am not mistaken, one possibility has yet to be considered that saves the latter without bringing to the charge of the former anything but a most pardonable piece of ignorance with some very natural but unfortunate consequences. My suggestion is that Themistocles did take part in the attack on the Areopagus, but that he did so not before he had been ostracised, but during a brief return to Athens at the end of his ten years of ostracism. 20

This, of course, implies that Thucydides is wrong on two points: he makes Themistocles fly to Persia while ostracised, instead of bringing him back to Athens for the attack on the Areopagus, and he makes his escape from the Athenian fleet take place off Naxos instead of Thasos. But it is not difficult to imagine how he was led into these errors, if, as I believe, I am right in so regarding them.

As regards the attack on the Areopagus, there may well have been a conspiracy of silence on the part of the historian's informants. At Athens he moved in Periclean circles. Pericles continued the work of Ephialtes and Themistocles in destroying the privileges of the Areopagus; but in doing so he appears to have reversed the policy of his family in the period immediately preceding it: he was the Alcmeonid Leobotes 11 who had prosecuted Themistocles and prevented him on our hypothesis from remaining in Athens to take part in the last phase of the attack. The incident is one that Periclean circles may not have cared to recall. Except for the four years between Pericles’ death and the beginning of Thucydides’ exile, years that were largely spent by the historian on active naval service, and for the uncertain period that followed his recall from exile, when he had probably completed his account of Themistocles, the Periclean party was supreme throughout the period when Thucydides had access to Athens. State documents unconnected to a strong government do not tend to be very much in evidence, and this would be particularly

20 The duration of ostracism is given as ten years by Plato, Gorg. 516 D, Plut. Cic. 17, Nic. H, Corn. Nep. passim. pseudo-Andoc. iv. 5, schol. Aristoph. Vesp. 947; cp. Thesp. P.H.G., i. p. 293. Cirnax was recalled from ostracism after with, κατά τόπον 30 χρόνων. The sentence had been for five years; we should expect not τέσσαρα, but τέσσερα. Car-
the case in connexion with an incident like that of the Acmæomid prosecution of Themistocles, which no important party or personage had any particular motive for recalling.

Equally misleading may have been the results if, as is highly probable, Thucydides made inquiries about Themistocles at Argos, which he, too, in all probability, like Themistocles, knew as an exile.\(^2\) He tells us that while there Themistocles made frequent excursions to other parts of the Peloponnesse. Assume that Themistocles began his final flight from Athens by a last hurried visit to Argos, and the brief period of the final sojourn in Athens may well have been concealed in the Argive version among the various excursions made by Themistocles from his Argive headquarters during his period of ostracism.

If this one assumption be granted, the rest of the mistakes that we have to suppose in Thucydides become purely consequential. It was known that when sentence was passed on Themistocles he was an exile in Argos. It was also known that in the charges the name of Pausanias had figured very prominently. What more natural, especially for a historian of the rationalist school like Thucydides, with only a limited amount of information at his disposal, than to assume for the trial and flight a date very shortly after the fall of the Spartan traitor?

It is doubtful whether the mention of Naxos is to be regarded as an independent piece of evidence. The name of the island is immaterial to the point of the story; very possibly none at all appeared in the original version, in which case the name appearing in Thucydides is only the result of chronological conclusions reached on other grounds. There are hints that there was in antiquity another chronology that required the fleet to be not at Naxos but at Thasos, and can be reconciled with the story in the Constitution. According to Thucydides, the landing of Themistocles in Asia took place at Ephesus; but a version found in Plutarch\(^3\) makes him reach the mainland up in the North at Cyme, a place of arrival that ill suits a passage past Naxos, but fits in well with a passage past Thasos. The incident with the Athenian fleet is not mentioned by Plutarch in giving this version. He quotes it only in connexion with the Thucydidean version, which he also gives, but with the remarkable variant in one MS. that Thasos appears as the original reading, subsequently corrected to Naxos. The MS. in question is said to give the best readings for some of the lives, including that of Themistocles. To judge from the way in which he treats Thucydides, Plutarch was probably abbreviating the version that introduces Cyme. It looks as though Thasos was the original reading,\(^4\) emended in the other MSS. or their prototypes by learned scribes who knew their Thucydides, and that the original reading, Thasos, was due to the fleet incident having been located there by the version that landed Themistocles on the mainland at Cyme.

It will be convenient at this point to summarise the order of events implied by the suggestions just offered. Themistocles would have been ostracised

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\(^4\) See Wilamowitz, Aristot. u. Ath. I. p. 150, n. 47.
between 474 and 472 B.C.; he proceeded to the Peloponnesian war, and while there fell under the suspicion of intriguing with Pausanias; from the Spartans' point of view Pausanias was the chief danger, and after crossing him they ceased to be alarmed about Themistocles, who was left an exile on the worst of terms with the pro-Spartan Government at Athens; then in 464 or 463 B.C., the ostracism expired, and Themistocles returned to Athens to find Ephialtes beginning his attack on the Areopagus, which was at that time in sympathy with Cimon and the Alcmaeonids, and like the Alcmaeonids supporting Cimon in his pro-Spartan policy; the Spartans saw their influence in Athens threatened, and furnished alleged evidence of Themistocles' support of the median of Pausanias some years before; eventually he was prosecuted on this and perhaps other charges, with an Alcmaeonid conducting the case and Cimon in the background; before the trial began it was obvious which way it must go, and Themistocles withdrew from Athens; perhaps he began by hurrying back to Argos, which had been his home for the greater part of the previous ten years, and where he had a good deal of influence; but very soon he was compelled to fly further, and ultimately reached Persia in 462 B.C. after a narrow escape on the way from the Athenian fleet, which was either just concluding the siege of Thasos, or cruising off the island after successfully ending the siege.

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45 This date accords quite as well as any other with the unreasoned evidence, which is fully set forth by Busolt, Gr. Gesch. III. I. p. 113.

46 Diod. xi. 54 speaks of two trials, the first at Athens before the ostracism, ending in acquittal, the second at Sparta, after the ostracism, resulting in Themistocles' flight and condemnation. Diodorus' evidence is not decisive; he assigns the events of a number of years to the single year 471-470 B.C., and makes the unlikely statement that the trial that drove Themistocles to Asia took place at Sparta; but an early trial and acquittal can be easily reconciled with the order of events suggested above.

47 Aristoxenus in 462 B.C. might still be 'newly on the throne' from the point of view of Thucydides writing after the close of his long reign of 40 years. The version that brings Themistocles to Persia before the death of Xerxes may be dismissed (so e.g. Bauml, Forsch. p. 69) as a poetical embellishment of the facts. The flight to Persia is indeed dated 471 B.C. by Diod. xi. 54-6, and 472 B.C. by the Armenian version of Eusebius, but their evidence is weak; on Diod. see note preceding; Eusebius is probably based on Diod. The flight is probably suggested by either writer to the year required by his chronology for the ostracism (in which case we have here a further possible explanation of the double dating with a ten years' difference already noticed in the chronology of Themistocles, by J. A. R. Muir, C.R. vi. (1892) pp. 333-4. On Cyn. de Ann. 44, 42, which has been thought to confirm Diod. and Eusebius, see below, p. 177. Wilamowitz, Arist. v. Athen. I. pp. 143-4 and Busolt Gr. Gesch. III. I. pp. 113a, 128, accept 471 B.C., but their arguments are flimsy, based on the assumption that the three authorities who alone give a definite date to the flight are based on contemporary documents, notably the στασις των σωτηνων και των ρεθων και κοψη μαδων by Kraneres of Athenian decrees. But because Kraneres is known to have published the charge brought against Themistocles, it hardly follows that Diodorus derived from him the 'date of Themistocles' flight. As regards the στασις των ρεθων it is rather remarkable that they are never once mentioned in connexion with Themistocles. If they are to be used as additional evidence, that is one point that must be taken into account. Can the explanation be that the trial and condemnation took place, as the dating proposed in this paper implies, during a comparatively brief setback in the progress of the party to which Themistocles belonged, and that consequently his name never got posted up?
We may now proceed to consider whether the course of events just suggested is chronologically possible. According to the generally accepted datings, it is nearly so, but not quite. Chapter XXV. of the Constitution is held to imply that Themistocles was in Athens in the archonship of Conon, which began about midsummer 462 B.C. The siege of Thasos is usually dated 465–463 B.C. Further, some months at least must be allowed for Themistocles to get to Asia from Athens, via Corfu and Pydna, with various adventures on the way.

But if we look more closely into the chronology of these years, we shall find that Themistocles may have left Athens early in 462, or even late in 463, and that the Athenian fleet may have been still off Thasos late in 462 B.C.

The great attack on the Areopagites culminated after Conon became archon; but it began before, possibly in 463 B.C. As regards the part played by Themistocles in the final triumph of Ephialtes, the Constitution says simply that he was partly the cause of it. These are hardly the words that our author would have used if he had pictured Themistocles as taking an active part. Contrast the sentences immediately following, which describe Themistocles' activities earlier in the struggle. We are indeed told that both reformers brought a series of charges against the Areopagites till they had deprived them of their power; but this latter statement, which, as far as it concerns Themistocles, seems hardly quite to harmonise with the statement just referred to from earlier in the same chapter, was probably qualified in the sentence immediately following. Unfortunately, there is a lacuna in the narrative at this point; but the gist of the missing words may well have been that Themistocles was brought to trial and fled from Athens before the final triumph of his party. After the lacuna the narrative informs us that Ephialtes was 'not long after' removed from the scene, being treacherously murdered by Aristodikos of Tanagra. Ephialtes met his death in 462–461 B.C., the year in which he overthrew the Areopagus. The murder, therefore, cannot be placed very early in the year; but there is no need to place it very late. Revolutions can get a long way in a short time when once they have gathered the

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17 So e.g. E. M. Walker, C.R. vi. p. 96 and Kenyon ad loc.
18 τὸν χώρον, μὴ ἄρκτης παλλὴς τῶν Ἀρεοπαγίτων, ὅσφος... ἀπὸ Χάντρος Ἀθ. Πολ. 25, 2. This year could easily be regarded, especially on an inclusive reckoning, as "about 17 years after the Persian war," which is how the Constitution dates the beginning of Ephialtes' attacks, Ath. Pol. 25.1. See further, Hertlein, Korrespondenz-Blatt f. d. Gelehrten-u. Forschungswesen, 1895, pp. 2-3.
19 ἄρανται οὖσαν οἰκεῖον ἑνών ἀνατείλειν. The word ἀνατείλειν is rendered by the translators (Th. Reimann, Hausenmüller, Posner, Dyneis, Zuretti, Ferrini, Poland, Kaisel and Klessing, Erismann) by such words as ascend, concours, co-operation, conjunction, cooperate, compagna, Unterstätzung, beitributi, Mitwirkung. But the Greek for this would surely be some such word as συνεργάζεται or συνεργούσται.
20 See previous note.
21 The sentence might perhaps be completed in some such way as this: καὶ ἄρανται χώρον ἄρκτης παλλὴς τῶν Ἀρεοπαγίτων. The word ἄρκτης is rendered by the translators (Th. Reimann, Hausenmüller, Posner, Dyneis, Zuretti, Ferrini, Poland, Kaisel and Klessing, Erismann) by such words as associate, concours, co-operation, conjunction, cooperate, compagna, Unterstätzung, beitributi, Mitwirkung. But the Greek for this would surely be some such word as συνεργάζεται or συνεργούσται.
22 Kenyon, ad Ath. Pol. 26, 2.
necessary impetus. The downfall, therefore, of Themistocles probably occurred at latest fairly early in the year 462-461. But there is no reason why it should not be put back as early as the middle of the year 463-462. The demand that Themistocles should be put on trial had been made at an early stage in the struggle, and may have been pushed home during a temporary success of the party opposed to the reformers. If the original intention of a prosecution before the Areopagus was now abandoned for an εἰσαγγελία before the people, the change of tactics need not cause any surprise.

The fall of Thasos is generally dated 463 B.C. But the evidence leaves it possible that it took place rather later than is generally supposed. The revolt probably started in 465 B.C., since it broke out, according to Thucydides, "about the same time" as the Athenian expedition to Drabeskos, which is assigned with some certainty to that year. But it is by no means certain that it was all over by the end of 463. This date for its conclusion is an inference from the statement of Thucydides that the siege ended in the third year. By the third year, however, he means the third year of the siege: it may have been the fourth of the revolt. We do not know what time of year the revolt began. When news of it reached Athens the Athenians had first to collect a fleet and send it to the island, where they landed only after winning a naval victory. This is the point in his narrative at which Thucydides inserts the account of the expedition to the Strymon and the Drabeskos disaster. If the narrative is strictly chronological, this may mean that active operations against Thasos were for a time held up. Thucydides has still to tell of land battles against the islanders won by the Athenians before they were able to begin the siege. The year 464 may have been well started before the three-year siege began. The blockading squadron, too, is not likely to have sailed away the moment Thasos surrendered.

With all these facts to bear in mind it can hardly be maintained that it is chronologically impossible for Themistocles to have supported Ephialtes in Athens even till the beginning of 462 B.C., and yet to have encountered the Athenian navy off Thasos in his flight to Persia.

May we not even go further and see in the course of the attack on the Areopagus a reflection of various phases of the Thasian revolt? The outbreak of the revolt coming at the same time as the disaster at Drabeskos must have done much to prepare the way for Ephialtes and his

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14 Diod. xi. 76, apparently dates the fall of Thasos in the archonship of Archelaus, 464-3 B.C., but (pace Cauer Hist. Arisot. p. 27) he may be like the moderns, merely making an inference from Thucydides.
15 And perhaps also to recall Cimon from Sparta to take the command (Phit. Com. 14). The chronology of this part of Cimon's career is difficult, but it seems on the whole most probable that the urgency of the situation in Thasos was the reason why Cimon came back from his first Spartan relief expedition in so great a hurry that he had not even time for the usual civilities to the states through which he passed en route.
16 The MSS. vary between ἑξῆς and ἑξῆς. The Teubner and new Oxford texts both print ἑξῆς. But ἑξῆς is the difficult lectio and has the support of a good group of MSS. It is read by Forbes.
supporters. But if the news of military difficulties and disasters abroad had started the revolution at home, reports that the Thasian situation was now well in hand may have led to the first reprisals against the reformers. The situation at Thasos was retrieved by Cimon, the friend of Sparta and enemy of Themistocles, and the first attack would naturally be concentrated on Themistocles, not merely because he was particularly obnoxious to Cimon and his friends, but also as being more open to attack than the scrupulous and incorruptible Ephialtes, who is only disposed of when the revolt that gave him his great opening has been completely quelled.

In making the attack on the Areopagus take place during the siege of Thasos we are disregarding Plutarch, who apparently pictures Ephialtes as beginning his campaign after Cimon had come home from Thasos and sailed away again on fresh active service. But Plutarch is a biographer, not a chronicler. His arrangement of his material is based largely on its character. His chronology is often vague and not infrequently misleading, and he cannot on a point like this be quoted as invalidating conclusions that have been shown on other evidence to be probable.

It is not only in his chronology that Plutarch diverges from the Constitution. He does so also on an important point of fact. He makes the chief supporter of Ephialtes the youthful Pericles, or, rather, he reverses the position and makes Pericles from a rather obscure background direct the activities of the more prominent Ephialtes. But here again Plutarch's evidence is highly dubious. In one of the passages where he makes this statement he himself throws doubt on it: 'the rest of his policy he (Pericles) carried out by commissioning his friends and other public speakers. One of these, so they say, would only become real evidence for assigning to Pericles a part in the attack, was Ephialtes, who broke down the power of the Areopagus.' This passage if the words 'so they say' were omitted, and the word 'who' emended to 'through whom he,' it will be observed that Pericles does not appear in person on the scene. Another passage associating Pericles with Ephialtes is vaguer: 'for forty years he (Pericles) stood first among such men as Ephialtes, Lecrates, Myronides, Cimon, Tolmides, and Thucydides.' This passage, though supported by Cicero, unquestionably antedates the rise of Pericles to a leading position in the State. He was not the foremost man in Athens in 469 B.C. Of the men who are said to have played second to him, Ephialtes, who died in 462, at least five years earlier than any of the rest, is the only one who supports this improbable ascendency of forty years.

It is true that in the Princeps Gherules Republinc we find the words, 'as Pericles through Ephialtes degraded the Areopagus.' But these words,
which merely make an incidental comparison, must be read in the light of the passages previously quoted. Though they do not explicitly mention the forty years of political predominance, they come very near to implying them. The leader of the opposition in 403 B.C. can hardly have entered politics much after 468. Plutarch himself makes so long a political leadership unlikely, since he states that as a young man Pericles "had nought to do with politics, but devoted himself rather to a military career, where he was brave and enterprising." 45

This, of course, does not mean that Pericles must have kept entirely out of politics till after Ephialtes had been killed. When Cimon returned from the reduction of Thasos he was brought to trial by his enemies, and Pericles, so Plutarch tells us, 46 took part in the prosecution. This is probably the first event in Pericles' political career that can be fairly closely dated. The return of Cimon from Thasos probably just preceded the death of Ephialtes. In any case, there can only have been a short interval between the two events.

Plutarch himself, if read in the light of the Constitution, suggests that Pericles first entered politics as a supporter of Ephialtes just before the overthrow of the Areopagus. He tells us that "when Aristides was dead and Themistocles in banishment and Cimon was kept by his campaigns for the most part abroad, then at last Pericles decided to devote himself to the people." 47 Previously "he had nought to do with politics." 48 The date of Aristides' death is uncertain, 49 but one account given by Plutarch makes him die in Athens of old age, while another attributes his death indirectly to the exile (φυγή) of Themistocles. 50 If we reckon by events and disregard years, we can agree entirely with Plutarch's dating in this passage of Pericles' entrance into politics. It is only his absolute dating to about 469 or earlier that has to be challenged. But though on this latter point the Constitution compels us to question the biographer, it also offers an explanation as to how it was that Plutarch went astray. If, as Plutarch implies, Pericles entered politics as the successor of Themistocles, and if, further, Plutarch had seriously antedated the last appearance of Themistocles in Athenian politics, then the rise of Pericles would have to be antedated to correspond. No events were available for these extra years. A simple way out of the difficulty was devised by transforming Ephialtes from a forerunner and guide of Pericles into an early subordinate and tool. 51

Plutarch may have been led into his mistake, or, at least, confirmed in it, by the Politics of Aristotle, where it is stated that the Areopagus was shorn

45 Plut. Per. 7.
47 Plut. Per. 7.
48 Pace Burnet (Gr. Gr. III.), p. 113 n. The difficulties raised by Corn. Nep. Arist. fin., which date the death of Aristides "fere post annum quantum quam Themistocles Athenis erat expulsum" need not be here discussed.
50 That Ephialtes had been the master of Pericles would have been forgotten, the more easily since the position of συμμαχος ου δεικτης τε και εϊκασης τε Pericles was commonly ascribed to Damocles or Damon, see Ath. Pol. 27. 4, Plut. Per. 9. 4. The latter quotes Plato Comicus on Damon: το γαρ εις φανον, διηλεμα Θησείου Πειρακίου.
of its power by Ephialtes and Pericles. But a careful reading of what is said there confirms the view that Pericles entered the struggle late and played a subordinate part. The words of Aristotle are καὶ τῶν μὲν ἐν Ἀρεσπόγγῳ βουλήν Ἐφιάλτης ἐκάλουσε καὶ Περικλῆς. The word order with the singular predicate shows that Ephialtes was foremost in the writer's mind and Pericles little more than an afterthought sufficiently explained by the sentence that follows. A writer who puts the matter thus in this passage might well, on another occasion, omit the part played by Pericles altogether.

It cannot be maintained that in Chapter XXV of the Constitution Themistocles is written by mistake for Pericles or any other name. The double-faced stratagem attributed in the text to Themistocles is a typical illustration of his duplicity: nothing could be more unlike the Olympian Pericles. But there is no need to be surprised that Plutarch makes no mention of the incident in his life. Not only does it conflict with his chronology for Themistocles, but in itself it is neither improving nor amusing, and may very well have been omitted on its own demerits by a moralising biographer.

When the wife and children of Themistocles joined him on his way to Persia, they came from Athens. If, therefore, Themistocles passed direct from ostracism to banishment, we must suppose that his family had been content to be separated from him all the time that he was living in honourable retirement at Argos, but now suddenly joined him while fleeing for his life. This may have been the case. The Greeks were certainly prone to visit the sins of the father on the rest of the family. But if, as this paper has endeavoured to show, there are grounds for the view that Themistocles returned to Athens from ostracism before his flight to Persia, then we may quote in support of it the fact that it was from Athens and not from Argos that his family set out to join him on his last journey, and we may do so the more since Plutarch gives a pleasing picture of his family life.

There are thus a number of considerations all supporting the belief that Themistocles went back to Athens after his ostracism. The weak point in the evidence so far adduced is the fact that no ancient authority has been quoted to the effect that Themistocles did indeed return. But when these pages had already been written, my colleague, Mr. E. R. Dodds, drew my attention to a passage of Cicero where the return is referred to in so many words. "Cunus studium in legendo non erectum Themistocli fuga reditaque retinetur". Many editors have rejected the MS. reading, but only on purely historical grounds which this paper has at least demonstrated to be not beyond question. The context of the words strongly favours the MS. reading. They occur in a letter written by Cicero in 56 B.C. shortly after his return from banishment. It is
addressed to the historian Luceceus, and urges him to write a special
monograph on Cicero’s career, ‘a principio commutationis usque ad
reditum nostrum.’ Editors have suggested changing the name Themistocles,
or emending reditum to interitu.28 But either change spoils the sense. Nothing could be so
Ciceronian as to compare his own recent feeble vacillations with the masterly
versatility of Themistocles, nothing less appropriate than a reference to the
death in exile of the great Athenian novus homo. Several passages are indeed
quoted by the editors in which the flight and death of Themistocles are unques-
tionably coupled by Cicero,29 but in all these passages the association is
eminenly appropriate. They belong to a later phase of the orator’s career,
when his country was plunged in civil war, and the ultimate fate of Themis-
tocles was far more likely to be often before his mind.

The most serious objection to accepting the MS. reading in the letter to
Luceceus is to be found in another statement of Cicero, which is generally
thought to confirm 471 B.C. as the date of the flight to Persia. It occurs
in the de Aemilia and runs thus: ‘(Themistocles) cum imperator bello
Persico servitute Graeciam liberatus propterque iudicium ex aliquo
expulsus esset, ... fecit idem quod xx. annis ante apud nos fecerat
Coriolanus.’30

The attack on Rome by Coriolanus was assigned to 491 B.C., so that,
according to the somewhat vague language of the de Aemilia, Themistocles
fled to Persia not later than 471 B.C., and, if we are to assume that Cicero does
not contradict himself, either this passage or the letter must be emended.
There is, however, no reason to assume that in the letter that must on this
assumption be corrupt. Nothing could be simpler than to emend xx. to xxx.
in the de Aemilia, and then the treatise is in complete agreement with the
unemended letter.

But is there any need to look for such agreement on such a point between
a letter written in 56 B.C., and a treatise on Friendship, written twelve years
later? There is reason to think that shortly before writing the de Aemilia
Cicero was somewhat exercised over the credibility of the Themistocles
narrative; 31 very possibly he may have modified his views on the subject as a result.
But if he did so, it by no means follows that his later opinions were always the
sounder.

Of again, considering how experts differed both as to the credibility and
the chronology of the Themistocles narrative, we have only to assume that
Cicero used different authorities when writing the letter of 56 B.C. and the
treatise of 44 B.C., and it becomes perfectly possible that the latter contradicted
the former without the writer having been aware of the contradiction. It is
not even as though we had two statements of fact in conflict. It is merely
a case of a statement of fact conflicting with the implications of an alleged
date.

28 See Tyrrell and Jones ad loc.
29 Tyrrell quotes Brut. 43, ad Att. ix.
30 de Amic. 42. The death of Themis-
tocles is mentioned in the pro Sacco.
On no showing, therefore, does the de Amicitia offer any good reason for rejecting the MS. reading in the letter to Larceins, supported as that is both by the context and by independent historical evidence, when it tells us that, like Cicero himself, Themistocles had been not only banished but also restored from banishment.\footnote{Mention should perhaps be made of \textit{de loc.}; but though ingenious this amendment \textquoteleft retitusque ap"{e}\textquoteright; at once requires a reference to an actual return.}

P. N. Ure.
HERMES CHTHONIOS AS EPOnym OF THE SKOPADAI

From the tenth Pythian ode of Pindar we learn that both the Aleuadae, who had their seat of power at Larissa, and the Skopadai, lords of Krannon, once called Ephyra, were descendants of Heracles. These families are chiefly known to us through the poets, and in the case of the Skopadai, from the passage in the Protagoras of Plato in which a poem of Simonides is discussed. The statement of Theocritus, that the great families of Thessaly would be buried in obscurity but for the songs written in their honour, is amply justified:

πολλοὶ ἐν Αρτιόμου δόμης καὶ ἄνακτος Ἀλεύα
ἀρμαλίων ἐμψυχων ἐμπύρεσατο πενετάτην
πολλοὶ δὲ Χοτεδάμεοι ἐλανομένοι ποτὶ σηκώσει
μόσχῳ συν κοραθῆν ἐμπυρεσσότῳ βοῶσι.

μελί ἤ γε τέκνον Κρανώθον οὐδεΐςκου
ταυρέως ἐκτίτα μῆλα φιλοξενουσι. Κρεοῦεας.
αὐξανότας τοῖς τὸν ἢπον, ἐπὶ θηριων ἐξεκύωσαν
θυμὸν ἐλειαν σχετῶν συρρούσι γέρατον,
μοναστοὶ δὲ τὰ πολλὰ καὶ ἄλωνα γίνοντες
δαλίας ἐν τεκύωσι μακροὺς αἰῶνας ἠκώτο
ἐν μιᾷ ὀδόνι ἀνδραὶ ὁ Κήρος ἄμολα φανέων
ἤρωταν ἐκτικτοῖς ἐν ἁθρώσας βῆκε ἐνομάτοις
ἐπιστέραις.

The Aleuadae are more conspicuous and more often mentioned than the Skopadai, who were the younger branch of the Aleuad family, as the Kreonad are the younger branch of the Skopadai at Krannon. Both families appear to have immigrated from Thebrotia. The eponym of the Aleuadae is one of the Theessalian heroes whose story brings them into connexion with the serpent, of whom the most famous is Asklepios. Of him Rohde writes: 'In Wahrheit ist ursprünglich auch er ein in der Erde hausender thessalischer Ortschaimen gewesen, der aus der Tiefe, wie viele solche Erdgeistere, Heilung von Krankheiten, Kenntnis der Zukunft (beides in alter Zeit eng verbunden) heraufsandte.'

The name Aleus, as I have previously pointed out, means Averter of Ill, and is closely connected with the name of Mantinea and Tegos, whose title Aleus has been interpreted by M. Fougères as the goddess affording the protection qui éloigne le mal. Aleus was evidently once the name or title of a divine hero of the order of the Thessalian Heracles. In the northern Greek countries, in Aetolia, Epidamos, Macedonia, and Thessaly, names

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1 Boeckh on Pindar, Pyth., 10, pp. 331.
2 334.
3 Id., 16, 34 Fl.
4 Psyche, i, 141.
5 C.Q., xiii., 3-4, 170-171.
6 R.C.H., xvi., 573.
from the verbs meaning to ward off ill are exceedingly common among the princes and other distinguished men. Amyntor, Amyntas, Alexander, Alkon, Alketas, Alemus will serve for examples of such.

It would seem probable that the name Skopas, which maintains itself in the Skopad genealogy, had some especial meaning such as that which kept the name Alexander so prominent in the north of Greece. The value of that name is seen in the health deity Alexanor, as well as in the epithet applied to Heracles, Hermes, Apollo, and other divinities, ἀλεξάνδρος. The name Skopas evidently comes from the root ἀκν-, which has in it the meanings of shelter, watch, and look, and may be compared with Latin tuor, which signifies both to guard and to gaze. The meaning of shelter is seen in connexion with the chthonic deities at Hermione, in a definition in Suidas, in which, under the phrase ἄστε' Ἐρμιανος is the following:

'Ἐρμιανώ ὡρ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ πόλις Κόρης και Δημητρος ἄστεος στεπτὴν παρέχειν τοις ἱκτευομαι.

This is the most useful example of the root for my purpose, which is to give the meaning of Shelterer, Protector to the name Skopas, and to attach it to a chthonic deity of Thessaly, for whose cult at Crammon and Larissa, and at many other places in Thessaly, there is inscriptive evidence.

The chthonic deity is Hermes, from whom a Thessalian and Aetolian month was named. This month, Hermairos may, as Stein suggests, testify to a very ancient cult of Hermes at Totengott in Thessaly and Aetolia. There is evidence that Hermes was worshipped at Pherne, that seat of divinity that traffics with the dead. The chthonic deities are notably the gods of increase of field and flock, and in the sixteenth book of the Iliad Hermes lies with Polymele, the One of Many Flocks, and there is born to him a son Endoros, an epithet that recalls titles of the Earth, the All-Giver. Hermes himself has the title of ἐπιμελητής, and the word πολύμελος occurs in the Iliad in connexion with Phorbas (the Feeder of Cattle), the Trojan most beloved by Hermes, who gave him wealth.

There is no need to dwell on these well-known facts, which I use in leading up to the interpretation of Hermes’ epithet ἔσκαπες, as the Shelterer or Protector, an interpretation which would link the word with Skopas, the eponym of the hards of Crammon, whose ten thousand goodly sheep were watched by countless shepherds on the plains of Crammon. I would interpret both words in the sense of the lines addressed to another shepherd god:

thou god of shepherds all,
which of our gentle lambkins takest keepe
and when our flock into mischaunce mought fall
dost save from mischiefe the unwary sheepe.
Als of their maisters hast no less regard
than of their flockes, which thou dost watch and ward.

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* P.W., 8, 738, gives the references.
* II., 16, 186 ff.
* P.W., 8, 763.
* II., 14, 490.
* Calphurn, Frug., 117.
'Watch and ward' expresses the etymological meaning of the root seen in both words. The words ἐσκέπτεσθαι and ἐσκέπταστος, both mean sheltered, the passive forms evidently retaining the more ancient meaning. The active form ἐσκέπτομαι passed over into the meaning 'with good aim,' and is applied once in the Odyssey to Artemis in that significance. It is later used of the other gods of the bow, Apollo and Heracles. It is not suited to Hermes in that sense, and is found with reference to him twice in the Iliad and twice in the Odyssey, both in connexion with the much-disputed epithet ἀπερείφωντης.

The lines in the seventh book 13 of the Odyssey, in which the epithets appear, suggest the meaning of Shelterer, the 'custos maximus' of Horace, for ἐσκέπτομαι.

ecdέκτεσθαι ἐσκέπτεσθαι ἀπερείφωντη
ὁ πῷματι σπάναςκαι, ὅτε μυρσιναὶ κοῦτιν.

Before lying down in sleep, which is so akin to death, they commend themselves to the protection of the God of Souls. Here is the true meaning of ἐσκέπτομαι with reference to Hermes. By contamination with the meaning seen in σκοτεῖ, mark, the epithet assumed the significance which made it appropriate to archer-gods. The other epithet, ἀπερείφωντης, whatever its meaning, has in it the root which appears in the name of the dread Death Goddess, Persephonea, and if the etymology of ἤπέρελλη is that which is declared in Roscher 2,1288, to be the only satisfactory one, i.e. 'stürmendes Licht,' the meaning of ἀπερείφωντης would closely approach that of Persephonea in both parts of its composition.

In the genealogy of the Skopadæ, so far as known, the name Skopas appears as the name of three of the family. The name Diakortides appears among the suitors of Agorista in the sixth book of Herodotus—ἐκ δ' Ἡσσαλίας ἥλθε τῶν Σκοπαδῶν Διακόρτιδης Κρανωνίων, ἐκ δ' Μυλασσίων Ἀλκαν. The name of the Skopad suitor is derived from an epithet of the god Hermes, which appears always in the Iliad in the phrase διάκορτος ἀπερείφωνς. Of the ten instances of the word in the Odyssey it accompanies ἀπερείφωντης in eight. It appears alone in the Odyssey, once in the genitive, and once in the vocative. The epithet is appropriate to Hermes ψυχοτομῶν, who guides souls to and from the realm of Persephone.

Connecting the name Skopas with the epithet ἐσκέπτομαι, and noting the name Diakortides, which points directly to a cult of Hermes, I argue that just as the Alcaeadæ traced their family to a hero, perhaps a hypostasis of Hercules, whose name was Alcaeus, Averter of Evil, so the Skopadæ, lords of many flocks, had for their eponym a hypostasis of Hermes Chthonios under the name of Skopas, the Protector.

A third name, for which Gruppe's theorising would furnish me an argument, I must regretfully forgo. He does not discuss the Skopadæ, but finds that the hero Kreon is a hypostasis of the Thessalian Hermes. We learn from Plato's

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12 Theophrastus, H. P. 4, 11. 13 Odyssey 7, 128-129.
14 Theophrastus, H. P., 4, 11. 15 I.H.S. VOL. XLI.
Protagoras that the father of Skopas of Simonides' ode was Kreon. Gruppe\textsuperscript{14} writes of Hermes χθόνιος, worshipped in Thessaly, but the train of reasoning by which Hermes is shown to have had this title is to my mind unsound. The only passage quoted in which the title is actually given to Hermes is a fragment from Anacreon, and I have been able to find no other. It is, of course, possible that Hermes may have borne this title, which is a usual one for divinities and heroes, and in that case he would serve excellently as the eponym of the younger branch of the Skopads, the Kreonidae.

Like the names Alexanor, Alketas, Alkon, Alexander, Amynander, etc., the name Skopas appears in the western part of northern Greece. It is found in inscriptions\textsuperscript{15} referring to Aetoliana, and the well-known strategos of the Aetolians\textsuperscript{16} (whose name occurs in the second of the two inscriptions cited) was named Skopas. It is significant for the prevalence of these names of religious origin in the north-western parts of Greece, as well as in Macedonia and Thessaly, that among the witnesses on the bronze tablet discovered at Dodona\textsuperscript{17} are the names of two Molossians, Alexanor and Skopadas. (It must be said that the first two letters of the latter name are supplied.)

Hermes does not appear on the coins of Thessaly, which chiefly testify to the worship of the great Thessalian god, Poseidon, but the cult of Hermes was widespread in this land of flocks and herds, and it is characteristic of Thessalian cult that he should be worshipped as χθόνιος. From this god, who watched over their wealth and gave them increase, I think the Skopadae got their name.

\textsuperscript{14} Handbuch, 5, 2, 1323.
\textsuperscript{15} Ditt., Syllipsis, 845, 11; 923, 3.
\textsuperscript{16} Aetolia, Geography, Topography, and Antiquities, Woodhouse, p. 235.
\textsuperscript{17} Ditt., Syllipsis, 839, 3.
PTOLEMAIOS EPIGONOS

J'espérais bien n'en plus parler; j'en ai parlé, jadis, assez longuement. Mais un important article, publié en 1915 dans l'Hermes par E. von Stern et dont je n'ai eu connaissance qu'en ces temps derniers, m'oblige à en dire encore quelques mots.

Il s'agit, une fois de plus, de ce Πτολεμαῖος Αὐστράῖκος, appelé aussi Πτολεμαῖος Ἐπίγονος, dont fait mention un décret voté, en 240 avant notre ère, par les citoyens de Telmessos en Lycie; qui, par la faveur de Ptolémée III Évergète, était devenu peu avant cette date prince souverain de Telmessos; et qui reçut des Télmessiens, en récompense de ses biensfaits, les plus rares honneurs.

J'avais cru reconnaître dans ce personnage Ptolémée, fils du roi Lysimaque, né du mariage de celui-ci avec Arsinoé (II), fille de Ptolémée I Soter et sœur de Ptolémée II Philadelphé. E. von Stern ne doute pas que ce ne soit là une erreur. Il s'applique à démontrer que le fils de Lysimaque et d'Arsinoé fut adopté par Philadelphé, à l'instigation de sa sœur devenue sa femme, et par lui associé à l'empire; qu'il ne diffère pas de ce (Ptolémée), fils (vieux) de Philadelphé, dont parle le roi dans sa lettre aux Milésiens; qui est identique aussi au 'co-régent' de Philadelphé, connu par les papyruses égyptiens des années 267/6-259; identique enfin au gouverneur d'Éphèse qui se révolta contre Philadelphé et pérît assassiné en 259. Et il ne m'en coûte nullement

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1 B.C.H. 1904, 408 sqq.
d’accorder que cette démonstration est conduite avec beaucoup d’art et qu’elle aboutit, par une suite de déductions ingénieusement enchaînées, à des conclusions qui paraissent, en soi, fort plausibles.10

Ces conclusions admises, il va sans dire que Ptolémée, fils de Lysimaque et d’Arsinoé, n’a plus rien à faire avec le Πτολεμαῖος ο Αυσρήνοχος de Telmessos. E. von Stern voit, en effet, dans ce dernier, comme on l’avait proposé depuis longtemps, un neveu de Ptolémée Évérgetes, fils de son frère Lysimaque.

Or, c’est ici qu’à mon avis commencent les difficultés.

I.

Ptolémée Évérgetes eut un frère cadet appelé Lysimaque.11 Ce Lysimaque eut-il un fils appelé Ptolémée? Nous l’ignorons parfaitement. Ptolémée, neveu d’Évérgetes, n’existe que par hypothèse.12 Au reste, j’accorde que l’hypothèse, au moins à première vue, n’a rien que d’acceptable. Acceptons-la donc, sauf à voir ce qui en résulte.

Si Ptolémée, fils de Lysimaque,13 honnétement par le décret des Telmessiens, est le neveu d’Évérgetes, il avait à peine vingt ans 14 lorsqu’il reçut de son oncle, peu avant l’année 240, la principauté de Telmessos. Il n’y a, dès lors, aucun motif de ne point l’identifier, d’une part, avec Πτολεμαῖος Αυσρήνοχος, donateur à Délos en 188,15 de l’autre, avec Ptolémaeus Telmessius, mentionné par T. Livre16 (d’après Polybe) à propos du traité d’Aphamée, sous la date de 189. Effectivement, l’identité des trois Ptolémae est admise par E. von Stern,17 comme elle l’avait été avant lui par Ad. Wilhelm18 et par plusieurs autres. En raison de l’indication donnée par T. Livre, Ptolémée fils de Lysimaque, neveu d’Évérgetes, aurait donc régné sur Telmessos durant plus de cinquante ans.—C’est précisément là ce qui me fait douter que le prince de Telmessos fût, comme on l’assure, le neveu d’Évérgetes.

Nous sommes bien peu renseignés sur ce Lysimaque qu’on lui donne pour père.19 Au vrai, nous ne savons de lui qu’une chose, c’est qu’il fut mis à

10 Il faut observer pourtant qu’au lendemain de la publication de la lettre de l’éditeur aux Milésiens (Delphina, n. 139), G. De Sanctis a donné des l. 8-9 de ce document une interprétation tout à fait contraires à celle que propère E. von Stern, Atti Accad. di Torino, 1913/1914, 1238; ce mémoire paraît avoir été ignoré de E. von Stern. [Depuis que ces pages ont été écrites, j’ai pu, grâce à l’obligeance de W. Vollgraff, prendre connaissance d’une étude de A. W. de Croco (Synt. Hist. 1917/1918, 446-483; Ptolémais des Slow), où la thèse de E. von Stern est vigoureusement battue en brèche.]
11 Pol. xx. 23, 2; Schol. Theoc. xvili. 128 (p. 324, C. Warten). 
13 Le mariage de Philadelphie et d’Arsinoé se place entre 285 et 280 (J. Beloch, Gesch. Gesch. iii. 2, 130); Ptolémée (Évérgetes) est né en 280 ou peu auparavant; la naissance de Lysimaque, son frère, est antérieure à 274 (cf. Beloch, ibid. 132).
14 Dittenberger, Syll., 388; ll. 94-95; 188 est la date établie par E. Dörnhaus. Cf. Ad. Wilhelm, Gesch. d. Gr. 1888, 211.
15 Liv. (Pol.) 37, 56, 4-5. J’ai été le premier, je crois, à appeler l’attention sur ce texte: Rev. de Philol. 1894, 119 sqq.
16 Il est vrai, mais pour d’autres raisons que la nôtre. 
17 Ad. Wilhelm, ibid.
18 Je ne sais si l’inscription hiéroglyphique et découverte à Thèbes [et non de Koptos, Soutas], où est nommé ‘Lysimaque, stratège, frère des rois’ (Krauß, Sitz. ber. Wiener. Akad. 1884, 366-368; cf. Röhrs-Lecerq, Hist. des Langues, 1. 192, 2; 263, 3; ill. 124, 2), se rapporte, comme le dirait sur la foi de Krauß, au frère d’Évérgetes (Rev. d. gr. 1894).
mort par le fameux Sosibios, le tout-puissant ministre d’Évergètes, puis de Philopator. Voici ce que nous apprend là-dessus Polybe : (xxv. 25, 2) καὶ πρώτω μὲν ἀρσενίως (Sosibio) ἐφένει Δυναμάχος, δὲ ἢ νῦν ἀρσενίως τῆς Δωστὶδος καὶ Πτολεμαίος (II), δευτέρῳ δὲ Μέγα τῷ Πτολεμαίου (II) καὶ Βερείκει τῇ Μέγα, τρίτῳ δὲ Βερείκει τῇ Πτολεμαίου μητρὶ τοῦ Φολοπάτορος, τετάρτῳ Κλεομένει τῷ Πυταγόρα, πέμπτῃ διαγορί Βερείκεις Ἀργοῦς. — Quand mourut Lysimaque ? On suppose d’ordinaire que Sosibios le fit périr en même temps que Magas et Bérénice, c’est-à-dire presque aussitôt après l’avènement de Philopator. Pourtant, ceci ne ressort point nécessairement du texte de Polybe : ce texte indique seulement que le meurtre de Lysimaque précédé ceux de Magas et de Bérénice. Il se pourrait qu’il les eût précédés de longtemps ; il se pourrait dès lors que Lysimaque eût été mis à mort dès le règne d’Évergètes. C’est une hypothèse que j’ai autrefois énoncée ; je la regarde, encore aujourd’hui, comme plausible. Mais, pour simplifier les choses, nous pouvons négliger ce point et nous en tenir à l’opinion courante. Pour l’objet qui nous occupe, il importe, après tout, assez peu de connaître l’époque exacte de la mort de Lysimaque.

Ce qui est capital, en revanche, c’est que le meurtre de Lysimaque, comme celui du prince Magas, frère de Philopator, comme celui de Bérénice, veuve d’Évergètes, fut un crime politique. Lysimaque portait ombrage à Sosibios. Le soupirons vixir joueait inquiétant le frère d’Évergètes ; il en redoutait l’opposition ou l’ambition ; c’est pourquoi il lui parut opportun de s’en débarrasser. Or, selon l’adage connu, "qui tue le père doit aussi tuer les fils"

Les mêmes motifs qui déterminèrent Sosibios à supprimer Lysimaque le devaient décider aussi à se défaire de Ptolémée. Je ne vais pas, cependant, jusqu’à exiger qu’il le fit tuer ; je n’ai pas l’âme si cruelle. Mais je soutiens qu’il devait, à tout le moins, le mettre hors d’état de nuire, c’est-à-dire le séquestrer et le resserrer étroitement, comme on sait, par exemple, qu’il fit pour Kléomènes. Car il est trop clair que, ne fût-ce qu’en raison de son âge,

1912, 374 et note 7). Spiegeleirg (Desert Mezor, 54) est d’avis, comme Wiedemann (P. Sch. 1888, 90) et Steck (Dynam, 95, 5), qu’il en faut abaisser considérablement la date, en raison surtout de l’expression frère des rois, qui impliquerait l’existence d’une Mit- oder Sammherrschaft. Cependant M. Sottas a eu l’intelligence de me faire savoir que rien dans l’inscription ne "milit en faveur d’un abaissement de la date" d’abord adoptée.

Que Sosibios ait eu le pouvoir dès le règne d’Évergètes, c’est ce qu’a, le premier, vu J. Dobos (Gesch. Sch., ill, 7, 713), et ce qu’a confirmé je crois voté par les Délèux en son honneur (P. xi, 4, 649) et Holleaux, Rec. Ét. anciennes, 1912, 270 sqq.

C’est à tort, toutefois, que j’avais voulu tirer argument de l’absence du nom de Lysimaque sur l’estrade consacrée, à Thèbes, par les Altoïens à Ptolémée Évergètes et à ses rois (G. Sitriadi, Νεστ. 100, 90–94). Ce monument est incomplet ; le témoignage de G. Sitriadi, il n’y manque deux pierres (ibid. 90 et 92) ; le nom de Lysimaque pouvait être gravé sur l’une d’elles.

11 Vers de Pirotites, cité par Polybe, xxiii. 10, 9.

12 Sosibios en aurait été de même à l’égard de Bérénice, si l’on en croit Zénobio (iii. 94 : dans Leutsch, Poemadges, p. 8)), dont Niess (n. 361) accepte le témoignage. La reine aurait été interne dans son palais, et n’y serait empoisonnée.
Ptolémée était plus à craindre que Lysimaque. Et il ne pouvait échapper à personne que la mort même de Lysimaque aurait pour effet nécessaire de le rendre particulièrement redoutable : à moins de l’imaginer dénaturé, comment ce fils n’était-il point en cœur de venger son père ? D’autre part, Lysimaque et Magas une fois disparus, Ptolémée, en sa qualité de cousin de Philopator, se trouvait être l’unique héritier de l’empire. La tentation ne lui viendrait-elle pas, avant que Philopator fût marié, devant qu’il eût un fils, de se mettre en possession d’un si bel héritage ? Si Sosibios n’a point des réflexions si simples, si, en 221-220, après la mort de Lysimaque et de Magas, il a souffert que le neveu d’Évergète demeurât tranquille à Telmessos, j’avoue ne rien comprendre à sa conduite. Polybe vante son ἤγγισια : cet homme subtil n’a plutôt l’air d’un soldat.

Qu’on n’aillle point dire, en effet, que, résidant en Lycie, loin de l’Égypte, Ptolémée était par la même devenu inoffensif. C’est justement loin de l’Égypte qu’il lui était loisible de préparer de longue main et de machiner à l’aise quelque coup dangereux contre le roi régnant. La rébellion du fils de Philadelphe avait naguère fait voir ce que pouvait tenter en Asie un prince entrepris. Et l’on se rappelle les inquiétudes si raisonnables que Polybe prête à Sosibios, en 220, lorsqu’il s’agit de renvoyer Klémones en Grèce : (v. 35, 9) ἀργοσίαν (οἱ πολίτες Ἡσσίβιον) μυ ποτε — ἀπὸ τοῦ μετὰ τοῦ Ἡσσίβιον ἐξελεγμένος ἢ ποτε μετὰ τελευταίου τοῦ Ἡσσίβιον ἐξελεγμένος ἢ ποτε τῶν παρακατειστηκτῶν τοῦ Ἡσσίβιον μετὰ τοῦ τοῦ Ἡσσίβιον ἐξελεγμένος. Si peu digne que fût le principal de Telmessos d’être comparé à l’héroïque roi de Sparte, son séjour en Lycie était propre à faire naître des appréhensions de même sorte. Lui aussi pouvait jeter du côté d’Éphèse et de Samos des regards indiscrets.

Si Ptolémée de Telmessos est le fils de Lysimaque, frère d’Évergète et victime de Sosibios, il est donc inconcevable qu’après avoir fait périr son père et Magas, Sosibios lui ait laissé la liberté. J’ajoute maintenant qu’il est moins conceivable encore qu’il lui ait laissé la vie après la mort de Philopator.

Car, à partir de ce moment, c’est à Ptolémée de Telmessos, comme au seul agant survivant de la famille royale, qu’appartiennent légalement les fonctions d’ἐπίτροποι et de régent, aussi longtemps que durera la minorité d’Éphiphanès. On sait que, pour s’assurer le pouvoir pendant cette minorité, Agathoklès et Sosibios jugèrent bon de supprimer la reine-mère Arsinoé et de fabriquer un testament, attribué à Philopator, par lequel le roi définit leur conflagr la
tutelle de son fils. Mais, cependant, à quoi bon ce crime et cette fraude, si Ptolémée, neveu d'Évergètes et par conséquent cousin de Philopator, continue d'exister ? C'est avec lui qu'ont d'abord à compter Agathoklès et Sosibios. L'assassinat d'Arinécal ne s'explique que si la reine est le principal obstacle entre eux et la régence. Le testament supposé de Philopator n'a paréillement de raison d'être que si toute la parenté masculine d'Épiphane est éteinte ; il est absurde dans le cas contraire. Pourquoi, le fils de Lysimaque étant toujours en vie, Agathoklès et Sosibios auraient-ils eu recours à cette inutile supercherie ? Comment se seraient-ils flattés que les Alexandrins, d’ailleurs si mal disposés pour Agathoklès, s’y seraient laissés prendre ! Il est trop évident que la pièce est apocryphe, puisqu'elle confère la qualité de tuteurs du roi à deux particuliers, au détriment du dernier prince du sang, c'est-à-dire en violation du droit monarchique : cette naïve imposture est la meilleure preuve qu'Agathoklès et Sosibios ne sont, pour parler comme Polybe, que des ψευδηπιτρατος. Et, d'autre part, une fois Agathoklès renversé, comment la régence passe-t-elle après lui, d'abord à Thépolémos, puis à Aristomènes ? Comment ces deux personnages, qui, très différents d'Agathoklès et de Sosibios, sont de loyaux serviteurs de la couronne, usurpent-ils cette dignité sur le prince parent d'Épiphane ! Et, enfin, comment celui-ci, au lendemain de la mort de Philopator et pendant les années suivantes, se laisse-t-il si bêtement déposséder, souffrir-t-il d'une âme si égale qu'on le tienne à l'écart, et ne tente-t-il rien pour faire valoir ses droits ? Comment, dans cette période agitée de l'histoire d'Égypte, n'est-il jamais parlé de lui ?

Résumons ces observations. Si, comme le veut E. von Stern, Ptolémée fils de Lysimaque, seigneur de Telmessos, est le neveu d'Évergètes, il faut qu'il entre dans l'ombre dès 220, il faut surtout qu'il meure en 203 au plus tard : autrement, on se heurte à d'intolérables paradoxes historiques, ou mieux, à de radicales impossibilités. Mais E. von Stern admet — et son système l'oblige d'admettre — que le fils de Lysimaque régnait encore sur Telmessos en 189/8.

27 A défaut d'agreement dans la ligne masculine, et si le roi défunt n'a pas institué par testament de conseil de régence, la tutelle du roi mineur et la régence sont ordinairement dévolues à la reine-mère ; cf. E. Breton, ibid. 74. — La lecture de Polybe (xxv. 25. 6 ; 25. 12; 260) ne permet pas de douter qu'Arinécal ait été assassiné après la mort de Philopator ; la vérité, sur ce point, a été vue par Bouchê-Lecbreq (Histo. des Lagides, i. 338-339), qui toutefois, s'est égaré à propos des mots (Pol. xvi. 260, 1) : ἐγείρα ταῦτα τας ἰδιατερας, lesquelles signifiaient selon lui "sauver la reine." 28 Cf. Pol. xxv. 25, 10; 23, 23-25. 29 Pol. xxv. 23, 1. 30 Pol. xvi. 21-23 (régence de Thépolémos); xxv. 31, 7; xxviii. 52-54 (régence d'Aristomène). 31 Il faut prêter attention à ce passage de Pol. xxv. 25, 25 : τοὶ δὲ μηδένες ἡμών εἰργασάμενοι ἔδραμαι τας μεγαθαμενιας, qui δὲ τὴν ἄριστον τὴν Αγαθόκλεα μην τὴν Ἀριστομένην ἐστεφάνοισαν (cf. ibid., i. 339). Il est donc évident que le texte de l'Alexandrin est d'origine latine. Comment expliquer ce langage, s'il existe en ce moment un prince, proche parent du roi, qui peut et doit exercer le pouvoir en son nom ? Comment les Alexandrins ne mettent-ils point en lui leurs espoirs, et comment n'est-il point à la tête de l'opposition qui se forme contre Agathoklès ? 32 C'est à l'automne de 203, comme le l'a indiqué naines fois, que meurt Philopator, ou, tout au moins, que sa mort fut révélée au public. (Il m'a été très agréable de constater tout récemment que Ad. Willm. a donné à cette opinion l'appui de sa grande autorité : Annal. der. Philol. Hist. d. 1920, xxvii. xxxvii. 35 sqq.)
Nous devons, en ce cas, renoncer à rien entendre à l'histoire intérieure de l'Égypte dans le temps qui suit la mort de Philopator. Cette histoire devient intelligible si, à la fin du IIIe siècle, le prince de Telmessos est le cousin d'Épiphane, ou, simplement, s'il est un Lagide.25 C'est la preuve par l'absurde que le système est faux. Je ne sais, et personne ne sait, si Lysimaque, frère d'Évergète, eut un fils appelé Ptolémée; mais, à coup sûr, ce fils n'était point le personnage célébré par le décret des Telmessiens. Et, dès lors, quel sera le père de celui-ci, sinon Lysimaque roi de Thrace? Pour échapper à cette conclusion, qui paraît nécessaire, inventera-t-on un troisième Lysimaque— inconnu de l'histoire? Je crois donc, après examen, devoir m'en tenir à ma première opinion. "Liegst sonst eine Nötigung vor," écrit E. von Stern,24 "das Dekret der Telmessier auf den Sohn des Diadochen Lysaimachos zu beziehen?" Il répond à cette question par un "striktes nein".27 Je pense avoir montré qu'il faut répondre par l'affirmative.

Je dois discuter maintenant certaines critiques qui s'élèvent contre cette interprétation du mot Éphigeon joint au nom de Ptolémée.

Ce mot, ai-je dit, est une épithète, un surnom. Ptolémée, fils de Lysimaque, est appelé Ptolémée l'Épigone. Il est dès lors le fils de Lysimaque, roi de Thrace: en effet, les Épigones sont les fils des Diadoques.35

On a jugé que cette interprétation d'Éphigeon était un anachronisme, et que j'attribuais naïvement à ce mot un sens qu'il n'a pas dû avoir de notre temps. "Nulla ci obliqua," écrivait le regrette E. Porzi,26 "a dare in questo caso alla parola Ægigone il senso determinato e, direi, tecnico, con cui essa è adoperata ora nella storia ellenistica." Et Bouché-Leclercq craint parallèlement que je ne sois victime d'une "illusion": "Nous sommes habitués," dit-il,27 "à appeler "épigo" les fils des "diadoques"; mais il faudrait démontrer que cette expression, employée une fois par Diodore (i. 3),... était en usage au temps où vivait...

25 C'est pourquoi, à supposer que la chronologie le permette, on ne gagnerait rien, dans le système de von Stern, à faire de Telmessus Telmessinos (identique au Prokènes ou Ptolemaios de Délos) l'arrière petit-fils, et non le fils, du frère d'Évergète. Il n'est pas impossible que la dynastie de Telmessos soit un rameau de la famille royale d'Égypte.
26 Hermes, idem, 440.
28 E. Porzi, Mon. Accad. di Torino, 1911-1912, 345, 3 ref.
29 Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. des Lagides, iv. 312.
30 Il y a là une faute énorme. Bouché-Leclercq oublie Dionys. H. Arch. i. 6, Suid. s.v. Nêgas et Strab. xv. 736; d'autre part, il ne voit pas que, dans i. 3, 3, Diodore
notre "épigone." C'est un de ces termes de synthèse historique qui ne s'emploient qu'après coup, pour grouper les faits dans la perspective.

La démonstration réclamée par Bouché-Leclercq est assise à fournir, et je l'avais déjà fournie. Le vénérable érudit n'a pas songé à se demander d'où nous vint l'habitude d'appeler "épigones" les fils des "diadoques"; il n'a pas pris garde qu'elle remonte aux Grecs du IIIe siècle, dont nous ne faisons que suivre l'exemple.

Comme je l'avais rappelé et comme on convient E. von Stern—au lieu que Bouché-Leclercq l'oublie—le mot ἐπίγονος a été employé, dans la première moitié de ce siècle, par Nymphis d'Héracléia et Hiéronymos de Kardia, pour désigner les fils et rejettions des Diadoques. Le premier composa un ouvrage περὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ τῶν διαδόχων καὶ ἐπίγονων, le second, une histoire intitulée ιστορία τῶν διαδόχων καὶ ἐπίγονων. Il n'est pas très vraisemblable que ces deux écrivains aient introduit chacun, dans le titre de son livre, un terme que les lecteurs eussent eu peine à entendre. Si, travaillant à l'écart l'un de l'autre, ils se sont rencontrés pour faire du mot ἐπίγονος le même usage très particulier, c'est, je pense, qu'autour d'eux cet usage était établi; c'est qu'on avait, de leur temps, accoutumé d'appeler "Épigones" les descendants des Diadoques. Or, le temps où ils écrivaient était précisément celui où vivait Ptolémée de Telmessos. Je veux bien, comme l'aussi Bouché-Leclercq, qu'"épigones" soit un de ces termes de synthèse historique qui ne s'emploient que pour grouper les faits dans la perspective. Je constate seulement que ce "terme de synthèse historique"—où je verrais beaucoup plus volontiers, je l'avoue, une appellation d'origine érudite (cf. ci-après)—eut la vogue de bonne heure.

Si l'on en fit emploi, ce ne fut point peut-être par un pressant besoin de "grouper les faits dans la perspective"; ce fut plutôt, je crois, par esprit d'imitation. J'avais rappelé à ce propos le nom d'ἐπίγονος, donné par Alexandre à la seconde génération de ses soldats et aux jeunes recrues barbares de son armée. E. von Stern estime le rapprochement oiseux. Selon Im, la dénomination d'"Épigones" appliquée aux descendants des Diadoques est la chose du monde la plus naturelle; il n'y a rien là que de conforme au sens primitif et habituel du mot ἐπίγονος: "Die Bezeichnung entspricht dem Wortsinn von ἐπίγονος und ist ganz naturgemäss." Bouché-Leclercq était du même avis: "Il n'y a pas lieu d'invoquer comme précédent les ἐπίγονος d'Alexandre." Je persiste à croire, au contraire, que le "précédent" est

renvoie aux anciens auteurs qui ont tenu ἐπίγονος à τῶν ἕπιγόνων καὶ διαδόχων τί εφάπτετο.


40 B.C.H. 1904, 412.


43 Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. des Lagides, iv. 312.—Bouché-Leclercq et E. von Stern, celui-ci reproduisant une phrase de Bouché-Leclercq (Hist. des Lagides, ibid.), ne reproduisent d'avoir parlé hère de propos (cf. B.C.H. 1904, 412, 3) des ἐπάρχοι τῶν ἔπιγόνων de l'armée lagide. J'ai seulement fait allusion, en général, non aux ἐπάρχοι τῶν ἔπιγόνων...
des plus instructifs. Mais, pour le faire entendre, il me faut insister quelque peu sur l'histoire, mal connue, semble-t-il, du mot étigones.

Il est bien vrai qu'en raison de l'étymologie, ce mot signifie post natus, et peut, par conséquent, avoir le sens, soit de "descendant" (posteros ; cf. étigones, soit étigones), soit de "puiné." Il en est exactement de étigones, comme de πρόγονος; ce sont termes correspondants et qui s'opposent. L'un désigne simplement le minor, comme l'autre le maior natus, que la comparaison porte sur des personnes appartenant à des générations successives ou à la même génération.44 Dans le premier cas, les πρόγονοι sont les représentants des générations antérieures à celle que l'on considère, donc ses "ascendants," ses "ancêtres"; inversement, les étigones en sont la "postérité." Dans le second cas, c'est à dire à l'intérieur d'une même génération, le qualificatif de πρόγονος marque la primogéniture: c'est ainsi que le fils aîné peut être dit (ονυμος) ο πρόγονος; 45 pareillement, étigones pourra se dire du fils puiné.

—Mais, ceci reconnu, on peut douter que, pris au sens soit de "puiné," soit de "descendant," ou, plus généralement, de post natus, le mot étigones soit jamais entré dans l'usage ordinaire. Ce qui est sûr, en tout cas, c'est que, s'il a d'abord eu cette large acceptation, il est devenu très vite une sorte de nom propre collectif, employé seulement au pluriel, dont la signification, singulièrement restreinte, a été fixée une fois pour toutes.

Dans la grécité classique, les étigones sont expressément, et l'on peut dire exclusivement, les fils des Sept-Chefs célébrés par l'Épopée thébaine. Le terme ne se rencontre qu'au sens étroit qu'il avait reçu des Cyclopes. Il appartient, jusqu'aux temps alexandrins, au vocabulaire épique. "Descendant" s'est dit, en grec, ou bien ἔτιγος, ou bien ἔτιγονος, ou bien ἔτιγωμος, mais non point étigones; les Grecs ne connaissent pas de "épigonès" en dehors des "Épigonès" légendaires.46

44. Cf. les remarques de E. von Storn, Hermes, Édit. 440.
45. Voir, par exemple, un décret de Kalyxoun; Dial. inaehr. 3353, II. 7–9.
46. M. Paul Mazon, que je ne souais aims renommer de son obligation, a bien voulu, à ma prière, relever tous les passages des auteurs classiques où le mot étigones ne désigne point les fils des Sept. Ces passages se réduisent à cinq. Et, dans deux seulement (I. 5 et 5), étigones a le sens plus ou moins net de "descendants"; dans un seulement (4), un sens approchant celui de "puiné."


PTOLEMAIOS EPIGONOS

Appliqué, soit aux recues d’Alexandre, soit aux princes issus des Diadoques, le qualificatif d’εἰγόνος n’a donc point été tiré de la langue commune—pour la bonne raison qu’il était étranger à cette langue. Il n’est pas dérivé simplement du "Wortsinn" comme l’a pensé E. von Stern; car le "Wortsinn" était oublié. Dans les deux cas, il est d’origine littéraire; dans les deux cas, il n’y faut voir qu’une réminiscence des vieilles épocées. Et l’on observera, qu’en effet, dans les deux cas, conformément à l’usage des poètes, le mot garde son caractère de nom propre collectif, réservé, bien que transmissible par hérédité, à une catégorie limitée de personnes.

C’est Alexandre qui, le premier, s’inspirant directement des souvenirs épiques, rajoute ainsi l’antique expression par une application nouvelle; il en fit un vocable militaire: ses vétérans, comme jadis les Sept, enèrent leurs "Épigones." Après lui et sur l’exemple qu’il avait donné, "Épigones" devint, en Égypte, le nom de jeunes soldats, fils eux-mêmes de soldats.74

Rien que de naturel, semble-t-il, si, vers le même temps, on se servit du même terme pour désigner la postérité des généraux macédoniens, compagnons d’armes du conquérant. Dès qu’on se réfère à l’emploi analogue et tout récent fait par Alexandre du mot εἰγόνος, cette dernière appellation s’explique aisément. Si, au contraire, on écarter et néglige ce "précédent," on crée une difficulté inutile: car il s’agit alors de savoir comment l’idée put naître de donner aux fils et descendants des Diadoques, en le détournant de l’usage consacré par la tradition, le nom archaïque, poétique et, comme tel, passablement imprévu d’"Épigones." Et, par surcroît, il devient nécessaire d’admettre

929c: ἑρωδείας καὶ τῆς δύναμες 

3. Xenoph. Hellen. vi. 34—qui τοῦ γεγο 

6. Texte attribué par von Stern (Hermes, 

4. Texte attribué par von Stern (Hermes, 

5. Χειρισμός. Ξην. vii. 34—"οι τοῦ γεγο 

7. Χειρισμός. Ξην. vii. 34—"οι τοῦ γεγο 

8. Ces liens impliquent les historiens d’Alexandre, etc.
qu'on fit, à la suite d'Alexandre, sans pourtant l'initer, justement ce qu'il avait fait; qu'on eut, comme lui, mais indépendamment de lui, le caprice, assez étrange, d'aller chercher dans le vocabulaire de l'épopée, pour la transporter à des contemporains, une dénomination qui, jusqu'ici, semblait appartenir en propre à des personnages héroïques. Une telle rencontre serait trop singulière. Quoi qu'il en soit, je ne pense pas que l'intervention de Stern, entre les τέγωνοι, fils de soldats, ressuscités par Alexandre, et ceux (fils et descendants des Diadoques), dont les écrivains, comme Nymphs et Héronymos, ont conté l'histoire, il existe une relation directe. C'est aux premiers que les seconds doivent leur nom. La répétition est ici signe d'imitation.

À présent, je reconnais volontiers que j'avais donné du mot ἔτεγωνοι, tel qu'on l'emploie au IIIe siècle, une interprétation trop étroite; que ce nom a désigné, comme le montrent précisément les titres des ouvrages de Nymphs et de Héronymos, non seulement les fils, mais encore les petits-fils des Diadoques; que, par suite, donné à Πτολεμαῖος αὐτῶν, il n'implique pas nécessairement que ce personnage fût le fils d'un Diadoque, et ne saurait donc fournir la preuve que Lysimaque, son père, fût le roi de Thrace. Sur ce point, les critiques de E. von Stern sont fondées. Du fait que Πτολεμαῖος αὐτῶν est dit l'Épigone, j'avais conclu à tort que son père ne pouvait être que le grand Lysimaque. Mais, à son tour, von Stern devrait m'accorder que si Πτολεμαῖος αὐτῶν est le fils du Diadoque Lysimaque, la qualification d'ἐτεγωνος lui convient parfaitement; car, si l'on en a fait usage pour désigner les petits-fils ou même tous les rejetons des Diadoques aussi bien que leurs fils, c'est cependant à ceux-ci qu'elle s'est d'abord appliquée et c'est sans doute pour eux qu'elle a retenu en honneur.

Au contraire, les choses sont beaucoup moins bien si Ptolémée a pour père Lysimaque, frère d'Évergète. En ce cas, j'ai peine à comprendre qu'on ait tenté à inscrire à la suite de son nom, dans le décret de Telmessos, l'épithète honorifique d'ἐτεγωνος. Car si Ptolémée n'est qu'un Épigone, qu'à la troisième génération, si son père et son aïeul l'ont été avant lui, l'épithète n'a plus rien de caractéristique et perd singulièrement de son intérêt. À la vérité, selon E. von Stern, τέγωνος équivalait ici à 'der Jüngere, der Nachgeborene, der Neffe des Energetes'; on aurait appelé de la sorte le fils de Lysimaque pour le distinguer de son oncle, le roi Ptolémée III. Mais, nous l'avons dit, τέγωνος n'a point en grec le sens usuel de 'Nachgeborene' (post natus). Et, d'autre part, la précaution qu'imagine E. von Stern aurait été bien superflue. À qui fût-il venu à l'esprit de confondre les deux Ptolémées? Le décret des Telmessiens est rédigé de façon si claire qu'il exclut toute équivoque. Au surplus, pour faire entendre cette chose si simple que Ptolémée, fils de Lysimaque,

45 J'avoue ne pas bien entendre l'objection formulée par E. von Stern en ces termes (ibid. 441): 'betroendend musste das Epitheton sein, wenn darin der viel ältere Ptolemaios, des Diadochen Lysimachos Sohn, der dergleichen Generation wie Ptolemaios Philadelphos angehörte, dem König Energetes gegenübergestellt

60 ibid. 441.
était "le neveu de son oncle," pourquoi se fût-on servi de ce terme inattendu d'έπιγόνος? N'eût-il point été préférable d'écrire Πτολεμαίων τιν ὀδελφόν; J'ajoute qu'έπιγόνος, au sens (d'ailleurs maudit) où le prend E. von Stern, serait sans doute propre à désigner le descendent par rapport à l'ascendant, le fils par rapport au père, le frère pâti par rapport à l'aîné; en revanche, il s'en faut qu'il soit heureusement choisi s'il s'agit d'un neveu qu'on oppose à son oncle; car, en pareil cas, l'ordre de primogéniture n'a rien d'évident, un oncle pouvant être moins âgé que son neveu. Ce serait la première fois, je pense, qu'on en aurait fait ce douteux emploi. Et puis enfin, si έπιγόνος avait la signification qui lui est ici prêtée, n'est-ce pas plutôt τὸν έπιγόνον qu'il eût convenu d'écrire?

Pour moi, il me semble évident qu'il existe une correspondance exacte entre ces deux appellations, Πτολεμαίων τὸν Λυσίμαχου, Πτολεμαίων έπιγόνος, données simultanément à la même personne. Elles doivent s'expliquer l'une par l'autre. La seconde s'explique en effet, et très simplement, si, dans la première, Lysimaque est le Diadoque roi de Thrace. Dans le cas contraire, je ne vois guère comment l'interpréter.

III

J'examinerai, pour terminer, une difficulté, grave seulement en apparence, qui m'est opposée par E. von Stern.22 Dans le décret des Telmessiens (1. 7-8), Ptolémée, fils de Lysimaque, est appelé Πτολεμαίων τὸν Λυσίμαχου. S'il avait pour père le roi Lysimaque, il devrait être dit Πτολεμαίων τὸν Βασιλείου Λυσίμαχου: l'omission du mot Βασιλείου serait ici d'autant plus choquante que les Telmessiens, en rendant leur décret, ont pour objet de faire honneur au fils de Lysimaque, leur seigneur et bienfaiteur.

La réponse paraît aisée. Si les Telmessiens se proposent d'honorer Ptolémée, fils de Lysimaque, il est sûr, d'autre part, qu'ils n'ont garde de déplaire au roi d'Egypte, Ptolémée Évergètes, duquel, en dernier ressort, ils se trouvent toujours dépendre, et qui, s'il s'est plus leur suzerain direct, demeure pourtant leur souverain. Cependant, ils n'ont pas donné son titre royal à Philadelphes, père d'Évergètes. À la l. 9 du décret (cf. II, 2-3), nous lisons : παραβασιλείου (Πτολεμαίων τὸν Λυσίμαχου) τῷ πόλιν παρὰ Βασιλείου Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Πτολεμαίων. Et, sans doute, je n'ignore pas qu'une telle formule est autorisée par l'usage officiel; qu'il s'en rencontre de multiples exemples; et qu'on peut à la rigueur soutenir que le titre de Βασιλείου est implicitement attribué au père qu'il l'est expressément au fils. Mais il n'en demeure pas moins que la nomenclature protocolaire, employée parfois par Évergètes

21. Elle ne m'était pas demeurée inaperçue (cit. B.C.H. 1904, 415, 8). Pour la remédier, j'avais cru pouvoir m'inspirer de l'Inventaire dédié de Kallistrate, où le fils de Lysimaque aurait été dit simplement, comme dans le décret de Telmessos, Πτολεμαίων Αττάλον. On verra ci-après, à l'Appendice, que s'était là une erreur et que, dans l'inventaire, Lysimaque porte toujours le titre royal.
 lui-même, est βασιλεύς Πτολεμαῖος βασιλεύς Πτολεμαῖον. 24 et que, pour faire court, les Télmessiens se sont dispensés de la reproduire : il leur a paru suffisant de donner son nom, sans titre, au second Ptolémée, qui n'était mort que depuis sept ans. Quoi d'étonnant qu'avec Lysimaque, mort depuis quarante ans, ils aient usé de la même liberté ? C'est le contraire qui serait singulier.

Mais, au surplus, il se peut que je n'aie pas su rendre raison de l'omission du titre royal devant le nom de Lysimaque ; il se peut que j'aie mal expliqué, dans le décret de Télmessos, la signification du terme ἐπίγονος ; quand j'aurais erré sur ces deux points, mes premières conclusions (ci-dessus, p. 188) n'en sauraient être aucunement affectées. Il resterait toujours vrai — et c'est par là que je veux finir — que, lors de l'avènement d'Épiphane, la dynastie lagide n'avait plus, hormis lui, de représentant masculin ; que le prince qui régnait en ce temps-là sur Télmessos (que ce fût Πτολεμαῖος Λευσίμαχος premier du nom, c'est-à-dire l' Ἐπίγονος, ou un Πτολεμαῖος Λευσίμαχος second du nom, son petit-fils 50) n'appartenait donc pas à la famille royale ; qu'ainsi Ptolémée l' Ἐπίγονος n'était pas le neveu d'Évergète. Et, là-dessus, je reviens à ma question : De quel Lysimaque l' Ἐπίγονος a-t-il pu être fils, sinon de Lysimaque, roi de Thrace ?

M. Holleaux.

APPENDICE

E. von Stern a cru possible de discerner, dans l'Inventaire délien de Kallistratos, une mention du prétendu neveu d'Évergète, Ptolémée, fils de Lysimaque, prince de Télmessos, à côté de celles de Ptolémée, fils du roi Lysimaque.* Le premier se serait appelé Πτολεμαῖος Λευσίμαχος ; le second serait désigné par les mots Πτολεμαῖος βασιλεύς Λευσίμαχος, ou βασιλεύς Πτολεμαῖος Λευσίμαχος.

Afin de savoir une bonne fois ce que les textes de Délos sont susceptibles de nous apprendre et sur ce point particulier et sur l'ensemble de la question traitée dans ce mémoire, j'ai prié mon ami F. Dürbach, l'admirable éditeur des fasc. 2 et 3 du t. XI des Ins. Græcæ, de vouloir bien me faire connaître, en y joignant ses observations, tous les documents provenant de Délos, où figure un Πτολεμαῖος, fils d'un Λύσιμαχος. Je transcris ici, en le remerciant vivement de sa complaisance, la 'consultation' qu'il a eu la bonté de m'adresser.

I.

(4) Fragment d'inventaire un peu antérieur à celui de Démarès [I.G. xi. 3. 437], l. 15: [φαλητείς [... - μία Πολεμαίοι τὸν Ανθίμονο άνδρα...].

(2) Autre fragment [I.G. xi. 3. 428], l. 7: la mention de la phiale, certaine à cette ligne, est entièrement restituée.

(3) Inventaire de Délosarchides II. [I.G. xi. 3. 439; date rectifiée: 181], α, l. 56: texte identique à celui de l'inventaire de Démarès.

(4) Inventaire de Démarès [I.G. xi. 3. 442; date rectifiée: 179], B. Β. 94-96: [φαλητείς [...] ἢν τὸ ἄγιον, ἢν ἢσον ἀνάτινα ἐν τῇ τοῦ Αρχάρου Χυμάτου καὶ Τελευτήρου [date rectifiée: 188], μίας Πολεμαίοι τῶν Ανθίμου ἀνδρα...].

(5) Inventaire de Xénodemos [I.G. xi. 3. 445; date rectifiée: 178], B. Β. ll. 20-21: texte identique à celui de Démarès, sauf omission de la formule μίας Εἰπων ε.τ.α.

La phiale consacrée par Πολεμαίοι διομίζετο se retrouve dans les inventaires attiques; mais elle y est séparée de celle d'Antipatros, et elle a changé de place. Voici deux mentions qui se complètent l'une l'autre.

(6) Inventaire Γ 307 (= P. Roussel, Délos col. athén., 399, n. xiii.), A. col. i. ll. 28-29: [μίας Φαλητείας λειαν ἡ πολικαὶ, ἀνάτινα Διαβαίδου ἐπίκλήτου Πολεμαίου τοῦ Ανθίμονος αὐτῇ διὰ τὸ πεῖρα (εἰς) ἐκ]... καὶ ἢ...] et τοῦ ναὸς κ.ο.λ. εἶχεν ἐνοποιεῖται τῆς αὐτῆς.

(7) Inventaire d'Hagnathès [précédemment appelé Arêbas; date probable: 149/39], Α. Β. 27-28: [μίας Φαλητείας λειαν ἡ πολικαὶ, ἀνάτινα Διαβαίδου, ἐπίκλήτου Πολεμαίου τοῦ Λευστηρίου αὐτῇ διὰ τὸ πεῖρα]... κ.ο.λ. et τοῦ ναὸς κ.ο.λ. εἶχεν ἐνοποιεῖται τῆς αὐτῆς.

(8) Inventaire de Kallistratos [date approximative: 157/6], A. col. i. ll. 8-14: [τοῦ ναοῦ τῷ προς τοῦ Σκηνομάκρους έν]...[κοινα χαλέας]-Βασιλίου ἀριστοκ. ἀνάτινα Πολεμαίοις Διαβαίδου λείαν ἢ...θελειν πεῖρα ἀνάτινα Πολεμαίου τοῦ Βασιλίου Ανθίμονος[1]...τοῦκα ἐν βασιλεία τεθερμαίνον, ἀνάτινα Ἀριστοκρ. καὶ Ἀριστείας; Διαβαίδου έν πεῖρα ἀνάτινα Βασιλείας, ξυστοὶ γραφής, ἀνάτινα Πολεμαίοι[20] ἀνάτινα τοῦ βασιλείας Ανθίμονος ἐκ τῶν Κορινθίων ἀνάτινα Βασιλείας, ξυστοὶ ἐν...[γραφής], βασιλείας Ανθίμονος.


Cette partie de l'inventaire de Kallistratos est d'autant plus précieuse que je ne lui connais pas de double dans la série des documents athéniens, à l'exception toutefois d'un texte très mutilé, dont il ne reste que quelques lettres au bord gauche:

(9) Inventaire Γ 505 (= P. Roussel, Délos col. athén., 397, n. xvi.), B. col. ii. Β. 24-29: τοῦ ναοῦ τῷ προς τοῦ Σκηνομάκρους[20] ἀνάτινα κατά τρχαμεν, βασιλείας...
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(10) Inventaire de Phaédras [date approximative : 153/2]. A. col. i. n. II. 49-53 [cf. B.C.H. 1906, 597] : 
Sporides (kallies) [παλαιογραφικόν] : 
: Kallhromous, [καπαδική] : 
: Kallhroma, en l'endroit : 
: Kallhroma, k.t.a.

(11) Inventaire d'Hagnathos [date probable : 140/39]. A. il. 92-93 : 
Sporides (kallies) [παλαιογραφικόν] : 
: Kallhromous, [καπαδική] : 
: Kallhroma, en l'endroit : 
: Kallhroma, k.t.a.

Les deux passages paraissent se correspondre. Mais alors il faut supposer que les mots Kallhroma, Kallhromous, ont été omis dans l'inventaire d'Hagnathos. Avec les Kallhromous, Kallhromous, qui répond à l'endroit de l'inventaire de Phaédras (10), on a la description d'une nouvelle offre, celle de N. Kaléiedonion. De toute façon, Hagnathos ne peut apporter aucune lumière sur l'identité de Phaédras nommé dans Phaédras. Quel est ce personnage ? J'ai restitué, non sans témérité, ce nom dans B.C.H. 1904, 409, 5, et simplement dans B.C.H. 1905, 537 ; mais le supplément est-il assuré ? La seule raison qui m'engageait à le supposer était qu'il est le fils d'un Lyssimachos, c'est que je ne connais pas, dans les inventaires délivrés, de Lyssimachos (sans titre royal) qui soit fils d'un autre Lyssimachos. Mais cette raison est fragile.
Je n'ajouterai que peu de mots aux excellentes observations de F. Dürbach.

Il n'y a point à s'arrêter à la dédicace faite, en 188, par Ἰππολύτιος Ἀννομάξας, et mentionnée d'abord dans l'Inventaire de Démarès et les textes contemporains (ci-dessus, 1-6). Ce personnage ne pouvant évidemment être le fils du roi Lysimaque —il est son arrière-petit-fils selon moi, le neveu de Ptolémée Evagoras, selon E. von Stern— l'absence du titre royal avant Ἀνομάξας est parfaitement normale.

Nous devenons pareillement faire abstraction de la dédicace rappelée dans l'Inventaire de Φιλάδειας (ci-dessus, 10). Il est impossible d'en suppléer la partie manquante et de savoir quel en est l'auteur.

Le texte qu'il convient d'examiner avec soin est l'Inventaire de Kallistratos (ci-dessus, 8), rapporté de l'Inventaire anonyme 505 (ci-dessus, 9). Comme l'a justement noté F. Dürbach, on y trouve, une fois de plus, la preuve que, dans les inventaires sacrés de Délos, les dédicaces jointes aux offrandes ont été, le plus souvent, résumées sommairement, à la hâte, sans un suffisant souci d'exactitude. Le principe trop hardiment posé par E. von Stern (Hermes, ibid., 443)—"Ich gebe dabei von der Voraussetzung aus, dass in einem officiellen Verzeichnis, das von einer Hand hergestellt ist, die Titulaturen nicht willkürlicher und nach Gutdünken geestet oder weggelassen sein können"—ne se réalisera d'aucun de ceux qui ont la pratique de ces documents. Celui de Kallistratos y apporte un démenti formel.

La dédicace de la première offrande enregistrée (8, ll. 8-9: εἰς τὸν χαλκὸν βασιλίου ώραν) est ainsi libellée: ἱερά Ἰππολύτιος (l. 9). L'abréviation est evidente, puisque l'Inventaire anonyme (9) donne (ll. 24-25): ἱερά Ἰππολύτιος τῷ βασιλέως Ἀνομάξας.1 Pour les dédicaces de la seconde et de la troisième offrandes (8, ll. 9-10: ἔτερος λίθους κ.τ.λ. ll. 12-13: ἄλλος (τίτκας) κ.τ.λ.), nous avons: ἱερά Ἰππολύτιος τῷ βασιλέως Ἀνομάξας. Libellé identique de la troisième dédicace dans l'Inventaire anonyme (9, ll. 27-28).—Pour la quatrième offrande (8, ll. 13-14: ἄλλος (τίτκας) κ.τ.λ., on lit, comme sans doute aussi dans l'Inventaire anonyme (9, ll. 28-29): βασιλέως Ἀνομάξας. D'accord avec F. Dürbach, je ne douté guère qu'il n'y ait là une omission, d'autant que la chute de θησαυροὶ est inexplicable, et qu'on ne doit pas suppléer (ἱερά Ἰππολύτιος κ.τ.λ. —Les θησαυροὶ, l'un τέσσαρα, l'autre πέντε, qui forment la cinquième et la sixième offrandes, ont été certainement consacrés en même temps. Cependant, on lit, d'une part (8, l. 25): ἱερά Ἰππολύτιος Ἰππολύτιος τῷ βασιλέως Ἀνομάξας, et, de l'autre (ll. 26-27):
Anthony Ptolémée son légataire a joué un rôle clé dans la répartition des fonds (cf. 9, II. 24-25). La seconde et la troisième offrandes. La seconde leçon est vraisemblablement la bonne. — Dans ces conditions, il ne paraît pas douteux que la dédicace de la septième offrande (8, II. 29-30 : ἀλλὰς [χηραὶ]—ἰνεᾶλεκτοὶ) n'ait été arbitrairement simplifiée, et que ἄνθεμα Ptolémée ton Λυσιμάχον ne soit une abréviation, au lieu de ἄνθεμα Ptolémée ton βασιλεῖς Λυσιμάχον.

Je tire donc pour certain que toutes les offrandes énumérées aux II. 9-10, 12-14, 24-27, 29-30 de l’Inventaire de Kallistratos proviennent d’un même donateur, lequel s’intitulait Ptolémée βασιλεῖς Λυσιμάχον. Il s’agit, chaque fois, de Ptolémée, fils de Lysimaque et d’Arsinoé II : et, chaque fois, le titre de βασιλεῖς a été joint au nom de Lysimaque. — Dès lors les conséquences divergentes que E. von Stern, d’un côté, et moi, de l’autre, nous avions pensé tirer de la présence, aux II. 29-30, des mots Ptolémée ton Λυσιμάχον ne sont point légitimes. C’est à tort que von Stern a cru que ces mots désignaient, non le fils du roi Lysimaque, mais Ptolémée Λυσιμάχον donateur à Délos en 188. A mon tour, je me suis mépris quand j’ai voulu voir dans ces mêmes mots, qui ne sont qu’une abréviation, une répétition de la formule Ptolémée Λυσιμάχον que donne le décret de Telmessos : le titre royal, omit dans ce décret, ne faisait jamais défaut dans les dédicaces de Délos. Autrement dit, Ptolémée, dans ces dédicaces composées par lui-même, a toujours pris soin de rappeler que son père était le roi Λysimaque. Mais il est clair que les Telmessiens n’étaient point tenus de faire comme lui.

* Les sept offrandes peuvent être à peu près contemporaines. La première, l’offrande χαλὰς Βασιλέως Αρσινοῆς, est nécessairement antérieure à 270, et pourrait remonter à l’époque où Arsinoé n’était point encore reine d’Egypte.

* B.C.H. 1904, 413, 3.
THE CRYPTO-CHRISTIANS OF TREBIZOND

While the number of crypto-Christians among the heterodox tribes of Asia Minor has probably been considerably exaggerated, it cannot be denied that crypto-Christians exist or that cases of forced conversion affecting large sections of the population can be cited. But under the Ottoman Turks at least there is very little historical evidence for conversion on a large scale in Asia Minor.

Exceptionally in the district of Trebizond we have both a credible legend of conversion and an existent population, outwardly Mahommedan, which seems in some cases to retain something from the more ancient faith and in others to practise it in secret. Of the first category may be cited certain villages in the district of Rizeh, which, though Mahommedan by profession, preserve some memories of the rite of baptism and speak, not Turkish, but Armenian.

Crypto-Christians proper, belonging to the Greek rite and Greek by speech, also existed till recent years in the neighbourhood of Trebizond: they were known generally as 'Stavnotae,' from a village Stavra in the ecclesiastical district of Gumush-khane. They are said at one time to have numbered 20,000 in the vilayets of Sivas, Angora, and Trebizond: now all have returned to the open profession of their faith.

The local authorities refer these populations to a persecution which arose at the end of the seventeenth century and resulted in the conversion of 8000 families and the flight of many others to the Crimea and elsewhere. Of the converted Greeks some were till lately to be found in the mining district of Kronna and were only outwardly Musulman; but most returned to open Christianity about 1860. Others are settled in the regions of Rizeh and Ophik, all retain their language and some, in spite of their changed religion, jealously preserve their Christian sacred books.

1 Cf. my 'Heterodox Tribes of Asia Minor' in the forthcoming Journ. E. Anthr. Inst.
2 Individual conversions are in a different category and have probably at all times taken place to a greater or less extent. Cf. Burckhardt, Travels in Syria (London, 1822), p. 197, who cites the case of a Macedon archz family, which, being entangled with the rule of the mountain, became crypto-Christians in order to have more hold over the Christians of Lebanon. Sir R. Burton (in Lady Burton's Inner Life of Syria, p. 140) records wholesale local conversions in Syria on account of government or private oppression.
3 Guimet, Turq. d'Asie, i. 121. These people seem to be identical with the Armenians of the Batoim district, who were converted 'two hundred years ago' (Smith and Dwight, Missionary Researches in Armenia, 1834, p. 457).
4 R. Jannin in Échos d'Orient, xiv. (1812), 405-505. Guimet (Turq. d'Asie, L. 12) says there are 12,000 to 15,000 Kraoula, living in nine villages not far from Trebizond.
5 S. Tsannides, 'Istoria Trans'storia, pp. 134-5.
All the traditions of the persecution at Trebizond seem to go back to one source. The date (c. 1659) is fixed rather arbitrarily after the building-date of a certain famous house which is supposed to mark a "high-water mark" of Christian prosperity, and more particularly by the transformation of two churches (S. Sophia and S. Philip) into mosques a few years later. But the real dates of these transformations is given by Evliya as 1573 and 1577 respectively, while the date of the house is irrelevant. It thus seems probable that we have to reckon with two outbursts of anti-Christian fanaticism in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries respectively. We may surmise, but cannot prove, that these were due to political circumstances, the earlier perhaps to the battle of Lepanto and the later to the Russian aggressions.

1 Apparently S. Ioannides, "Iσραηλ Τραπεζωντι," p. 132 ff., which is followed by Triandafyllides, Βασιλιά, p. 36, and prefixed to the same author's Of Θρακής: E. I. Kyririakides, Iσραηλ της Μέσης Ιστορία (Athens, 1898), p. 91 ff. adds a reference to Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Πεντακειμένη Ιστορία, i. 150-165, for a contemporary poem. David's history of Trebizond may be the source of all. For the Christian practices of the Stavricians of Lazistan (the Ophite crypto-Christians) see Pears, Turkey, p. 286 f.; Ramsay, Impressions, p. 241.

2 The Trapezuntine crypto-Christians are also mentioned casually by Hamilton, Asia Minor, i. 340; Smith and Wright, op. cit., p. 453; Flandin et Costa, Voyages en Perse (1840-1), i. 38, who call the sect Kremnī (from Kremna, one of their villages) of Meso-Meso ("half-and-half"). The best and most recent account of them is given by Jannin in Échos d'Orient, xiv. (1912), 495-505. He draws for their early history on the Greek authors mentioned above and for recent events on local sources, describing the gradual return of the crypto-Christians to open profession of their faith. They are now said to be undergoing a forced re-conversion to Islam (Harri, April 16, 1915).

3 Ty. van Hammer, i. 45-6. Evliya wrote about the middle of the seventeenth century.

4 Two Cappadocian villages near Nevsheir were said by Oehstammer to have been converted to Islam "a hundred and eighty years ago" (Durch Siberien und Kleinasien, p. 143). There was an unsuccessful Turkish campaign in 1677 against the Russians. It is to be noted that Trebizond is particularly accessible to Russian agents.

5 See my "Mosques of the Arabs" (B.S.A. xxii. 182). Cl. also Holnouse, Journey through Albania, ii. 976.

6 About the same time Thomas Smith at Constantinople mentions that "certain Prophecy of no small Authority, runs in the minds of all the People, and has gained great credit and belief among them, that their Empire shall be ruined by a Northern Nation, which has white and yellowish Hair. The Interpretation is as various as their Fancy. Some fix this character on the Moscovites; and the poor Greeks flatter themselves that they are to be their Deliverers... Others look upon the Swedes as the persons described in the Prophecy (Ray's Voyages, i. 80 f.). This is the 'Yellow Russ' of the Prophecy of Constantine (Carmoy et Nicodème, Folklore de Constantinople, 48 f. etc.) current already in the sixteenth century (cf. Gerlach, Topo-Gesch, 102). The text was said to have been found in the tomb of Constantine and to have been interpreted by the patriarch Gennadius, according to the regular machinery of apocryphal discoveries (see my "Graves of the Arabs" in B.S.A. xxxi., p. 190). As the Russians are Orthodox and the Swedes Lutheran, the prophecy more probably refers to the former and may have been concocted about the time we first hear of it, as even the Terrible was then showing that the Russians would one day be dangerous. It probably revived regularly when Russia threatened; for instance, Voltaire (Voyage en Syrie, Paris, 1822, i. 42) found the prophecy common among the Turks about 1784 during the Turkish-Russian war to which the Treaty of Kuchuk put an end. Similarly, Holnouse heard it during his wanderings in Turkey. The eighteenth-century K. Danzinger speaking of the Κοινωνία των Βαρών συγγεγραμμένη Βιογραφία (Rice και ταυτόθεν, p. 185), presumably with
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The Greek authors give some curious details of the secret Christianity of their compatriots in the Trebizond district. They kept the Orthodox fasts strictly. Their children were baptised, and habitually bore a Christian and a Turkish name for secret and public use respectively: such Turkish names as 'Menhet' and 'Ali' were, however, avoided. As to marriage, they never gave their daughters to Turks, but the men were not averse to taking wives from among their Turkish neighbours. In this case the parties were married secretly according to the Christian rite in one of the monasteries before the consummation of the marriage. If pressure were necessary, the bridegroom threatened to leave his bride. When a crypto-Christian died, the burial service was read for him in a Christian church while he was being interned. Mollahs were sent to the crypto-Christian villages in Ramazan, but were got out of the way when services were held.\(^{12}\)

the prophecy in mind. In his time Burckhardt found that the Syriac made no mystery of it: the 'Yellow King' was merely another way of saying 'Emperor of Russia' (Travels in Arabia, London, 1822, p. 40). According to Politien (Pilgrimage, ii. 668, drawing on De Cange, Orthos., s.v. syriae), the prophecy appears first in Roger de Hoveden, who says that a prophecy written up over the Golden Gate of Constantinople stated that a Yellow King, who was a Latin, should enter by it. As the Flavian Theodosius built the Golden Gate, there may have been a long Latin inscription, full of abbreviations and containing the word Planis over the gate. This misread may have originated the idea. It is interesting that the prophecy should have been applied first to a conqueror rather than a deliverer. Something of the same confusion as to the Yellow King appears in the fourteenth century Onra of Daniel (Poltieh, Baschi, ii. 405 ff.; Migne, Dict. des Apocryphes, ii. 188), alleged to have been found by Leon the Wise in the tomb of Daniel, the Daniel in question having been a monk, later confirmed with the Biblical prophet. The 'Onra' may thus be merely another name for Leo's oracle. Such discoveries of magic books in graves are rather interesting: they add prestige to the books in question; the 'discovery' sounds genuine owing to the practice of burying books with the dead; cf. L. Calvi, Escravons sur les Bords de l'Enphrate, p. 263, who found a copy of the Koran in a sheikh's tomb he had opened. I myself heard the same tale at Manisa. In such cases the Koran is possibly intended to help the dead in the exhumation he undergoes from the two angels after death, for which see especially d'Oissou, Tableau de l'Empire Ottoman, i. 230, and Lane, Modern Egyptians, ii. 265. The practice among Moslems may derive ultimately from Jewish custom. Jewish rabbis are frequently buried with a patahth (i.e. perfect copy is never used); hence discoveries of holy books in Jewish prophets' graves are numerous (cf. Loftus, Travels in Chaldia, p. 36, and Migne, Dict. des Apocryphes, ii. 1309; Emile Deschamps, An Page 'Apocryphes-Chapres, p. 230, and Tischendorf, Terr-Sainte, p. 201, both mention a gospel found in the tomb of Barnabas in Cyprus). In the Jewish instances, the book, not the holy man, is the essential: as they prohibit images and are eagier for knowledge to which the sacred book is the key, this book becomes almost an object of adoration with them. At Telviz near Aleppo a certain synagogue was greatly venerated by Jews on account of an ancient manuscript kept there (Proc. Acad. Physique, Neuchâtel, 1772, iii. 405). A patahth written by Elidras was preserved in a synagogue of Old Cairo; it was so holy that people could not look on it and live (Carmoly, Itinéraires de la Terre Sainte, pp. 527, 543-3; cf. Pierotti, Légendes Raséades, Lamanne, 1889, p. 39). A glance at the half stone, half flesh image of the Virgin in the Syrian convent of Sahayn had the same fatal effect (J. L. Porter, Five Years in Damascus, p. 1: cf. Ludolf, De Reith, Terrae Novae, p. 99 ff., Masmuell, Voyag, Portug, 1705, pp. 220-1, and Baronius, n.s. 870).
I mention here for the curiosity of the subject a community of crypto-Jews alleged to exist in the neighbourhood of Pergamon, at a village named Trechulla. This village was visited by MacFarlane in 1828-9. According to his account, the inhabitants betray their Jewish origin by their physical type, and though in externals Mahomedans by religion, keep Saturday as a holiday. We can only suppose them to be an offshoot of the Turco-Jewish (Dummeh) community of Smyrna, probably attracted to the Pergamon district by its prosperity under the rule of the Karaosmanoglu family during the eighteenth century.

14 Constantinople, ii. 338 ff.
15 The history of Salatai Sevi, the seventeenth-century Messiah whose followers turned with him to Islam, had much hold in Smyrna, though its chief connections are now with Salonica. A follower of his, Daniel Israel, was expelled by the cadis from Smyrna in 1768, but seems to have been still living there in 1771 (O. Coper, Lettres, Amsterdam, 1742, pp. 396, 398).
16 Crypto-Christians are recorded elsewhere also. Walpole mentions a group of five such Albanian villages in the Morea (Travels, p. 292). Professor R. M. Dawkins heard in Crete that during the Greek revolution of 1821 many Cretan crypto-Christians declared themselves openly for Christianity and were massacred accordingly. A long article by R. Michell in the Nineteenth Century for May, 1908, describes the Linovantskoi (lit. "linen-cotton") of Cyprus. Hahn cites the Karandjades of the middle Voumana in Albania as recent and partial converts to Islam (Albania, Stud., p. 96). The alleged date (1768) of their conversion squares well with the accounts of the Valachadhes in B. W. Macedonie, for whom see Wace and Thompson, Nomades of the Balkans, p. 29, and Béroud, La Macedonie, p. 1107. Their turning seems to have been part of a considerable movement in the Balkans during the eighteenth century, when the Russian danger caused the Turks to put pressure on their pagan populations to convert. It may be noted that the Valachadhes preserve their churches as they were, especially at Trastana, Brontiza, and Vmaui, and frequent them at certain seasons—or so my informants assert. A community of some 400 souls exists at the present day in the heart of Constantinople itself, in the Top Kapon Serai quarter, which lies between the east end of S. Sophia and the Serai walls: outwardly they are Moslems and attend the mosque, but in secret they have ikons; they are very poor and live by making beads. Crypto-Christians are mentioned in Bosnia by Boué (Turquie d'Europe, iii. 407), and in S. Albania (ibid., iii. 407-8). On the phenomenon in general in Islam see G. Jacob, "Die Bektaschijje," p. 29 in Abh. d. Bosgr. Ak. xxiv., 1909.

F. W. HASLUCK.
ARCHAIC TERRA-COTTA AGALMATA IN ITALY AND SICILY.

[PLATE IX.]

Votive statues of the gods placed in the temples, forecourts or temenes were common in Greece at an early period, and material evidence has proved that in Sicily and even in Italy there were numerous examples of the same custom. In Greece, a land rich in marbles, the sculptor's art rapidly developed and flowered into masterpieces which became the models for the western world. In Sicily, and even more markedly in Italy, regions which in the archaic period produced little marble or good, workable stone, the material chiefly used was clay; hence, owing to their perishable nature, comparatively few of the creations of these early masters have come down to us. Yet the Sicilian School had a great reputation and led the van for daring initiative and mastery of technical difficulties.

Although most of the marvels credited to Daidalos must be imaginary, yet the very fact that his works were put almost upon a par with those of Hephaistos shows how great was his reputation in antiquity. He was the founder of the Sicilian School, but his successors were also men of note. To Perillos was attributed the bronze bull in which the tyrant Phalaris roasted his victims. Pausanias (III. xvii. 6) mentions Klearchos of Rhenium, "who (according to some) was a pupil of Dipinos and Skyllis, but according to others of Daidalos himself," but in another passage (VI. iv. 4) he states that he was the pupil of Eucleis, the artist who followed Damaratos, the father of Tarquin, to Etruria.

An examination of the earliest plastic works found in Sicily\(^1\) show that those in stone kept close to the traditions of that school which seems to have had its origin in Crete,\(^2\) whereas those in terra-cotta developed a line of their own and embodied more directly the ideals of native artists.

The first great problem to overcome was the difficulty of baking evenly a figure of any large size and then withdrawing it intact from the oven. Investigations among uncivilized tribes to-day have shown the remarkable results which can be obtained in the most elementary ovens; among the Ila-speaking tribes in Rhodesia the women bake pots of considerable dimensions, perfectly spherical in form, in fires made of logs and bark piled up cone-fashion.\(^3\)

The earliest Sicilian statues are rudely modelled, of badly purified clay,
malformed owing to shrinkage in unexpected places, and with a surface too rough to hold the colour applied to it, which has consequently almost entirely flaked off. These defects were soon remedied, and eventually figures were produced which have nothing to fear from a comparison with contemporary Greek marble statues.

In Sicily and Magna Graecia the earliest statues were usually female, possibly partly because the enveloping drapery concealed the faulty anatomy, but chiefly because the dominant cults were those of goddesses, Aphrodite at Eryx, Persephone at Henna, Hera at Lakroi. In Latium and Etruria, on the contrary, Apollo was portrayed at Veii, Zeus at Satricum and on the Capitol.

For our present purpose we must define ναυάρας as votive or cult statues of gods or heroes erected outside the temples, within the temene, and exclude all statues or statuettes found in tombs or sepulchral in meaning, and all ex-voto or figurines, thus eliminating the splendid series of busts from Gela, the ex-voto from Agrigentum, Rosarno Medma and many other sites.

Cicero (In Verrem, II, iv., xlix., 110) relates how Verres wished to carry off the terra-cotta statues of Ceres and Triptolemus, 'pulcherrima ac perumplo,' which stood before the temple of Ceres at Henna. But their cumbersome size was their salvation, and Verres had to content himself with removing the Niké whom Ceres bore on her right hand.

The earliest example of these figures which has come down to us is the seated goddess found at Grannichele, possibly the ancient Echetia (Fig. 1).

From the feet of the throne to the crown of her head the figure measures cm. 75: it is made of clay mixed with volcanic particles to give resistancy to the walls, and a layer of very pure clay was spread over the surface to hold the colour with which the whole statue was decorated. It was worked freehand and the surface was polished with a tool, but the imperfect baking, insufficient inside and excessive on the surface, has produced many cracks. She sits, clad in a long chiton with short sleeves, with her open right hand resting vertically upon her knee and her left closed to hold some cylindrical object. Her large, flat face with bulging eyes, straight mouth and small, highly placed ears,
is framed by the long locks which hang down upon her back. The base of the throne projects to provide a support for her feet; the sides of the throne were painted with geometrical patterns, and although there are arm-rests, there is no back, which is also the case with the enthroned goddess of Prinia. The works which most nearly resemble this goddess (although somewhat later and far better finished) are the seated man found in a tomb at Caere and now in the Musco dei Conservatori, with his two female companions in the British Museum. The Sicilian statue, however, reveals where the artist of the Caere figures derived his inspiration. Other fragments found at the same time show that similar statues were also grouped around: part of a head adorned with a diadem; the left shoulder and long curls of a female figure; a closed right hand; a male right leg, bent at the knee, and pieces of a throne. Like the goddess, they cannot be dated later than the middle of the sixth century.

Less rude is the goddess from Lokrois, ht. cm. 53.5, now in the Museum at Reggio, Calabria, seated stiffly on a high-backed throne, her hands upon her knees. On her head is a low polos, and, although she has no attributes, Persephone alone can be intended, for the type is always repeated with only one exception. The extraordinary similarity of the types has caused Pick to suggest that, ince in Tarentum no goddess played any particular rôle in the cult, the Lokrian traders or colonists there set up a statue of their own goddess, a copy of the one in her temple at Lokrois. The Tarentine makers of statuettes who imitated this statue introduced sundry small changes, such as the three locks over the shoulders, but in the main they adhered closely to the Lokrian prototypes.

Far more advanced, artistically speaking, is the fine seated goddess from the Predio Ventura, Grammichele, which belongs to the end of the sixth century. (Fig. 2). The part most damaged was the face, which was cracked in antiquity.

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* C. Albizzi, Atti Pont. Accent. Rom. d'Arch. Serie II. xiv. (1920), pp. 6-14, Plates I. II.
* Cat. Terre. D. 219, 220.
* B. Pick, Jahrb. d. Inst. xcviii. (1917), pp. 207 ff., Fig. 4; Winter, op. cit. pp. 121, Fig. 9.
* Pick, op. cit. p. 212.
* Ostia, Mem. Ant. xvii. (1909), cols. 573; xviii. (1907), cols. 136-45, Plates IV, V, and Fig. 3; Pace, op. cit. p. 521.
and is now remodelled in plaster. Her height is cm. 98, and she wears a chiton with close, vertical folds and loose elbow-sleeves, a wide himation and thick-soled sandals. Her left forearm is broken, but on the right which is pressed against her breast are eight coils of a serpent bracelet; an earring is preserved in her right ear and on her head is a stephanо adorned with bosses and a little sakkos which covers her crown. Her hair is waved on either side of the forehead and hangs over her shoulders in narrow strands divided horizontally into innumerable overlapping sections. She sits solemnly upon her lion-footed throne, the seat of which is covered with a cushion with tassel-ed corners, her feet resting upon a stool. The statue is hollow and consists of a rough core worked freehand, the various parts being soldered together before firing; details were carefully worked out with a tool over a second layer of clay and finally the whole was covered with a slip and then painted. The delicacy and charm of the work are such that the only comparison one can make is with the seated marble figure in the Berlin Museum, also from Southern Italy, which embodies the ideal to which the creator of the goddess of Granmichele, working in a humbler material, strove to attain.

The earliest of the standing figures is one broken at the hips from Megara Hyblaea, formerly in the Melilli Collection, but now in the Syracuse Museum. It measures about cm. 40, and was found in one of the city sanctuaries. It belongs to the early sixth century and is scarcely evolved from a zoomon, the body being merely blocked out in harsh planes, the arms hanging straight against the sides. Attention has been focussed upon the face with its large heavy features and immense triangular eyes without lids, and the elaborate coiffure, consisting of flat disc-like curls round the forehead; over the back of the head the hair is divided geometrically, bound at the nape of the neck and hangs over the shoulders in thick locks cut up into overlapping sections; a band encircles her head and is kept in place by a flat disc on the very crown of the head. She wears a closely fitting garment, girt at the waist, with triangular pieces over the shoulders which form short sleeves. The whole figure recalls the early Sicilian works in stone of Cretan type, and shows none of the Ionic or Attic influence evinced by later examples. Fragments belonging to two, possibly to three, statues were also found at Megara Hyblaea: the folds of a chiton, a mass of hair divided into sections, a life-sized hand with very long cylindrical fingers which once held a flower or metal object. In the recent excavations Professor Orosi discovered a fragment of the back hair of some figure, treated in narrow vertical waves, and also part of a beard or fringe of drapery, both of red clay.

The hands of the statue from Megara Hyblaea are missing, but what their position must have been is shown by a fragment from Bitelumi, Gela, where the arm is pressed to the side and the closed fist is pierced to permit the insertion

11 Jahrb. i. (1898), p. 9.
12 Orosi, op. cit., p. 673; B.C.H. xix. (1895), pp. 208–11, Figs. 1–3; Deonna, 573; Kakufa, Terrak. v. Stk., p. 7, Fig. 1; op. cit., pp. 51.
13 Winter, op. cit. i. p. 103, Fig. 10; Deonna.
14 Orosi, op. cit. vol. 691, Figs. 317, 318.
of a tubular object, a flower or ear of grain. With it was found another
roughly modelled hand, also closed. Yet another hand with the fingers stretched
straight out and too thin for the hand—which is life-sized—comes from Akragas
and is a work of the fifth century: the clay is cream-coloured.\textsuperscript{14}

Very different is the large fictile torso, probably from Mamarina and now
in the Museo Biscari, Catania.\textsuperscript{15} Although broken off just below the waist,
we can easily restore the figure by reference to the Korai of the Acropolis.
She stood solemnly erect, both arms hanging by her sides, clad in a chiton,
a belt elaborately marked out in squares and a chlainé or scarf over her shoulders.
Below the high stephané her hair is elegantly waved and hangs in long strands
over her breast. Her face is sharply oval, with obliquely set eyes and a slight
smile hovering round her bow-shaped mouth.

The influence of quite a different school of art is manifested by the maiden
from Inessa, now in the Museo dei Benedettini, Catania.\textsuperscript{16} She stands, ht.
m. 1:19, with her draperies falling in long severe folds; her battered condition
has destroyed much of her charm and unfortunate restorations have further
contributed; but most detrimental of all is the fact that the hair, which was
parted, smoothed back in heavy masses and gathered into a knot behind,
was worked separately and then put on in detached parts; this has now fallen
away, giving the head a most unpleasant appearance. She wears a Doric
peplos with anepitygma reaching to the waist, and her bare feet rest upon the
original square base. Her right arm is broken off at the elbow, but the left,
although broken off, is preserved as far as the wrist and shows that the forearm
was bent at right angles to hold some object. The head resembles the statues
of the Olympian pediments and certain coins of about 460 B.C. The figure
belongs to a series of maidens wearing the peplos discussed by Arndt and
Mariani;\textsuperscript{17} but it is of especial importance since it is the only one of the group
whose arm has been preserved, thereby demonstrating that the bent arm was
used to break the long, straight lines of the drapery and to give vivacity to
what might otherwise have been too rigidly architectonic.

The lower part of a figure which goes back to the first half of the fifth
century is almost analogous with the Inessa maiden. It was found in the Mandra
Lauretta, Camarina, where the deposit of terra-cottas suggests a sanctuary.\textsuperscript{18}
The fragment measures cm. 72, and shows the Doric peplos with a rather longer
anepitygma.

There are a whole series of feet placed in such a position that they must
have formed part of statues very near to or slightly more evolved than the

\textsuperscript{14} Syracuse Mus., Room XVI. Fig. No. 1929.
\textsuperscript{15} Oriu, Mon. Ant., xviii. (1906), col. 573, note 4: Kokubu, op. cit., p. 58 Plate I; Winter, op. cit., p. 106, Fig. 6; Decuma, op. cit., pp. 40 f.; Bemmell, op. cit., p. 6.
\textsuperscript{16} Gerhard, Ann. Inst. vit., (1835), p. 43:
Pottier, Statuettes de Terre-Cuite (Paris, 1890), p. 200, Fig. 64.
\textsuperscript{17} Brico, Atti Acc. Napoli, xxm. (1906), pp. 107-9, Plate XXIII, and Figs. 1-3.
\textsuperscript{18} Oriu, op. cit., col. 573; Fortunagnew, Sitzungsberichte der Bayer. Akad. ii. (1899), p. 389; 50: Berliner Wochenschr., (1890), p. 130, n. 22: Kokubu, op. cit., p. 37; Decuma, op. cit., pp. 54-61, Fig. 1.
\textsuperscript{16} N.S. 1899, p. 280, Fig. 35.
Inessa figure. One such pair was found in the Depositio dei Cavallucci, Rossano Medini; they stand upon a rectangular base, the left a little in advance, and the lower part of the peplos covers the ankles. The feet are well worked, but somewhat bony in structure. Other minor fragments of the figure to which the feet belonged—bits of the back and drapery—were found with them. This bony structure is discernible also in the life-sized right foot from Bitelini, Gela, in hard greyish clay, mixed with volcanic particles. It measures cm. 21.5 in length, but the heel is missing; the rest of the foot, with its long slim toes, carefully marked nails and highly arched instep, is beautifully modelled.

A fold of drapery falls over the ankle, and a thick-soled sandal was bound in place by thongs which passed between the toes. At the same time numerous fragments of drapery were found, but they seem of rougher workmanship than the foot, and the quality and tone of the clay denote several different statues. At the necropolis of St. Anastasia, Randazzo, on the slopes of Mount Etna, another base came to light. Upon it rested two feet, which measure cm. 15 in length and must have belonged to a statue more than two-thirds life-size. This fragment is now in the Collection Vagliaudini. The toes only

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**Fig. 2.—GORDON FROM TEMPLE OF ATHENA, STRACCI.**

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\[\text{References:}\]

\[\begin{array}{ll}
\text{xx} & \text{X.S. 1917, p. 30, Fig. 34.}
\text{xx} & \text{Oesi. Mon. Ant. xvii. (1906), col. 691.}
\text{xx} & \text{Oesi. Mon. Ant. xvii. (1906), cols. Figs. 315, 316.}
\text{xx} & \text{690-1, Fig. 514; xxv. (1918), col. 628.}
\text{xx} & \text{Romi. Miti. xv. (1900), p. 243.}
\end{array}\]
of a well-modelled life-sized foot of red clay were discovered in the excavations at Akragas and are now in the Syracuse Museum.

Rather larger than life are the admirably modelled feet discovered at Arènes, all that remains of a large statue of the close of the fifth century. It evidently portrayed a god, because the feet are coloured red, and the statue must have been a very fine one, for the feet testify accurate observation of nature, the nails and veins being minutely indicated with a tool. The whole surface was delicately polished and the sandal straps must have been painted; only the border of the garment remains. The fragment was presented by the Duca Sforza-Cesarini to the Museo di Villa Giulia.

We must now discuss a series of figures which, although fragmentary, are among the finest examples of the school of early Sicilian masters. They are sixth-century works which formed groups depicting mythological scenes. Foremost among these remains are those found at Syracuse in the great bank of bresces from the early temple and not far from the north-east corner of the actual temple of the Deinomenidai. The best preserved is the arresting figure of a Gorgon advancing to left in the archaic running manner with one knee touching the ground (Fig. 3). Her legs are in profile, but her trunk and face are fully frontal, so that she stares at the beholder with great round eyes. Her features are so conventionalised that they are treated almost like a decorative pattern; her forehead is framed by six spiral curls and four large 'pearlocks' hang over either shoulder. Her gaping mouth, with its double row of strong square teeth, is rendered monstrous by the addition of two pairs of tusks and by the pendant tongue which covers her whole chin. She wears a red chitoniskos enriched by elaborately patterned borders and endromides furnished with recurved wings instead of tongues. The great wings which spring from her waist rise up on either side of her face and make a vari-coloured background to her figure. Under her right arm she clasps the little winged Pegasus which sprang from her blood, and her left arm is bent sharply down at the elbow with stiffly extended fingers in the attitude of the archaic runner. The dark background of the relief must have formed an effective contrast to the gaily coloured Gorgon, and the whole figure produces a wonderful impression of force and impetus. A small piece which is apparently the hip of a similar Gorgon, covered with a chitoniskos, decorated with elaborate chequer pattern in red and black, was found at the archaic temple, Gela, and there is also part of a shin with the top of the endromides. These groups appear to be of too small dimensions to have served an architectonic purpose, and if they were placed even at a short height from the ground much of the delicate miniatiae of the treatment would be lost. Most likely they were placed on a level with the spectator, and, if they were not ἄγαλματα complete in themselves, they formed part of some larger work which, as a whole, is lost to us.

In the excavations at 8, Mauro various small bits evidently belonging

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43 N.S. 1900, p. 63: Fig. 4; Helbig, Führer, 3rd ed., n. p. 348. No 17855.
to a group were discovered.\textsuperscript{21} They consist of a double curved wing, cm. 29 x 25.5, without plastic relief: the end feathers are painted alternately red and black on a cream ground. The piece is hollow, but the walls are very thick. One cannot say if a fragment of the left side of a very archaic face was in the round or in high relief, for all the back of the head is missing, but the muzzle of a horse was certainly in the round, as also the head of a small serpent. Further lesser fragments are a piece, cm. 14 in length, of uncertain destination, but suggesting the hair of a Gorgon by the pearlized strands radiating from the centre, and two pieces of imbrication, seemingly part of the chiton covering the thigh of a large figure. None of these pieces fit together, but a consideration of them

**Fig. 4.—Foot and Fingers, Syracuse.**

all induces one to think that they may once have embodied such a group as the Gorgon from Syracuse, moving swiftly in the ancient running scheme with bent knee, clad in an embroidered tunic with serpent girdle, embellished with curving wings and clasping under one arm the little Pegases. Yet this group must have been an advance upon the one from Syracuse, because it was in the round, and therefore needed no slab as background. Professor Gabrici has shown how beloved a form of decoration the Gorgon was in archaic times and in those regions,\textsuperscript{24} and it is quite probable that, apart from the temple sculptures, a Gorgon group figured among the διάμαρα of the precinct.

To another Syracusan group belong the leg and paw of a lion, ht. cm. 35, also a hind leg placed horizontally and a portion of the right thigh of the beast.\textsuperscript{27}

\textsuperscript{21} Orosi, *Mon. Ant. xx.* (1910), cols. 782-5, Figs. 32-3, Plate VII, 2.
\textsuperscript{24} Orosi, *Mon. Ant. xxv.* (1919), cols. 622-3, Figs. 212-14.
Even more suggestive is a left hand grasping a horn and another almost flat piece with brown circles on a cream ground; part of a bull's flank spotted like the panthers of the pediment of the early temple of Athene on the Acropolis. Orai recalls the toreadores of the Tiryns fresco or Herakles with the Marathonian bull; indeed, to the latter subject one's thoughts naturally turn, and even preferably to the hero's contest with Aeolocus as figured on the arula from Lokroi. With these are connected the fragments of an animal's leg, ht. cm. 17-5, painted with lines to indicate muscles, with dots to denote the hide; the cheek and eye-socket of an animal with round, widely open eye; all the details of the muscles are marked by black lines as on the leg. The eye has a black pupil and a reddish-brown iris encircled by a black outline. There is also part of a limb covered by a dark red chiton with a border of tongue pattern in red and black which may be the bent knee of Herakles with which he holds down the bull.

Interesting because it links up with a whole series of similar fragments is a right foot (ht. cm. 17) shod with elaborate endromis, a pointed boot with thick sole, fastened with crossed laces (Fig. 4). With it were the four fingers of an open right hand, length cm. 7, the nails marked by a black outline. Besides these, there is the calf of a right leg (length cm. 18) with the top of the endromis outlined black and adorned with two cream rosettes on a red field, but this seems on a larger scale than the foot. The boot is identical with the footgear of the rider on the akroterion from Camarat, and is similar to that worn by the Gorgon from Syracuse, a resemblance so greatly enhanced by the fingers held in the same rigid manner as the left hand of that monster as to suggest that here we have the débres of another group figuring the same subject. At Gela another foot of this type, as yet unpublished, was found. From as far north as Caere comes a right foot with part of the phinth, cm. 17 × 23. Only the toes rest on the ground, so that the person was apparently in motion. With it were found the lower part of a woman's leg shod similarly; the nude right foot of a man, for it was painted dark red; segments of drapery with traces of red and black; the smooth horns of an animal in relief (cm. 16 × 14), also with vestiges of colour. In the excavations at Volitrae a foot three-quarters life-size was discovered, wearing a shoe with pointed, upturned toe. The coarse clay is covered by a cream slip, and as there is no trace of a base, the foot must have projected, perhaps from a narrow pedestal upon which individual statues were erected. In this connexion, although it must be dated towards the end of the fifth century, mention must be made of a woman's foot, about half life-size, shod in a soft shoe from which the colour has been entirely obliterated.

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28 Ibid., cols. 629-30, Figs. 220-1.
29 Ibid., cols. 629-30, Figs. 220-1.
32 Orai, Mon. Ant. xxv. (1919), cols. 624, Fig. 217.
33 Orai, Mon. Ant. xxv. (1919), cols. 624-9, Figs. 218-19.
34 Orai, Mon. Ant. xxv. (1919), Plato XVII, 5.
The edge of the long chiton falls over the instep, and to one side sits an owl which identifies the fragment as part of a large statue of Athene, set up in some temple precinct.\textsuperscript{36}

One further scrap of terra-cotta from the Olympieion, Syracuse, is interesting because it is so archaic that it has been dated in the beginning of the sixth or even in the seventh century. It is the lower part of a beard of black hair, the surface furrowed by deep incisions to give the effect of strings of pearls in accordance with the early artistic convention, and it must have formed part of an almost life-sized statue.\textsuperscript{37} Near it was found a bit of drapery, long tabs ending in a fringe; the clay is red, but all vestige of colour has disappeared.

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure3.png}
\caption{Figure 3: Horse and Horses from Catania.}
\end{figure}

In the excavations at Gela the statues were found reduced to miserable fragments, but among them is the beautifully modelled neck of a female figure, the upper part of the red chiton adorned with hammer pattern in red and black; there is also part of a shoulder (?) with cream drapery and a border of black meander, and another portion of the same drapery also with the border. There is, moreover, a bare foot with the toes a little upturned.

The left side of a very beautiful life-size female face from Metapontum is now in a private collection in Naples.\textsuperscript{37} It is well modelled, but intensely individual in type; for the almost square chin is cleft by a dimple, and the

\textsuperscript{36} Mus. Nazionale, Roma.
\textsuperscript{37} Ibb., N.S. 1902, p. 138, Fig. 3, Not.
\textsuperscript{38} Oest., Mem. Att. xiv. (1903), cols. 2, 6.
large almond eye is fringed by painted lashes. The cream slip is so fine and highly polished that it gives the effect of soft flesh. Possibly the statue represented Athene, for with it was found the head of a serpent which may have reared its coils beside the shield of the goddess.

A most remarkable monument was for long in private possession at Catania,

where it is stated to have been found (Fig. 5). It represents a rider on horseback, but all that remains of the rider is the piece from waist to thigh, showing the very full chiton which flows out all round like a ballet skirt. The horse’s head, foreleg and tail are broken; he prances forward with one leg raised and has a barrel body, very long legs and a hocked mane, in fact the type of horse found on archaic terra-cotta friezes or on Dipylon vases. The group stands on a
square base and the solid slab under the horse's body gives a disagreeable effect, because want of skill prevented the artist from cutting away the ground of the relief, so that it is only the upper part of the work which is really in the round. In the base are holes for the nails which fixed it down. The clay is very dark grey mixed with volcanic particles. From the waist of the rider to the ground measures cm. 41; the length of the base is cm. 38.

Further north the temenos at Veii was adorned with a splendid group depicting the contest of Apollo and Herakles for a stag, assisted by Artemis and Hermes (Plate IX., Fig. 6). The figures (ht. m. 1.75) stand erect each on its own base and were juxtaposed in a line, a simple but effective arrangement (Fig. 7). The supports are cleverly masked by palmettes enclosed between broad spiral bands. The draperies with their lively poses, strong, rich colouring and graceful drapery are full of force and animation. Our admiration is excited by the skill of the artist who could ensure the equally distributed firing of such large and complicated figures. The discovery of these statues has lent credence to what the ancient writers relate in praise of Vulci of Veii and the school of workmen who adorned the earliest Roman temples with notable works in terracotta.

The sanctuary at Satrium was another shrine rich in ályka blends of the sixth and fifth centuries, too damaged, unfortunately, to permit of the reconstruction of whole groups, but sufficiently preserved to give a vivid impression of the strength and realism of this flourishing art. Among the finest specimens are the débris of a statue of Zeus, especially the bearded head with broadly modelled features which betoken dignified calm (Plate IX.). The long hair is treated in a solid mass which ends in spiral curls round the forehead: the eyes were originally filled with some vitreous paste which intensified the liveliness of the expression. He once held the stylised thunderbolt of which only a small piece now remains. An irregular plinth supports the lower limbs of a male and female figure who advance to right with rapid steps. Only the man’s right foot remains, but his companion is preserved almost to the knees. She wears a long chiton and over her back hangs a heavy mantle, or rather, the back part of the aegis which in front merely covered her breast. She must therefore be Athene in the attitude of Promachos, and her companion was Zeus. Part of the head of Athene is also preserved, covered with a helmet with raised cheek pieces. Beneath the helmet her hair peeps out in small straight locks. The fragment of Athene’s torso gives us the chiton partly covered by the aegis adorned with a large Gorgoneion in low relief, with wrinkled forehead, little crossed eyes, squat nose, gaping mouth with protruding tusks and pendant tongue. Yet another female head with hair waved over the forehead must be that of Hera: it is of the same dimensions and style as the head of Zeus, and evidently the three gods were here grouped together, one of the earliest examples of the Capitoline triad. Yet it is not certain that they formed a self-contained group, for with them was found the right side of a male

head covered with interlaced bands. This head, however, although archaic, seems to be rather later in style than the others.

Numerous eyes, ears, mouths, fragments of hair and limbs prove the existence of at least four other statues. Besides bits of drapery, a hand grasping the hilt of a sword, etc., there is the fine torso of a warrior with a cuirass decorated with bands of meander pattern; the shoulder pieces were in relief and were fastened by crossed cords passed through rings on the flaps and breastplate. There are, moreover, remains of animals—a pair of bovine eyes, a horse's hoof, a lion's paw—which may have been the feet of a throne or similar ornamentation.

![Reconstruction of the Terra-cotta Votive Group from Veii](image)

To the beginning of the fifth century belongs a group from the Larger Temple, Falerii. One of the figures is a woman who moves to left. Her chiton has been pushed aside and merely covers her back with a loose edge rising over the shoulder. The other, whose nude trunk only is preserved, with a beast's skin hanging from one shoulder, seems to be a Centaur. If the two were really combined together, the group depicted the rape of a nymph by a Centaur, a subject less frequent than the more common one of the dance of nymph and Satyr.

These early groups in humble material were the precursors of the works in bronze or marble, or the chryselephantine statues of a later age; but although

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they were despised in the Capital, yet in the country districts the art lingered on and produced numerous fine works in the fourth and later centuries, the splendid pediment groups of the temple of Apollo, Falerii, those from Luni and Telamone, and the recently discovered heads from Arezzo 49 and Orvieto. In Sicily the art vanished more completely, being replaced by the delicately wrought works in marble and bronze which fell a prey to the rapacity of Verres, so that only the earliest monuments, safely buried in the kindly earth, escaped the ravages of vandal conquerors.

E. DOUGLAS VAN BUREN.

Rome, May 1921.

AN OVERSEER'S DAY-BOOK FROM THE FAYOUm

[Plates X., XI.]

At the Library of the University of Michigan there is a waxed diptych from the Fayoum, secured for the University by Professor Kelcey while in Egypt in 1919. The leaves of the diptych are of wood, about 11¾ inches long and 8½ inches wide, slightly hollowed out and coated with black wax on the inner sides. These inner sides are shown in the photographs which accompany this article (Pls. X., XI.). In explanation of the photographs, it should be said that they were taken with the aid of a strong artificial light coming from the left at an angle of 45 degrees. This has caused the incisions and depressions on the wax to reflect the light in such a way that they seem to stand out above the general surface of the wax. Thus the white blotches which appear on the first leaf are really hollows and not projections, as they seem to be in certain lights. It should also be stated that a transcription was made of this leaf before the wax crumbled away, probably owing to unfavourable atmospheric conditions, along the edge of the crack in the lower part of the leaf.

The photographs also show how the diptych was held when in use. The two leaves were turned back to back, i.e. with the wooden surfaces touching, the edges with the two pairs of holes being at the left. When all the space on the waxed surfaces of the upper tablet was filled, the writer turned the diptych over vertically and not horizontally, and began to write on the other waxed surface. The result was that, when the two waxed faces subsequently were folded together, the top of one leaf was opposite the bottom of the other, and the writing on one of them would appear upside down.

The diptych contains a series of accounts written in uncial letters, in roughly parallel columns which are at times separated by vertical lines and regularly divided by horizontal strokes to indicate the transition to new items or new dates. There is no indication of the year to which these accounts belong, but, on the basis of the forms of the letters, B, Θ, and X, they are probably to be assigned to the third century A.D. In preparing the accompanying transcription of the diptych I have had the collaboration of my colleague, Assistant Professor F. E. Robbins.

The accounts for the most part deal with a series of harvest operations—reaping and threshing—carried on between Pauni 2 and Epeiph 30. In addition there are three short entries, the relation of which to the foregoing
is not clear. The work referred to was performed on several holdings, partly at a place called the Island (Η Νήσου) and partly at another called Bachias, which is very probably the village of Bacchias in the Heracleid section of the Aristeote nome. The accounts form a series of day-by-day entries of the names of labourers, the place at which they worked, the character of the work performed, and the total return from each operation.

At the top of leaf I, the series opens with the λόγον γεωργίας Πετρίου και τού οδηγοῦ, κριθής, δεματάριον. This account covers the whole of column i. and lines 4-17 of col. ii., running from Pauni 2 to 7. On col. i., l. 26, the number of workmen is given as twelve, a number which corresponds to the names listed for Pauni 2 and 3. Ηεδωρος taking the place of Καθεων on the latter date. The work done up to Pauni 5 must have been reaping, for on that date the labourers were engaged in threshing (αλανώτερος). On l. 17, col. ii., we have the total amount of barley threshed (αλανώτερος) μέ. Apparently the next entry is the λόγον γεωργίας τῆς Νήσου, dated Pauni (?) 25 and beginning on l. 7, col. iii. Here the names of seven labourers are given, but there is no reference to the character or amount of work performed. The lower right half of this leaf is occupied by a single column, equal in width to both of the columns in the upper right half. Here is entered the λόγον γεωργίας Αρτεμάτος τῆς Νήσου for Pauni 26 and 27. The work is reaping (Σωκρότομον θερίζων). The position of the date κε (27), far to the right of the line under Ptolemaios, seems to indicate that it belongs to the list of names below that line. This is confirmed by the recurrence of the name Ptolemaios directly under the line and the absence of any other date to accompany this fresh list of names.

The record now passes to the second leaf. There, dated Pauni 29, is the λόγον γεωργίας αλανώτερος. Αρτεμάτος. This account occupies ll. 1-14 of col. i., covering the four days from Pauni 29 to Epeiph 2. As we see from the heading of this account, the grain just mentioned as harvested on the holding of Artemas was threshed out on his threshing floor, and the number of artabai obtained is given in l. 14.

A fresh account, the λόγον περὶ Βαγγαίδος θεμελιωθῆ, opens with l. 16 of the same column, filling the rest of this and the whole of col. ii. The harvesting of this crop took from Epeiph 7 (col. i., l. 18) to l. 17 (col. ii., l. 27). A peculiarity of the entry for Epeiph 9 is that the six labourers are grouped in pairs, possibly because of the character of the work done on that date, and the names of each pair are followed by a numerical symbol, which probably indicates the amount of their joint labour.

At the top of col. iii. is the entry λέγον αλανώτερος, which runs over into col. iv., and must be connected with the date (Epeiph) 17, indicating that the threshing of the harvest at Bachias began on the day on which the reaping ended. The threshing continued till Epeiph 19 (col. iii., l. 13), and the result is indicated in ll. 5-7 of col. iv.—Βαγγαίδος κριθής (αρταμίας ὁρίζων). On l. 17, col. iii., a new account begins—the λόγον αλανώτερος, which occupies the rest of this column (to l. 27), and also ll. 9-20 of col. iv. This account contains entries for the dates Epeiph 19, 20, 21, 27, and 30, and the amount
of this crop is given in the last line of the account—ἀρόβαυ (ἀρταβαί)
β' άβ.

The two short entries which follow in col. iv. do not show any clear
connexion with the foregoing accounts. The names of the workers recorded
in them occur in previous entries, but nothing is said with reference to the
place or character of their tasks. Furthermore, the days mentioned here
(γ', η' and ζ') have no indication of the month, and so cannot be brought
into relation with the dates given above. The significance of the numeral
signs placed after several of the names in these lists is also obscure.

Finally, col. iv. closes with the λόγος θησαύρου ἐργαζόμενοι, consisting of
a list of three names, each of which is followed by the symbol for one obol.
How this entry should be interpreted is also problematical.

For the explanation of the accounts on the diphtych I am indebted to
Mr. H. I. Bell of the British Museum. He suggests that the tablet was the
day-book of an overseer, who kept thereon a detailed record of the daily work
performed by the various labourers employed on the estates under his super-
vision. This record he would use as a memorandum for the calculation of
the wages to be paid these workmen, and also for the compilation of a report
of expenditures to be presented to his employer, the owner or lessee of the
estates. Mr. Bell calls attention to a report of this character in P. Lond.
1170, verso (III., 193 ff.), where there is a record of the number of workmen
employed, without their names, and of the wages paid.

Besides the accounts on the wax faces, the diphtych has some writing on
the wood of the first leaf. Some letters, probably with a numerical significance,
were scratched in a vertical line across the top of the inner side, with the leaf
held on its side. However, only two of these letters, an ΄ and a ζ, are legible.
Then, across the outer side of the same leaf run two lines of incised letters
from ⁴/₅ to ⅞ in. high. They read as follows:

\[ \text{X} \, \phi \, N \, E \, \varepsilon \, \varepsilon
\]
\[ \text{X} \, \lambda \, P \, \lambda \, \lambda \]

Taken numerically, as Mr. Bell points out, the first line, without the final \(\varepsilon\),
might be either 90,555 or 15,555, and the second, without the final \(\lambda\),
would be 11,111. However, there does not seem to be any connexion between
these figures and the accounts contained in the diphtych, and the former may
be mere idle scratchings.


# Transcription of the Diptych

## I.

1. Παύς ἐν Θεῷ
2. λόγος γεωργίας Πεταράνος καὶ τοῦ Ἀβελίου.
3. φῶς — κράτης θεριστε ἐργάτης.
4. Γαμων ἄλοιπος Παύς ἐν
5. Ἰουλίας Γαμων
6. Πετεφέρος Χαρδήμος
7. Πετεφέρος Παύς ἐν λόγος γεωργίας
8. Σισος Γαμων τῆς Νησοῦ ἐν
9. Πετενος Χαρδήμος Γαμων
10. Ἰράς Πεθενος Σαβες Πτολεμαῖος.
11. Σαταδόνας Πετεφέρος Πετεφέρος τοῦ β.
12. Χαρδήμος Παύς Τ Χαρδήμος
13. Κοθών Γαμων Ὀνησίμος
14. Σωκοτῆς Χαρδήμος Πακενίς
15. Παύς Τ Πεθενος Γαμων (?)
16. Γαμων Πετεφέρος
17. Ἰουλίας κράτῆς μὲ
18. Πετεφέρος

## II.

1. Παύς καθ
2. λόγος γεωργίας ἀλωνίας Ἀρσεναῖος.
3. Πακενίς
4. Χ Πακενίς εἰς Γαμων λόγος ἀλωνίας εἰς

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**Notes:**
5. ήστη σάν Χαρίδημος Χαρίδημος Βαχίαδος
6. Παύσης Άρτυλας Πουτσις Πεφέρος ερείδης
7. Πτολεμαίους Σατάβους Σισος Πουτσις ο θυ γε
8. β' Πάκοντρ Αφροδίσις εις ισιδορος Σατάβους ξυ Γαίων
9. Πτολεμαίους Ίδ Γαίων Σατάβους Καθων
10. Ιωλές Ισιδόρος Πτολεμαίους Χαρίδημος
11. Χαρίδημος Καθων Πτολεμαίοις
12. Πέτεσος Ωριων Χαρίδημος Πέτεσος
13. Πτη... σον... Εύτως α Πετεσον Βαχίων
14. Ιμας Ηρας Ιδ Πεφέρος Πετεσον Ιοι
15. Σωκυτής Πετεσον Γαίων
16. λόγος περι Ιε Γαίων
17. αδον θεμπούν Ισιδόρος λόγος άπεβαιν Πετεσον
18. Επτος Καθων ιδ Σωκυτής Πακοντς
19. Πτο(Α)κομη(α)ττ Ευτ ια... ια—α Ηρας Σισος Πουτσις
20. Ισιδόρος Σωκυτής ο Γαίων έμοπαι ε β ιβ
21. Ημας Σισος Πουτσις Πεφέρος ο Ιουν θάρσος
22. θ Σατάβους Πτολεμαίοις Ωριων Λξ ιβ
23. Γαίων και ιε Γαίων Εκ Πετεσον τδ
24. Ισιδόρος Χαρίδημος Ωριων Πεφέρος Ρη Πετεσον τδ
25. Χαρίδημος Ωριων Χαρίδημος και Γαίων Πετεσον τδ
26. και άναρχη ιως Σατάβους Πεφέρος
27. Σισος και Ιε Χαρίδημος... άδασα—α... Πεφέρος λόγος θεσσαριουν
28. άτος β Πετεσον έγαζεβαι
29. ιε Γαίων άρων Πετεσον
30. Χαρίδημος Ωριων... Αφροδίσις θα Άρων Πεφέρος
31. Αφροδίσις Ωριων Ελλάτους Χαρίδημος η
32. ωριων Σισος Πουτσις Καθων

University of Michigan.

Notes: Col. i, l. 31, Αφροδίσις, here and elsewhere for Αφροδίσις, cf. 13 and Πτολεμαίοις. Col. ii, I. 13, 19, apparently the same name occurs in each line, but the —α appears in l. 19 only. There is a somewhat similar word in col. iii, l. 27. What the sixth letter is in col. ii, l. 19 and iii, l. 27, I cannot say, unless a peculiarly formed ξ. ll. 30, 31, άτον in two successive lines is strange, but certain. Col. iii, l. 17, άπεβαιν for έπεβαιν. Col. iv, l. 28, is έπεβαιν ιοί to be read έπεβαιν ιοί?
SOME VASES IN THE LEWIS COLLECTION

[PLATES XII.-XVI.]

On March 31st, 1891, died Samuel Savage Lewis, librarian of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and one of the original members of the Hellenic Society. To his college he left a large collection of coins, gems and miscellaneous antiquities, among them the following vases:

(1) Red-figured kotyle, from Castellani Collection.

*Castellani Sale Catalogue* (Rome 1884), p. 12, No. 67 (not figured).

(A) Goddess running off with youth, who holds a large lyre.

(Plate XIII.)

(B) Two youths in attitudes of alarm; one holds a double flute.

(Plate XIV.)

Under each handle is a large double palmette from which spring elaborated palmettes and tendril ornaments on either side (Fig. 1).

Purple is used for the letters, the cord of the lyre on (A) and the hair fillets of the youths on (B).

Details are represented in the main by black relief lines; the less important body muscles of the youths by brown glaze lines.

The vase is entirely free from breakages or restorations, but some of the finer details have been partially obliterated by excessive cleaning.

The style is that of the late archaic period, c. 480 B.C.; the drawing of the eye already shows signs of departure from the archaic usage, though entire correctness has not yet been attained. The drawing is on the whole careful, though a few lapses are noticeable; thus one of the youths on (B) has six toes.
on his right foot, and their tips are cut off by a carelessly drawn ground-line. The faces, especially on (A), are the least satisfactory feature; that of the female figure is especially inadequate. On the other hand, meticulous care has been expended on the folds of her chiton, and on the musculature of the two nude bodies.

The strings of the lyre, as on both the vases shortly to be mentioned, are in black relief, with the result that they are only visible against the black background in certain lights.

The palmette and tendril ornaments recall those affected by Douris in his later years: a curious feature is the projection of the central petal of the flanking palmettes of one group only beyond the encircling tendril.

The subject, from the analogy of a vase in the Paris Bibliothèque Nationale, on which the figures are inscribed, is presumably the kidnapping of Tithonos, though the winglessness of Eos is unusual. Save for this latter detail the type is not rare. The two figures on (B) undoubtedly form part of the same scene; they are the victim's companions, interrupted in the midst of a musical party, as the flutes held by one of them show. It is no rare thing, on kotylei especially, to find pursuer and pursued occupying opposite sides of a vase; it is but the logical extension of the same process to find the chief and the secondary figures in an incident thus distributed.

(2) Red-figured kylix, from Lecuyer collection.

Terrae Cuites Antiques: Collection Camille Lecuyer, Pl. E 5 (interior and part of (B) only), with notice by Cartault (before 1885); Froehner, Lecuyer Sale Catalogue, pp. 62-4 (same figures repeated) (1883); Wernicke, Arch. Alter. 1889, p. 149; P. Hartwig, Meisterschalen, pp. 326-7 (quotes Wernicke's description) (1893); J. D. Beazley, Vases in America, pp. 93-4 (1918); J. C. Hoppin, Handbook, i. p. 458 (wrongly given as in Oxford: corrected ii. p. 494) (1919).

Interior: a bearded bald-headed man reclines on a couch and blows furiously on the double flutes; on the edge of a table beside him sits a nude boy holding a long stick, swinging his legs and beating time with his left hand. A large lyre hangs up (Fig. 2).

Inner border: three (or in two cases four) separate interlocking meanders, to one "Dourian cross-square."

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1 De Ridder, 846 (ii. p. 497, Fig. 129 and Pl. III). This is another kotyle, of the developed fine style contemporaneous with Polygnotus (the vase painter). The subject is continuous all round, two of Tithonos' companions, a musician and a huntsman (the latter through confusion with the Kephaleos legend?), being named Priamos and Dardanos, thus showing that the artist definitely had the Tithonos legend in mind.

2 On a contemporary lekythos in Madrid (Leroix, 109; Ossorio, Pl. XXXVI.) the youth is named Kephaleos. Such a figure, however, is meant to the Kephaleos legend, and the inscription is probably a painter's error.

3 Another instance is a kotyle in Florence (4228), contemporaneous with the Paris vase.

4 E.g. the New York stemmed kylix, A.J.A. 1915, p. 466, Fig. 3, and the twist-handled amphora (present whereabouts unknown), Mon. Inv. in. Pl. XXIII.

5 In the British Museum "Dilios" kylix, E 88, a similar figure is dancing. This may have been intended here, though the effect is rather that of sitting.
Exterior: (A). Four bearded banqueters forming two groups which are as follows:

a. Two on one couch, one with his head on his hand being sick on the floor, the other raising his kylix to pledge nobody in particular. The first-named is bald-headed; a foot of the second is wrongly drawn as a hand. Under the couch is a pair of shoes.

6. Two on separate couches, one handing a kylix to the other, whose couch is shown as end on, back towards us. A table, from which hangs a fillet with vine twigs in the ends, stands beside the first-named, who holds, also, a kylix shown in black silhouette against his body. He wears a scarf round his head under his vine wreath. At each end of the scene a cross-handed staff leans against the vase handles; three baskets, a lyre and an oinochoe hung up (Plate XV.).

* Cf. similar representations on B.M. E 38 (F.R. 73), by Epiktetos, and B.M. E 49 (W.F. vi. 10), by Demis.
(B) A naked hetaira with bobbed hair stands playing the double flute between two couches, on each of which recline two bearded banqueters. Those to her right are bald-headed; one holds two kylikes; the other, with head thrown back, appears to be hiccuping. The foot of the latter is here correctly drawn. The other two appear to be waving their arms in time to the music, one brandishing a kylix (he is probably not playing kottabos, as Cartault thought), the other a kylix and oinochoe. A lyre and basket hang up; a knotted-staff leans against one handle (Plate XVI).

Diameter 29 cm.

The vase is in perfect preservation, free alike from breakages or restorations. Purple is used for vine wreaths and the cords of lyres; other details are shown by black relief lines. A cushion on (B) is covered with a yellow glaze wash. Imitation inscription in the field of (B).

Hartwig (Meisterschalen, p. 326) attributed this vase to 'Brygos'; Beazley (Lc.) to his 'Foundry Painter,' the artist of the famous kylix Berlin 2294 with the kalos-name Diogenes and representations of a bronze statue caster's workshop. The relationship in style between this and the other vases Beazley groups with it and the best of the signed Brygos vases is patent; on the other hand, there are differences in detail and handling of the subject which betray the work of an inferior artist very susceptible to external influence. While such distinctively 'Brygos' details occur as the baskets on the wall and the bobbed hair and cross-legged pose of the flute-playing hetaira on the vase under discussion, various other features are no less characteristic of Douris or the 'Panaetios Master'—the painter of most of the vases signed by Euphronios as maker.

Thus the couch shown end on, head towards us, was inherited by Douris from Epiktetos, and a certain woodenness about some of the figures is a failing shared with Douris' later efforts; on the other hand, the angular poses, suggestive of the angularity of old age, and bald heads of several of the banqueters are to be paralleled on such productions as the Boston komos kylix signed by Euphronios as potter.*

Commonplace though it may appear at first sight, the subject matter of the scenes has bearing on at least one interesting problem, which has received but scanty attention in the past, namely the interrelation of the exterior and interior pictures of kylikes.

In the earliest red-figure kylikes, e.g., those of Epiktetos which have external designs, and those of the various painters who worked for Pamphilos and Chauchryfion, no thought whatever seems to have been given to the matching of the scenes on even the opposite sides of the exterior. Thus in the two kylikes by Epiktetos in the British Museum, E 37 and E 38,* a mythological

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* F.R. 133.

* Best published in the 1898 Burlington Club Catalogue, No. 8, Pls. IV–VI; also Hartwig, Pla. XLVII, XLVIII. — Hoppin, i. p. 310–11; F.R. 73 = Hoppin, i. p. 313.

* Hoppin, i. pp. 310–11; F.R. 73 = Hoppin, i. p. 313.
scene—Theseus and the Minotaur: Herakles and Bussiris—is opposed on the exterior to a symposium scene, the break being marked by large handle ornaments, while the interiors of both bear convivial scenes of a type not specially harmonising with those on the exterior. Approximately contemporary with these are the Corneto kylix by Euxitheos and Otes 19 and the Florence Theseus kylix of Chachrylion, 21 both of which show advance, inasmuch as the handle ornaments are suppressed and the design carried without a break right round the exterior, forming in one case a continuous scene, 22 in the other six scenes forming a continuous narrative. In neither case, however, has the internal figure-subject, in one case a young warrior, in the other a flying love-god, the slightest possible connexion with the rest.

Nor is there any advance in the Munich kylix painted by Euphroneios for Chachrylion, 23 nor in the Berlin Sosas kylix 24 also probably painted by Euphroneios; may, rather a retrogression, as composition is not that great artist’s strongest point. Here the external scenes must be conceived of as forming a straight frieze bent round to form a circle, the break between the beginning and end of which is marked by a more or less irrelevant detail under one handle, in the first case a palm tree, in the second a female head in a curious reserved metalion.

Taking these cases as typical of countless others, we may generalise and say that, up to about 500 B.C. or thereabouts, it had not occurred to the leading kylix painters to evolve one comprehensive scheme of decoration for the whole vase, 25 and when, as occasionally does occur, in battle, athletic and thiasos scenes, the interior design does happen to be of the same nature as the others, it is a pure accident.

It is in the workshop of Euphroneios in the latter part of his career, and in those of his contemporaries Hieron and Douris, that we first meet with undoubted attempts to bring interior and exterior designs into close relationship. Thus the New York Herakles kylix 26 painted by the ‘Panaitios Master’ for Euphroneios, and the Louvre Menmon kylix 27 G 115, painted by Douris for Kallidias, bear three scenes from a single group of myths, the exploits of Herakles and the Trojan War. More to the point as regards the vase under discussion are the numerous products of both these artists with scenes of a genre character, athletic, convivial, Dionysiac, or military, not to mention the innumerable conversations and thiasos scenes painted for Hieron by Makro, in which exterior and interior tally exactly in character, assuredly of set purpose. To quote a few instances accessible in excellent publications, we may mention the Boston lemos kylix already mentioned, the Munich Hieron

19 Musei Italiani, ill. Pl. II. = Hoppin, i. p. 133.
20 The presence of a small and inconspicuous palmette under each handle hardly influences the general unity of the design.
21 F.R. 22 = Hoppin, i. p. 391.
22 F.R. 123 = Hoppin, ii. p. 422.
23 Thus the Pamphilia kylix, which is adorned outside and inside with eleven running warriors, all exactly alike save for their shield-device, can hardly be quoted as an instance of ‘design at all.’ It merely betokens lack of ideas on the part of the artist.
kylix 18 with seven similar pairs of Silenoi and Maenads, the New York specimen 19 with seven 'loving couples,' and the Vienna kylix painted by Douris for Python 20 with arming scenes. In all these the closest correspondence may be noted between external and internal scenes.

No less is this the case among the vases attributed by Beazley to his 'Foundry Painter,' to an unusually large proportion of which, as compared with the works of the artists just cited, this criticism applies with full force. Besides the Berlin foundry kylix itself we may instance R.M. E 78 21 with boxers, etc., Berlin inv. 3198 22 (komos scenes), and, finally, the vase under discussion itself.

All of which leads up to the main point of our discussion: how far, in cases where the external and internal scenes of kylikes do show close correspondence, are we to consider them merely separate scenes intended to match like a modern 'pair of pictures,' and how far should they be considered actually one picture, distributed, like the frieze of the Parthenon, by force of circumstances, over various positions not all visible at once, but yet, by an artistic convention, to be thought of as if they were so?

Foreign though the latter notion may seem to modern minds, yet I think it will be admitted on considering the evidence that it is probably correct. Its origin may be as follows. In all spontaneous art—medieval no less than ancient, non-European no less than European—it is usual to represent successive stages in a story side by side in one picture without indication of a break. Should space not permit of this plan being adhered to, what more natural course could be hit upon than to depict each incident separately in a series of smaller spaces, if such are available? From this to a further subdivision, the spreading of the component parts of each scene over a series of separate spaces, is but a step. Its extreme development may be seen in the sculptured porches and coloured windows of medieval churches, where vast and elaborate compositions are depicted by great series of single figures, each occupying its separate niche or light.

To a Greek, for whom the rules of perspective, which form an integral part of our sense of vision, could scarcely be said to exist, it would probably appear just as obvious a way to represent a complicated subject from the point of view of an internal spectator, to whom the whole is only visible by turning about, as from that of an external spectator with a bird's-eye view of the whole at once.

This is just exactly what seems to have happened on the vase under discussion. The artist, or that of the model he had in mind, seems to have imagined himself standing in the middle of the meandron of some Athenian house with couches arranged on three sides—probably—close to the walls, leaving the centre of the room clear. We will imagine the flute-playing girl of (B) to be somewhere near the spectator in this central space. Looking straight past

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18 P.R. 40 = Hopkin. ii. p. 62.
19 P.R. 53 = Hopkin. i. pp. 266-7.
20 J.H.S. xxvi. (1906), Pl. XIII. (outside.
21 J.J.A. 1917, Pl. I.—III. = Hoppin: only); Murray, Designs, Pl. XIV. 55 (inside.
22 Ann. Ant. 1893, p. 101, Fig.
her to the far side of the room, all that would probably be visible of its contents would be the two couches shown one on either side of her on (B). Should he turn about and look towards the opposite side of the room, presumably further away from him, and thus coming rather more into his range of vision, in addition to the two couches ranged along it he will get a diagonal view of the couch in the furthest corner of the room, at right angles to them. But as the art of the day is incapable of depicting an object seen corner-wise, to distinguish it from the others seen from the side it is shown as end on. Thus we get the scene on side (A). This accounts for five out of the six couches with which the room is furnished, presumably.

The sixth our spectator will see directly before him should he cast his eyes straight along the room to its far end. Doubtless in reality he would see both couches at this end of the room from his original position, but as one has been depicted already on (A), and the artist did not wish or had not space to represent it twice, we must imagine him taking a step or two nearer the end of the room so as to narrow his range of vision to include only this; the larger scale of the interior drawing lends additional colour to this latter supposition. The possible point of view of the artist when drawing the various sides is illustrated in the appended diagram:

\[\text{Diagram showing positions for viewing sides (A) and (B).}\]

Probably a similar scheme could be made out with more or less completeness from any other symposium kylix of the time, such, for instance, as the British Museum 'Pilipos' kylix (E 63),\(^{10}\) attributed to the 'Brygos Painter' himself. Here in addition the fourth side of the room is indicated by boy attendants leaning against the columns which may be supposed to separate it from the courtyard of the house.

Probably, too, most of the komos and thiasos scenes on the kylikes of the time must be conceived of as beheld by a spectator in their very midst, the figures on the two sides of the vase being to his right and left, and those of the interior, perhaps, immediately in front of him. How far, of course, the actual artists whose works we are dealing with were conscious of this convention is hard to say; but it looks very much as if they were conscious of

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\(^{10}\) Hartwig, Meisterschaffen, Pls. XXXIV., XXXV.
it and that it was a new and delightful invention in their time. The idea, of course, reaches its apotheosis in the Parthenon frieze, which must be imagined as depicting the procession as beheld by some participant in its midst, perhaps Athene herself, the presiding genius of the whole, as impersonated by the statue in the temple it encompasses. On this supposition the whole scheme of the frieze becomes easily intelligible. The spectator has only to imagine himself in the midst of the ranks of horsemen riding ten or a dozen abreast, those of the north side being to his left, those of the south to his right. The groups not yet lined up on the west frieze we must imagine dotted irregularly behind him; the heads of the horses we must imagine as all facing east, the reason for their all facing north being merely that to represent them end on would be unsuited to the nature of the relief, while to show some as facing north and some south would be contrary to fact when all are really supposed to be facing one way. Ahead of us is the central scene of all, the ceremonial folding of the peplos, and behind this group and facing us is the semicircle of enthroned gods. What scheme could be more natural or convincing, once we dissociate ourselves from modern conventions of perspective?

We have already seen, on the Tithonus kotyle, a mythological scene distributed over two separate spaces on opposite sides of a vase; surely, bearing this additional fact in mind, we can employ the facts we have adduced by studying the composition of the symposium kylix, for the final solution of a problem which has baffled very many archaeologists, the subject of the exterior of the Boston Kephales kylix, round which Hartwig constructed his 'Baldhead Painter.' Here we have in the interior a very ordinary representation of Eos flying off with Kephales, such as, by itself, would call for little or no comment. Running all round the outside we have a scene by itself frankly unintelligible. A warrior with one foot on the bottom of a rocky mass gazes skywards, while behind or around him a crowd of men in civilian attire, several old and baldheaded, one with a hunting net over his shoulder, run aimlessly backwards and forwards, in most cases obviously perturbed by something up above them. Surely that something is the group in the interior of the kylix; the men with nets are no other than Kephales' companions on his unlucky hunting trip; whether he is to be imagined as still actually visible in the clutches of the winged goddess or whether he has merely suddenly vanished skyward to the bewilderment of his companions matters little. Either supposition is sufficient to explain their attitude more than adequately. And yet a recent writer has succeeded in convincing himself that the subject is the seizure of Salamis by the Athenians under Solon, a representation of a recent historical event such as is hardly to be paralleled in early art, Greek, Japanese or mediaeval! Who has not seen a mediaeval 'Ascension' in

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22 Hartwig, Miastervases, Pls. XXXIX., XL. = Hopps, ii. p. 47.
23 This was suggested by Van Bruntseghem.
24 Long ago as 1888.
26 Such subjects as the murder of Thomas J.H.S.—VOL. XLII.
27 A Vision and the life of St. Francis form no exception to this rule, as they had become an accepted part of the religion of the age, no less than the legends of such saints as St. Catharine and St. Margaret, by the time they found their way into art. The same can hardly be said of the occupation of Salamis.
which the Apostles gaze skyward in the direction whence the Saviour has vanished or his feet are disappearing in a cloud? and surely the art of an age when the victors of CreCY were commemorated as tiers of saints and angels is no bad analogy for that of one which typified the downfall of the Mede by the victories of defied ancestors over Centaurs and Amazons? Surely the final proof that ensures conviction is in this case supplied by the totally independent evidence of the kotyle, in which the young musician snatched away by the goddess occupies one side of the vase, while on the other, and entirely separate, are his two companions left to their confusion.

(3) Red-figured stemless kylix, from Barone collection (Plate XII.).

Minervini, *Bulineio Napolettano*, new series, vi., p. 33, Pl. IV. (all subsequent publications are reproductions of this); A. Furtwängler, *50th Winckelmannprogramm* (1890), p. 163 (no illustration); Roscher's *Lexikon*, iii. 1 (1897-1902), s.v. Orpheus, p. 1178, paragraph 103, Fig. 3; A. Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen*, iii. p. 248, Fig. 139 (1900); J. Harrison, *Prodigomena*, p. 467, Fig. 145 (1903); Robert, *Jahrbuch*, xxxii. (1917), pp. 148-7, Fig.

Interior unpainted; an impressed pattern of concentric circles.

Exterior: (A) The head of Orpheus giving oracles, under the direction of Apollo, to a seated youth who takes them down with stilius and tablets.

(B) A Muse with a lyre; another stands by with a taenia. Under handles large tendril ornaments. One handle and adjoining portion of the bowl missing and restored; (A) is broken across and clumsily mended. The surface of the ancient parts of the vase is practically undamaged and untampered with.

The taenia held by the Muse on (B) seems to have been originally painted in white, which has nearly all flaked off; it is only visible on close examination. Diluted glaze is used for various details, e.g. hair and the tufts on Apollo's robe, all other details are in black relief lines.

This famous vase was seen by Furtwängler in the Barone collection in Naples in 1877; how or when it came into the Lewis collection is not recorded. As Furtwängler remarks, the old illustration, so often reproduced, gives no idea of the style, of the excellence of which he carried away an exaggerated idea. Fine and delicate it certainly is, betraying the hand of a highly skilled artist, should he care to do himself justice; but is careless and listless to a degree.

The composition is not by any means lacking in dramatic effect, though the truncated proportions of the figures detract sadly from their dignity. A further serious defect in the general effect of the vase is the disproportionately large size, compared with the figures, of the tendril ornaments around the handles. They are of the type usual in the period immediately preceding Meidias, of whom the artist was certainly a contemporary; the pose and drapery of the girl with the taenia on (B) are especially reminiscent of such figures as the 'Lipara' on the lower zone of the Meidias Hydria. 

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68 50th Winck., (1890), p. 163, note. 88 F.R. S.
(4) Early Cycladic multiple vase ("kerynos")\(^{39}\) (Fig. 3).

Unpublished; origin unrecorded.

Cf. Rosanquet, B.S.A. iii. pp. 57–61 and Pl. IV.; J. Harrison, Prolegomena, p. 160, Fig. 16; Edgar, in Phylakopi, pp. 23 and 102, Pl. VIII. 14 (1904); Du Saussure, Les Civilisations Préhelléniques, p. 87, Fig. 62.

Greatest diameter 18 cm.; height 15 cm.

The central bowl is an upward continuation of the foot; eight small cups are joined to it by projecting arms and to one another by cross-pieces. The whole was originally covered by a whitish slip; the outer sides of the small cups and connecting cross-bars are painted with a black net pattern, now almost obliterated.

This is the smallest and most primitive of a small series of early vases all of which, so far as their provenances are recorded, which is unfortunately not always the case, appear to come from Melos, and probably from Phylakopi, where one specimen was found intact by the British School explorers. The specimen is only about half the size averaged by the others. It was probably brought from Melos by some French explorer in the second quarter of last century at the same time as the two specimens in the Sèvres Museum, and was acquired by some private collector; unfortunately no record exists as to how it came into Mr. Lewis’ possession.

In conclusion I must express my sincerest thanks to the Master and Fellows of Corpus Christi College for a generous grant towards the cost of the illustrations for this article, and, above all, to Sir Geoffrey Butler, Librarian of the College, for his kindly co-operation, without which its preparation would have been impossible; to Mr. A. B. Cook, for many helpful hints; to Mr. J. D. Beazley of Oxford for much invaluable advice and criticism; and, finally, to Miss E. T. Talbot for the patience and care she has lavished on the drawings for the illustrations.

C. D. BUCKNELL.

\(^{39}\) For undoubted kerynos from Eleusis see Phileias, Ap. Taur., 1885, Pl. IX., Nos. 5, 7, 8, and 9. Miss Harrison, in her Prolegomena, talks as if the Melian vases were identical with these, which is, of course, not the case.
HELENISTIC SCULPTURE FROM CYRENE

[Plates XVII., XVIII.]

Exactly ten years ago the Italian Government wrested the territory of Tripolitania from the Turks, and the hope was at once entertained that archaeology, safe from the blind fanaticism that had so seriously hindered former expeditions, might reap a rich harvest from the ruins of the famous cities of the Pentapolis, and especially from Cyrene. This hope has not been disappointed. I do not intend to study here the recent discoveries under the Hellenistic Temple of Apollo of the remains of the Temple celebrated by Pindar, nor to anticipate the prospects of discovering its steps sacer, or of finding the site of the earliest necropolis. To study the former we must await the completion and publication of the excavations; to justify the latter a far more settled state of the country is indispensable. I will therefore limit myself in this paper to the discussion of some of the numerous statues discovered that can be ascribed to the Hellenistic age.1

On the night of the 27th of December, 1913, a torrential downpour flooded the platform of the Temple of Apollo and broke down part of the retaining wall at the N.E. corner. The next morning the soldiers of the garrison found, still glistening with the element from which she had been born, the beautiful statue of Aphrodite Anadyomene. Under such favourable auspices began the archaeological exploration of Cyrene. Excavations were started at once at this spot, and the work was rewarded by the discovery of the Thermæ.2 This building, if perhaps not actually erected, was extensively restored and modified by Hadrian, who decorated it with many statues of earlier date which had been injured by Semitic fanaticism during the great Jewish insurrection of A.D. 116.3 Most of these statues bear traces of having been restored in antiquity, certainly on this occasion, thus proving that they were already in Cyrene and were not imported but merely restored by Hadrian.4 The preservation of the statues, some twenty in all, is due to the violence of the

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1 The excavations at Cyrene are directed by Dr. Ghiblinzoni, and are sumptuously published by the Ministero delle Colonie in the Notiziario Archeologico, of which two volumes have already been published, and a third is in preparation. To this publication I shall constantly refer.


3 See Notiziario, ii. p. 155, for an interesting epigraphical document of this insurrection.

4 Notiziario, ii. p. 108. The same restorations are noticeable in many of the statues from Cyrene in the British Museum, e.g. Catalogue of Sculpture ii. in 1409, 1404, 1405.
earthquake which destroyed the building almost to the very foundations, thus preserving its contents from human vandalism.\(^6\)  

By far the finest of the sculptures is the Aphrodite (*J.H.S.*, vol. xl., Plates IX., X.), a cast of which was at once despatched to the Colonial Exhibition held at Genoa in 1914.\(^8\)  

Yielding to the universal desire, the Government made an exception to the rule that the works of art should remain in Africa, and brought it to Rome, where it is exhibited in the Museo delle Terme.\(^7\)  

Prof. E. A. Gardner's article in the last volume of this Journal saves me from describing the statue at length; I trust, however, I may be allowed to examine a few points which must have escaped him owing to the insufficiency of the material at his disposal.\(^8\)  

It is hardly possible, merely

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\(^1\) *Notizie*, ii, pp. 18, 147. This earthquake evidently destroyed the whole city. In the recent excavations at the *tempio* we have found three skeletons, the remains of victims of the catastrophe.


\(^4\) The articles of Ghisalzoni in *Notizie*, i, p. 192, and of Prof. L. Mariani in *Bollettino d'Arte*, 1914, p. 174, and in *Annali della R. Accademia di S. Luca*, 1914–15, are indispensable.

\(^5\) See Mariani's articles mentioned above for a detailed criticism of the Apelles theory. While some of his conclusions must be modified in view of the discovery of the group of the Graces, his remarks on the style of the statue are of the greatest value.
thought it a reduced copy of the Aphrodite.\textsuperscript{18} Now the position of the head of the central figure proves beyond a shadow of doubt that the group is a copy of a relief or painting,\textsuperscript{11} and therefore the sculptor could not have copied the Aphrodite. On the other hand, the great artistic difference between the Aphrodite, a masterpiece worthy of the greatest sculptors, and the very second-rate execution of the group excludes the possibility of their being both from the same hand. Thus the only explanation of this extraordinary analogy is that both sculptures are derived from the same original, a painting of the Three Graces of the middle of the fourth century.\textsuperscript{12} This work, probably by one of the most famous Greek masters,\textsuperscript{13} was copied both by a mere artisan who limited himself to the faithful translation of the picture into the round, and also by an artist of the highest order who, by isolating one of the figures and giving it an entirely new meaning, can be said to have created an original masterpiece. Such a development of an earlier artistic ideal is characteristic of the Hellenistic age, and the Venus de Milo is an excellent example.\textsuperscript{14} In this period, moreover, sculptors frequently copied reliefs and paintings in order to enrich their repertory of types. A Maenad, found in these Thermae,\textsuperscript{15} is certainly derived from a pictorial motive.

The many points of contact between the Cyrene and the Louvre Aphrodites, both of which represent the same severe and dignified feminine ideal in direct contrast to the sensual derivations of the Cnidian type,\textsuperscript{16} induce us to look for other works that might be attributed to the sculptor of the Anadyomene. The great and beautiful statue of Apollo from Cyrene now in the British Museum can, I think, be from the same hand. A close resemblance has been noted between this statue and the Venus de Milo,\textsuperscript{17} which would thus serve as a connecting link between the Apollo and the Anadyomene. Since the Aphrodite lacks any distinctive drapery, the attribution of the Apollo to the same sculptor is ever likely to remain hypothetical, but a careful examination of the originals has led me to see a close resemblance in the artistic inspiration of both statues; a considerable realism held in check by a striving after monumental grandeur. Again the relation of the Apollo to the works that preceded it is the same as that of the Aphrodite, a modification of a fourth-century original.\textsuperscript{18} Lastly, they are both approximately of the same date and from the same site, and are both the work of a great artist. The most recent excavations at the Temple of Apollo confirm Mr. Lethaby's supposition that the Apollo and the Venus de Milo are contemporary. The ancient fifth-

\textsuperscript{18} Notiziario, ii, p. 58 and Figs. 29, 30, where the statues are placed side by side.
\textsuperscript{11} Notiziario, ii, p. 60.
\textsuperscript{12} Although most authorities consider that the Graces were first represented naked in Hellenistic times (Frazer: Pausanias, vol. v, p. 170; Roscher: Lexicon, vol. i, p. 883), I can see no reason for supposing them later than the Cnidian Aphrodite, and Cyrene, 'o.tav Xapìa ofdas', would be among the first to possess a group in the new style.
\textsuperscript{14} By supposing the original painting to have been by Euphranor, Mariani's attractive theory, based on an admirable study of the style of the statue, might still be retained. See Boll. d'Arte, 1914, p. 184.
\textsuperscript{16} Furtwängler, Masterpieces, 384 ff.
\textsuperscript{17} Notiziario, ii, p. 27.
\textsuperscript{18} Mariani: Boll. d'Arte, 1914, p. 183.
century temple was destroyed by fire and rebuilt in a late Hellenistic epoch; therefore the middle of the second century B.C. is certainly a limit ante quem the statue could not have been executed.

Dare we go still further and ascribe to the same sculptor the original of the charming statuette of Aphrodite Euploia, also in the British Museum? The thick and somewhat massive legs and ankles and the conical and divergent breasts are noticeable in this as in the Anadyomene. It is true that the execution is very coarse, but the original statue of which this is a reduced copy might well be the work of our sculptor.

Besides the group of Graces mentioned above, another and larger group,

**Fig. 2.—Large Group of the Graces from the Thermae at Cyrene.**

fortunately in a remarkable state of preservation, was found in the Thermae (Fig. 2), and a third group has recently been found in an Iseum on the Acropolis (Fig. 1, a.) The three groups that have been recovered from 'the Hill of the Graces' have nothing in common except the subject, and are thus of considerable interest in furnishing three independent renderings of the same subject. The larger group derives, like the smaller, from a relief or painting, but the sculptor has taken more care in avoiding the unpleasant features that such copies usually present. The head of the central figure is in its natural position, while in a group that has just been discovered by Prof. Amelung in the *Magazzino* of the Vatican, and that much resembles our group, especially in the position of the arms, the head is turned in the same

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unnatural way as in the smaller group from the Thermae. The sculptor has
even gone so far as to alter the natural shape of the faces in order to correct
certain optical illusions to which the spectator is subject. The original of
this group is undoubtedly much later than that of the smaller one. In the
latter the figures are somewhat stiff and badly knitted together, they all
stand in exactly the same position, and are totally devoid of any movement,
either real or apparent. In the larger group, on the other hand, the sculptor
has successfully varied the attitudes of the three figures and linked them
together in an harmonious whole, skilfully suppressing as far as possible the
unsightly props. The original of the earlier group is, as I have said, of the
fourth century, while that of the later one presents all the characteristics of
advanced Hellenistic, or even Graeco-Roman, art. The third group is again
very different, inasmuch as it does not derive from any pictorial representa-
tions of the Graces, but has been formed by joining together three modified
copies of the Cnidian Aphrodite.

These three groups are sufficient to prove that no artist ever produced
a canonical representation of the Graces, such as Phidias made of Athena and
Praxiteles of Aphrodite. The subject lent itself to pictorial treatment, and
the earliest efforts were made in painting. In the fourth century there is a
genial tendency to represent the various goddesses naked, a tendency that
culminates in the Cnidian Aphrodite. This goddess was so intimately con-
ected with the Graces that all subsequent representations of the latter were
more or less directly influenced by the standard type of the former, which
would naturally form the basis of any directly sculptural attempt to represent
them. This actually occurs in the group from the Issus, the only replica
that has no painting as a model. The smaller group is a very accurate copy
of the original painting, for there is no attempt to disguise the defects which
become very noticeable in the round. Although the sculptor of the larger
group is far more skilful, we can get a very good idea of the painting which
he copied from two frescoes from Pompeii, which are almost contemporary
with the group. 22

It is not without much hesitation that I advance the theory alluded to
above about the early picture of the nude Graces, which served as a model
to the sculptors of the smaller group and the Aphrodite. Its approximate
date can easily be fixed; it is earlier than the Aphrodite of Cnidos, which is
usually dated about 350 B.C. 23 Had it been later its painter could not have
remained so completely indifferent to its influence, which can even be traced
in the eclectic later groups and paintings. On the contrary, the propor-
tions of the figures, both in the group and in its derivative the Aphrodite, are
very peculiar; the severity so characteristic of the Peloponnesian school with a
lengthening of the arms and legs. The only head preserved, that of the
central Grace, 24 is of considerable size in comparison to the body, and, although
of very poor workmanship, slightly resembles the well-known head in Munich

21 Notices, ii. p. 73 and Figs. 35, 36.
22 Denkmaler der Malerei, Plates XLIX.-L.
24 I am regretfully obliged to contradict
the rumour that the head of the Aphrodite
has been found.
which certainly belongs to a non-Praxitelean conservative school of the fourth century. The legs are long, and the knees and ankles singularly defective. All this agrees perfectly with the little we know of the style of Euphranor, who was the connecting link between Polyclitus and Lysippus. We must remember that he was a Corinthian by birth, and that there must have been active intercourse between Corinth and Cyrene, both Doric cities. The beginning of Euphranor’s activity may be placed shortly after the hundredth Olympiad (380 n.c.), and I would attribute the picture of the Graces to the earlier part of his career, before he went to Athens. A youthful work of this artist of second rank could easily have been forgotten in the days of Pliny, especially as it was in a decaying city of N. Africa. The fact that an artist who could sculpture the Aphrodite took the painting as a model proves that it must have been from some celebrated hand. Euphranor may well have been induced to represent his Graces naked as a contrast to those, probably clothed, with which his great predecessor, Polyclitus, had decorated the crown of the Argive Hera. Since we are in almost complete darkness regarding this sculptor and painter, no attribution can claim to be more than a very tentative hypothesis, but I think that the original of the Graces and of the Anadyomene is much closer to Pliny’s description of his style than many of the somewhat fantastic and self-contradictory attributions of Furtwaengler.

The central niche in the great hall of the Thermes was occupied by a colossal statue of Alexander the Great which has been recovered in a nearly perfect condition (Plate XVII., 1). The king is leaning on the lance and is represented as one of the Dioscuri, as is shown by the horse’s head at his feet. The back of his head was originally covered with a bronze pilos and the right hand should be restored as holding a sword. The head is an extraordinarily fine portrait of the monarch, and takes its place midway between the realistic Azara head in the Louvre and the much exaggerated later portraits, such as the one in the British Museum. It presents all the characteristics enumerated in the descriptions of the famous statue by Lysippus of Alexander with the lance. On the other hand, the body bears almost throughout the distinctive character of the Polyclitan school with the solitary exception of the knees, where some traces may be seen of Lysippean influence. Although the right leg is bent and drawn slightly backwards, the position is more like the Doryphoros than the Apoxyomenus: there is no trace of that restless movement so characteristic of Lysippus and especially noticeable in the bronze statuette in the Louvre, usually supposed to be a copy of the statue by Lysippus.

I am absolutely unable to see any relation whatsoever, except in the subject,
between the Cyrene statue and this bronze, although Dr. Ghislazoni goes so far as to consider them both copies of the same original. The rhythm in the two statues is entirely different, as can be seen even in the drawings on which Dr. Ghislazoni bases his theory. My opinion has been further strengthened by a recent inspection of the Louvre bronze. As to the head, it is obviously impossible to institute any comparisons between a much-corroded statuette a few inches high and a marble statue over life size.

The dating of this statue presents considerable difficulty. Dr. Ghislazoni claims it for the age of Hadrian mainly on account of the use of the drill in the working of the hair. This element does not seem to me sufficient to bring it down to such a late date. The use of the drill is to be found in many Hellenistic statues; it can even be noticed about the feet and toes of the Aphrodite Anadyomene. The mixture of Polycletian and Lysippian elements is often to be found in Hellenistic sculpture and is also visible in the Aphrodite. The * σφυματο* noticed even by Dr. Ghislazoni is the characteristic mark of the school of Alexandria, and would hardly have been so pronounced in the second century A.D. It seems unlikely that Alexander would be taken to represent a Dioscurus in Hadrian’s time, when the intended flattery would be meaningless, but it would be quite intelligible in the Ptolemaic period. Finally, the statue bears considerable traces of ancient repairs. Now if we accept, as we have every reason to do, Dr. Ghislazoni’s own theory about these repairs, they prove that the statue must have been at Cyrene before the inscription of A.D. 116, that is, before the time of Hadrian. We may therefore consider the statue an original product of the late Ptolemaic period, only indirectly, and in its general motive, influenced by the statue of Lysippus.

In connection with the statue of Alexander should be studied the colossal statue of Zeus * αἰγίαγος* that has been discovered in a temple near the * ἀγορά* (Plate XVIII., 1). The statue was found lying in front of a large base that bears a long dedicatory inscription to the Emperors Hadrian and Antoninus Pius.

Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι, Θεοῦ Τραίανοῦ Παρθικοῦ
νῦν, Θεοῦ Νεόραυ διάνου, Τραίανοὶ Ἀδριανὸς Σεβαστ[φ],
αὐτοκράτορι τῷ Βεβραίῳ, χαριτωμένῳ, ἐπαρχίᾳ,
καὶ τίτλῳ, και αὐτοκράτορι Τίτῳ Αὐτοκράτορι,
τῷ Αὐτοκράτωρι, ἀναμνήσθω διὰ τοῦ ἀναμνήσθω
καὶ ἀναμμανθίνω.

The titles of Hadrian fix the date of the inscription between the 25th of February and the 10th of July, A.D. 138.

This temple had already been partly explored in 1861 by Smith and Porcher, who found there a headless statue of Athena and another headless female statue. The indications given in the text of *Discoveries at Cyrene* (p. 75) are

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23 Notiziario, ii. p. 119 and Figs. 33, 64.  23 Ghislazoni: Notiziario, ii. pp. 194-216.
not very precise, but a careful study of Smith's reports to Panissi and Newton has convinced me that they were undoubtedly found in this temple. I intend to discuss these two statues in detail in a forthcoming volume of the Notizario. We may therefore consider all three of them decorations of this temple, which was probably dedicated to the Capitoline Triad. Dr. Ghislazoni notices a very strong resemblance between the Zeus and the Alexander, and, notwithstanding the numerous analogies that he himself observes with Hellenistic sculpture, assigns it to the age of Hadrian and confidently identifies it with the statues mentioned in the inscription. I do not think this theory can be maintained. In the first place, the inscription on the base has nothing to do with the statues that stood on it. The καὶ ἐγὼ ἀμφισβήμασιν in the last line means that the city had been decorated by Hadrian 'and also' with statues. Had they meant the actual statues in the temple and on the base they would have said so. In fact the inscription seems to me to prove decisively that other statues are intended, and in any case laudatory inscriptions should always be taken cum grano salis, especially in Africa. Then this identification is disproved by the statues themselves. The Athena in the British Museum (Plate XVIII, 2) is undoubtedly an original of late Hellenistic times. It has considerable affinity, for instance, with a statue in the Capitol, which is usually attributed to the school of Pergamon. Thus in any case one of the statues that stood on the base is much more ancient than Hadrian, and therefore that part of the argument that founds itself on the inscription falls to the ground. There remains the part founded on the alleged late style of the Zeus. Now the aegis of the Athena closely resembles that of the Zeus. The gorgon's are practically identical and both the aegides are fringed with little serpents in exactly the same way. In the British Museum statues they have all been broken off, but have left clear traces. They are, however, present in a replica of the statue at Newby Hall. Even the technical treatment of the hair is the same. Then, again, the attitudes of the two statues are very similar and are both the same development of the Polycletian type, in which the forward motion is only apparent and not real. The right hip is thrust forward in a very pronounced manner, and the position of the right arm was the same in both. It was supported at the elbow by a large prop, which is still preserved in the Zeus, and has left an unsightly mark on the Athena. The right hand of the Zeus holds a thunderbolt, in the Newby Hall copy Athena holds an owl. The way the swan’s is thrown over Athena’s left shoulder is exactly similar to the position of the aegis of Zeus. Athena must certainly have held a spear in her left hand, and, when complete, must have presented much the same appearance as the Zeus, so much so as to make me believe that they might

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87 Catalogue, ii. p. 255 n., 1479. It is in the Graeco-Roman basement. I publish a photograph of it as a sample of the fine sculpture from Cyrene which is in the British Museum.


89 Clarac, Plate 482a, 888o-Boichac, 228. Michaelis: Ancient Marbles, p. 529 n. 22. I must thank Miss Hatton for obtaining, and Lady Alwyne Compton-Vyne for granting, permission to photograph this statue. It will be published in the Notizario.

90 C. Anti: Bulletin d'Arta, 1929, p. 75.
both be from the same hand. The resemblance noticed by Dr. Ghisalzoni to the
Alexander really supports my thesis, for we have seen that the latter statue is a work of the Hellenistic period.

But does the Zeus resemble the Alexander? Dr. Ghisalzoni says that it is so marked that both statues must come from the same workshop. I must confess that, after a careful examination of the statues themselves, I am quite unable to see it. In the Zeus all the muscles are tremendously emphasized in comparison with the Alexander. Especially noticeable is the little triangle of fat between the two pectoral muscles and the great and somewhat unpleasant prominence of the lower part of the abdomen from the navel to the pubes. The fleshy masses of the trunk and the segments of the rectus abdominis are very exaggerated, in contrast with the refined and somewhat flat treatment of this part of the body in the Alexander. The same can be said of the intercostal spaces and the prominent serratus magnus. Even the hair, which is always for Dr. Ghisalzoni the most important characteristic, is very different in the two statues. The curls of Zeus are quite different from the locks of Alexander. A definite proof can be found in the treatment of the public hair, which in the Zeus is in little curls and in the Alexander in tufts.

But all this does not mean that the Zeus is Hadrianic, only that it is later than the Alexander. We know enough about the state of art at Cyrene under Hadrian to say definitely that no such work could have been produced there at that time. For example, the statue of Hadrian in the British Museum 41 which, as the recent excavations show, decorated the temple dedicated to him near the Temple of Apollo, is a very inferior work. It is not even all of one piece, but the head has simply been inserted onto a trunk. Surely for the cult image of their emperor and benefactor the Cyrenaeans exerted themselves to the utmost, and we may consider that statue as the best that could be produced. And Dr. Ghisalzoni asks us to believe that the Zeus is contemporary!

Finally, we must examine what has been supposed to be the signature of the sculptor of the Zeus. On one of the sides of the great base that supported the three statues there is cut the name Zephyrius Zephyrius. This name has been placed by Professor Mariani in connexion with the names of sculptors of the school of Aphrodisias, who flourished under the reign of Hadrian. 42 If we are to refer this name to the statues that stood on the base we must refer it to all of them: all three must be the work of this Zenion. But the other statue in the British Museum 43 is certainly a Roman work. It very probably represents a lady of the imperial house, and its place as Juno in the Triad may be due to a piece of gross flattery. It is quite possible that the lady thus honoured is Sabina. 44

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42 Mariani, ii. p. 216 and note.  
43 Catalogue, ii. p. 258 n. 1478. It is at the bottom of the staircase of the King Edward VII's Galleries. My thanks are due to Mr. A. H. Smith for leave to have this and the Athena statue photographed and for a great deal of help in my work.  
44 It bears a close resemblance to the statues in the Loggia dei Lanari in Florence. Dutcher, 380. An undoubted portrait of Sabina in the National Museum in Rome has the mantle drawn over the head in the same way. Pauly: Reallexicon (3rd ed.) n. 587.
A fragment of the head of this statue was found during the excavations of the temple. It agrees both in marble, technique, and size with the British Museum statue. All its traits show that it is a portrait, especially the nose and the fat throat. The fragment is far too small to allow me to identify it with any certainty, but it certainly does not exclude the possibility of its representing Sabina. In fact it seems to me to resemble considerably her profile on the coins.

In any case a comparison between this certainly Roman, and possibly Hadrianic, work and the Athena and the Zeus is all that is required to prove that the two latter must be of an entirely different period. Thus the artist who made the one could not have made the others, and the name on the pedestal belongs perhaps to the actual workman who built it.

The statue of the Athena, however, cannot have been intended by the sculptor to stand with the Zeus. The attitudes are so much alike that together they must have presented an unpleasant parallel effect. My own theory is that when the temple of the Capitoline Triad was built or extensively restored by Hadrian, the people of Cyrene took as cult images a Zeus and an Athena of the same late Hellenistic sculptor which stood in different buildings in Cyrene but were both of suitable size. Even after the insurrection there must have been a superabundance of statues in the city. Hadrian was probably content to restore and distribute them anew among the principal buildings. Naturally a certain number of portrait statues of the Imperial family would be erected by the grateful population, but bringing sculpture on a large scale to the cities of North Africa was like carrying coals to Newcastle. To complete the Triad they executed a statue of Sabina and dedicated the whole to the glory of the Emperor who had shown such signal interest in their welfare.

Of entirely different character but of the same age is the statue of a Satyr carrying the infant Dionysus. The subject makes one think at once of the Hermes of Praxiteles, but there is a complete difference in style. The movement is most characteristically Lysippian; compare it with the Louvre bronze mentioned above, which has almost identically the same motion. Yet this motion is more apparent than real; it is the motion in repose created by Lysippus which influences all Hellenistic art. We shall not be far wrong in attributing the creation of this type to a modification of the Hermes or of some similar statue of Praxiteles by a Hellenistic sculptor very much under the influence of Lysippus. The statue is also noteworthy on account of the considerable traces of red colour on the prop and panther-skin. The sculptures from Cyrene have fortunately preserved to a remarkable extent their polychromy, and a statuette of an oriental divinity recently found in the Iseum is more perfect in this respect than any other statue I know of. The overturned vase upon which the panther rests its paw is pierced, and it must therefore have decorated a flow of water in the Thermae. But the statue was executed a considerable time before Hadrian, and the question therefore arises whether it belonged to the Hellenistic building repaired by that Emperor or whether it was taken from another part of the city altogether. We have not

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got, at present, sufficient data to warrant an answer, but I take the opportunity to point out that the Aphrodite was also used in the Thermae as a fountain decoration. The shape of the base is Roman and is due to an alteration of the original one in order to make it fit a niche.

The discovery in the Thermae of a fine replica of the well-known statue of Eros binding the bow (Plate XVII, 2; Fig. 3) \(^{47}\) raises some interesting problems of Greek art and antiquities. I feel quite justified in examining it at some length, as it has usually been attributed to Lysippus, whom we may well consider the founder of Hellenistic sculpture. The principal value of this new copy lies in its very perfect state of preservation, which allows us

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**Fig. 2.—** EROS STRONGING HIS BOW, FROM THE THERMAE AT CYRINUS.

**Fig. 4.—** THE CAPITOLINE EROS.

to restore the exact position of the bow. In the Capitoline copy (Fig. 4), which has been usually considered the best, the restorer has made Eros string his bow by drawing it towards himself with the left hand, while forcing the two ends nearer together, the upper end with the right hand, the lower by pressing it against the right thigh. This restoration has been supported in general by the evidence of two gems \(^{48}\) and of traces of the end of the bow on various replicas. \(^{49}\) This restoration is impossible, both on physical and monumental grounds. How could Eros, unless he had a third hand, get the bow-string into the notch? Such a position is only possible with a straight

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\(^{48}\) Furtwängler: Die antiken Gemmen, Maclian: Gazette des Beaux Arts, 1918, Plates XIV, 9; XLIII, 80.

\(^{49}\) Capitolina Catalogue, p. 87; Hélwing: Führer, 3rd ed., i. p. 496.
bow. The famous English long-bow was strung by one extremity being placed on the ground against the foot, and when the bow was bent by the pulling of the left hand, the right, holding the bow-string, slipped along the upper extremity till it reached the notch. But the ordinary Greek bow was not straight. The usual epithet for a bow is παλίς-τορος, which can only apply to the Scythian bow whose extremities curved away from the archer, and which is the weapon placed by the restorer in the hands of the Capitoline Eros. In the copy from Cyrene the lower end of the bow is preserved; it passes behind the right thigh and its extremity is curved right up against the left leg. This makes everything clear. The right hand alone holds the upper end of the bow, the left is pulling at the bow-string; the bow is being bent chiefly by the pressure of the legs, the right one pressing down and the left up, while the hands tend to unite. This position is entirely confirmed by the few representations we have of people stringing bows. In the well-known Naples vase a youth is bending a bow by pressing his knee on it, but it is uncertain whether he wants to string it or merely render it more supple. But no doubt is possible in connexion with the figures on a vase in the Louvre and on a silver vessel from the Crimea (Fig. 5). Here the position is identical with that of the Cyrene Eros, and we must infer that in antiquity this was the usual way of stringing the bow. How, then, was the Capitoline type created?

If we imagine the Cyrene copy restored we can see that the bow would not present a very satisfactory appearance to a spectator who faced the statue squarely. He would see it, so to speak, from the inside and in perspective, the bow-string and the bow forming two almost coinciding straight lines. This seems to prove that the statue is not designed to be seen from this point of view, but rather that it should be seen from the side, when the spectator would look on the god full-face. Eros, then, from this point of view would appear to be preparing to shoot the spectator himself, and they would thus be brought into the most direct and intimate relationship, while from the front the statue presents exactly the same defect as the group of the Tyrannicides; it is not self-contained, but must be completed by the addition of an imaginary mark at which the god is preparing to aim. The position I have suggested is the one mentioned by Ovid, who almost certainly had the original of our statue in his mind as he wrote:

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56 Durenb erg and Saglio, sub voce Arcus.
57 Jaffé on Tuckince, v. 511.
59 Durenb erg and Saglio, Dictionnaire, i. p. 389, Fig. 472.
61 Lobin: La sculpture attique avant Phidias, p. 448.
This is almost a description of our statue and of the effect it was designed to produce. It adds an interesting detail for the restoration of the original. While the tree-trunk is an addition of the copyist, the quiver, 'pharetra soluta,' was certainly present in the bronze original, perhaps lying on the ground, whence it was taken to disguise the prop in the marble copies. But to return to the study of the development of the type. The great popularity of the original inspired at once a host of reproductions, and, since we find it on gems, we can be certain that it was copied in paintings. In pictorial art, however, the reproduction of the Eros in what I believe to be the correct position is of considerable difficulty. Drawing, far more than sculpture in the round, tends to present figures in their broadest aspect, and I think we may confidently attribute to painters and to the necessities of their technique the alteration of the position of the statue from the lateral to the more traditional frontal, a position which, as there would be no need of foreshortening, was far easier and more satisfactory. From the usual point of view the statue has almost the appearance of an archaic relief in which the head is in profile, the torso full-face, and the legs inclining again to the profile. Moreover, in this position it takes up much more room—no trifling consideration for an artist who had to decorate large expanses of wall-surface. The bow, however, was a great obstacle to painting the statue in this position, for of course it would not be seen in its broadest aspect. In the two examples I have given above in which the stringing of the bow is correctly shown, the artist has quite arbitrarily drawn the bow in profile. Such an ingenious way out of the difficulty is not to be thought of for artists of the Hellenistic age, so the only thing to do was to alter the entire movement of the statue and make Eros string the bow in quite a different fashion, possibly the way to string the long straight bow, uncommon but not unknown in antiquity. Neither the Greeks nor the Romans were archers, and they were probably just as unfamiliar as we are with the niceties of toxophily. These pictorial copies, on their part, influenced in course of time sculpture in the round, and insensibly the original point of view was lost and the more easily copied frontal aspect became predominant. The great interdependence between sculpture and painting can never be sufficiently emphasised, especially in the Hellenistic age.

Let us now see what value these brief observations have for determining the style of the statue. It has been up till now almost universally attributed to Lysippos, but recently Prof. Ameiung has, on a pretended analogy with the portrait of Menander, given it to Kephisosotos and Timarchos, the sons of Praxiteles, and Dr. Ghislanzoni thinks that the statue from Cyrena supports

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HELENISTIC SCULPTURE FROM CYRENE

this theory.[59] Prof. Mariani, on the other hand, still clings to the older attribution, and I am firmly convinced that this is the correct view. If the restorations I have outlined above are carefully considered, the figure of Eros obtains a degree of movement that could only have been thought out by Lysippus. The arms and legs are all in varied and contrary motion, and the play of the muscles, "Muskelspiel,"[60] the real characteristic of the master, becomes remarkably emphasised. Seen in what I believe to be the correct position, it acquires more markedly than any other statue the tridimensionality which Lysippus first introduced into Greek sculpture. Loewy described the Eros as the Apoxyomenus seen sideways[61]: seen from the correct angle it becomes almost identical with the Apoxyomenus not only in rhythm but also in position. The right shoulder is advanced in the same way as in the so-called Jason in the Louvre. Even if we admit the traces of Attic influence in the head, this is no reason for rejecting the Lysippian character of the whole. Those critics who consider both the Agias and the Apoxyomenus the work of the same master[62] have much more to explain: Finally, the great popularity of the Eros (there must be now some forty copies in existence) is sufficient evidence that the original cannot have been by the sons of Praxiteles, or else Pliny[63] would hardly have failed to mention it. Moreover, Pliny considers them as essentially sculptors in marble, while there is no need to enumerate all the reasons that prove the original of the Eros to have been in bronze.

The new statue from Cyrene is a remarkably accurate copy. Not only has it preserved unaltered the original position, but its technical execution shows, especially in the treatment of the hair, a careful copying from bronze. But this general excellency is marred by the removal of the wings, which are present in all other replicas. The artist has not stopped here, but has thickened the dorsal muscles to such an extent that the back is quite deformed. This proves that the copy is an accurate one, for the copyist was no real artist, but merely a marble cutter who, had he departed from his model in any other particular, could not have produced such a pleasing work. The reason the wings were removed is probably that the copy was meant to stand against a wall, and we may therefore suppose that in the original they were not spread out as far as in the Capitoline type, but were much closer together.

Is the Eros with the bow a copy of the famous statue by Lysippus which stood in Thespiae? This is a far more difficult problem. The only positive evidence in its favour is its great popularity. If the Eros in Naples is a copy of the statue of Praxiteles,[64] we might consider the Eros with the bow to have been executed almost in emulation. It represents the Eros of Naples in action; the motive of the bow places him in more direct connexion with the spectator, but since the former attribution is very hypothetical, the latter must remain still more so.

In this paper I have no space in which to notice many other discoveries.

[61] Zu Scultura Greca, p. 112.
of interest, but I hope the few I have described are sufficient to make the English archaeological public realise the great importance of the excavations in Libya. In the exploration of this region Englishmen in the past have taken an honourable place, and it is much to be regretted that the results of Smith and Porcher's excavations at Cyrene in 1860 have received so little attention from archaeologists. Over a hundred statues from this site are now in the British Museum, many of them of great merit, and yet they are nearly all unknown. Perhaps when they alone represented Cyrenean art this indifference could be excused, but now that a regular archaeological exploration of the region has begun they acquire a far greater value. The sculpture from Cyrene should be studied as one indissoluble whole; only thus will we be able to understand the artistic activity of this remote Greek colony. The rise, greatness and fall of ancient civilisation in Africa is a subject of equal interest to the archaeologist, to the historian, and to the philosopher.

GILBERT BAGNANI.

Rome, 1921.
ON A MINOAN BRONZE GROUP OF A GALLOPING BULL AND ACROBATIC FIGURE FROM CRETE.

WITH GLYPTIC COMPARISONS AND A NOTE ON THE OXFORD RELIEF SHOWING THE TAUKATHAPSIA.

Thanks to the kindness of its owner, Captain E. G. Spencer-Churchill, I am able to describe a remarkable Minoan bronze object found in Crete, in the shape of a galloping bull with an acrobatic figure turning a back somersault over his back, both modelled in the round. Views of the group as seen in its original state from the front and side are given in Figs. 1 and 2.

The length of the bull at full stretch is 0.156 m., and the height of the group is 0.144 m. Beneath the forehead of the animal is a metal attachment of angular form, upright in front. It must in some way have served the same purpose of holding the bronze in position as the tongs or nail-like projections visible in the case of many figurines of the votive class. The bull may have been held in some kind of framework, and it is probable that the hind-legs were fixed in a similar way.

The high action and skilful modelling of this animal is altogether unique among the relics of Minoan metallurgical craft. The bronze bulls and other animals frequent in the votive deposits of the Cretan caves, from the closing Middle Minoan Period onwards, are uniformly represented in a standing position, and cannot compare with the present example for excellence of execution. At the epoch when this object was made it is clear that the art of bronze casting was already very far advanced, indeed the casting of the acrobatic figure above in one piece with

FIG. 1.—FRONT VIEW OF GROUP.
the bull must be regarded as a real tour de force of the early metal-worker’s craft. The figure itself is attached to the animal both by the feet and by the long tresses of his hair, which are drawn together into a kind of pigtail for the purpose.

Though, as is noted below, the arrangement has been simplified by the stumping off of the acrobat’s fore-arms, it is still so complicated that we must suppose that the whole group had been first very carefully modelled in some plastic material, such as wax. The bronze is not hollow as in the later cire perdu process; on the other hand, there is no trace of a joint such as is often left by a double mould. The surface, as is usual in Minoan bronze figures, is somewhat rough and certain features lack definition.

The full stretch of the bull’s legs conforms to the ‘flying gallop’ scheme.  

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Fig. 3.—2. Galloping Bull and Acrobatic Figure on Tyrrhenian Fresco.  

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very characteristic of painted representations of this class, and of which we have examples in the fresco panels of the Knossian Palace and at Tiryns (Fig. 3a). It is well illustrated by a bull on one of the Vapheio cups. It is also frequent on seals and seal-impressions exhibiting such subjects. This ‘flying gallop,’ as I have elsewhere shown, was already a feature of Cretan Art by the close of the Second Middle Minoan Period. In Egypt, however, it only comes into vogue, in the wake apparently of Minoan influences, under the New Empire. 3

That this was in fact regarded as the typically sacred attitude is shown by the small figures of bulls borne by ministrants as offerings to the departed on the Hagia Triada sarcophagus (Fig. 3b), which, as Dr. Paribeni has well observed, are simply copies of the standard Minoan type of galloping bull

on the frescoes. 4 For sacrificial victims borne in the hands of votaries such an attitude is in itself quite out of place.

As is so generally the case in such Minoan representations, the human figure performing the acrobatic feat—marvellous as that feat seems to us—is from the artist’s point of view a secondary consideration. The sacred animal—for such he must be regarded—is, as usual, rendered on a proportionately larger scale and in a grander manner.

The small human figure itself (see Fig. 4 a, b, c) apart from the conventional attenuation of the waist, is, however, finely executed and even the features of the face, though abnormally diminutive and incompletely brought out by the casting, were carefully rendered by the artist. The sinewy development of form, due to athletic training, is also well indicated. As is often the case with Minoan figures, the legs are disproportionately long, and measure from the sole

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5 See loc. cit.
to the waist-band 62 mm. as compared with 45 for the upper part of the body. The lower parts of the legs from the knee to the ankle are wanting.

It must, however, be observed, that, mainly, no doubt, owing to the limitations of metal technique—still far from mature—the freedom of execution in this case does not by any means attain to the fine visible in the leaping youth from the Ivory Deposit at Knossos, which must be regarded as a more or less contemporary work.

As to the male sex of the figure there can be little doubt, though, so far as these facts of the Minoan taurokathapsia in its various aspects were concerned, the performers seem to have been, almost indifferently, of either sex. On the best preserved of the fresco panels from Knossos a girl, distinguished by her white skin, is seen seizing the horns, while a youth, coloured red according to the invariable convention, turns a back somersault over the bull's back, and a second girl behind seems to be about to catch him. On what must be regarded as the most artistic fragment of these frescoes we again see a female figure, as well as on a fragment of a miniature group from the Queen's Megaron. The figure, moreover, seizing the bull's horns on the Tiryns fresco, from its pale colour must unquestionably be recognised as a girl. In these cases the drapery round the waist of the female performers, in all its arrangements, even in the indications of the sheathed member, is made to conform with the male fashion. The coiffure, too, of the young performers of both sexes, with its side locks and flowing tresses behind, at first sight leaves little to choose. At the same time the regular arrangement of small curls over the forehead, such as is seen, for instance, in the case of some of the Knossian figures, may be regarded as a female characteristic. Otherwise the slim athletic bodies of the two sexes present few points of difference, a female breast, however, being clearly rendered in the case of the hindmost figure in the Knossian panel referred to above.

In the designs of similar figures to be found in metal-work and on a numerous series of seal-types, where we have no colour conventions to guide us, the difficulty in distinguishing the sex of the performers becomes much greater. It appears certain, however, that the figure clinging to the bull's horns in the scene on one of the Vapheio cups is that of a girl. Compared with that of the cowboy falling beneath the animal, not only is a certain pectoral development manifest, but the tresses of the hair are much more luxuriant, and here, too, we remark the characteristic row of short curls across the forehead. In the case of the youth the flowing tresses behind are replaced by a single pigtail.

There is a kind of bunched forelock in the bronze figure of the present group, but there is no trace of the formally arranged curls. About the arrangement of the hair behind there is nothing distinctive, two main side-locks are traceable, and the whole is drawn together with the technical object of affording an attachment to the top of the bull's head. The chest is male, the pectoral muscles themselves showing only a slight development. Altogether we are bound to conclude that the figure in this case is that of a youth.

The girdle is rather broad, and the drapery about the loins with the flap behind, just covering the buttocks, conforms to that of the figures on the Knossian scenes referred to and of the Vapheio cups. The costume, in other words, answers to that in vogue in the First Late Minoan Period among those who took part in such sports.

At one point indeed, as already observed, the craftsman's resources altogether failed him. The requirements of plastic art in the round made it necessary to find the support for the upper as well as the lower part of the figure in the acrobatic position in which the artist caught it, and this, as we have seen, was obtained by bunching together the hair so as to form a kind of stem rising in one piece from the bull's head. This expedient was resorted to in order to give a second support to the revolving figure of the boy, since it is necessary to suppose that his hands had already released their hold of the bull's horns, and that the arms could not therefore be legitimately used for attachment.

At the same time the arms, with a backward direction after losing contact with the bull's head, would have crossed the line of the connecting stem formed by the youth's hair, and this complication of the design was clearly beyond the artificer's powers. He therefore solved the difficulty by stumping off the arms at the elbows.

The point in the acrobat's course which the bronze group aims at illustrating may be best understood by means of the annexed diagrammatic sketch (Fig. 5).

(1) Shows the charging bull seized by the horns near their tips.
(2) The bull has raised his head in the endeavour to toss his assailant, and at the same time gives an impetus to the turning figure.
(3) The acrobat has released his grip of the horns, and after completing a back somersault has landed with his feet on the hinder part of the bull's back. This is the moment in the performance of which a representation is attempted in the bronze group, but the upper part of the body is there drawn much further back and dangerously near the bull's head, owing to the technical necessity of using the bunched locks of hair as a support.

In (4) he makes a final leap from the hind-quarters of the bull—a most difficult feat, as he would naturally be thrown violently forward. This part of the performance, indeed, would have been so likely to cause broken limbs that it seems to have been usual to station an attendant to catch the leaping acrobat and thus arrest his fall.

On the best preserved of the Knossian panels a female figure is seen about to catch the youth, who is turning a back somersault from the bull's back, and essentially the same arrangement occurs on a remarkable agate lentoid recently published by Mr. F. N. Pryce (J.R.S., xii. Pt. I. Pl. I.; and cf. p. 88).

A curious little knob is visible on the right side of the figure. It is possibly an indication of a loop such as those on the sides of the girdle seen in the case of the Micon bronze statuette in the British Museum

Executed, in accordance with my suggestions, by Mr. Theodore Fyle, F.R.I.H.A.
from the Peloponnesse. It is also illustrated, moreover, by a clay seal impression from the Temple Repositories at Knossos in connexion with an acrobatic performance more nearly corresponding with that of which we see the penultimate phase in the bronze group (Fig. 6). In this representation the acrobatic figure, the position of which is somewhat affected by the amount of field available on the signet, is performing a back somersault over the bull's head, and may have been intended to alight on its hind-quarters in the same way as in the bronze group, previous to his final leap into the arms of the attendant. It is possible, however, that in this case the intermediate position of rest was omitted, and the acrobat landed without a break after his release from the bull's horns. This, at any rate, he seems to have done in a scene on another seal impression from the Knossian Palace (Fig. 7). It is noteworthy that both these seal-impessions occurred in deposits dating from the close of the Third Middle Minoan Period (M.M. III. b.).

The nearest approach to the actual attitude of the youthful performer

in the bronze group is supplied by a clay impression, of approximately the same date as the others, from the Zakro Hoard (Fig. 8), though here again we must allow for a certain lowering of the upper part of the performer’s body due to space conditions of the gem, in this case apparently a lentoid. As I have shown elsewhere, this representation belongs to an interesting series in which a record is preserved of the ‘triple gradation’ such as that which supported the painted reliefs on the walls of the Great East Hall at Knossos. In this case the globules below give a further architectonic indication of a dado border, either with round coloured disks reminiscent of the beam ends beneath an architrave, or of their decorative equivalent, the linked spirals, such as are fully shown on some Minoan gem types. These

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8 See Palace of Minos, Vol. II. The gem is in my own collection.

9 See Palace of Minos, Vol. I. p. 694, Fig. 514.

10 From a hoard of sealings found by the entrance of the Corridor of the Bays. Op. cit. I. p. 696, Fig. 504. d.

11 See op. cit. p. 685, Fig. 504 a. This impression has been re-drawn for me from a cast kindly supplied by Dr. Hogarth. In the original publication, owing to a misinterpretation of the acrobat’s arm, the animal had been described as a goat.

features are of great interest as indicating that the scheme, of which we have a small version executed in the round in the bronze group, belongs to a class of painted reliefs that had, as we know, already appeared on the Palace walls of Knossos in the last Middle Minoan Period.

It will be seen that the bronze group with which we are at present concerned, and the representations of the seal-types and painted stucco panels above described, belong to a special branch of the Minoan taurokathapsia, to be distinguished from that which concerned itself with the capture by trained 'cowboys' of either sex, of wild or half-wild bulls in the open. We have here to do with much more artificial performances, which clearly took place in some 'arena' prepared for the purpose. The course of the bull in these cases can only be conceived in an area of round or oval shape enclosed by barriers. What we witness, in fact, are the feats of the Circus, performed in honour of the great Minoan Goddess, and doubtless overlooked by her pillar shrine, such as we see it in the Knossian Miniature Fresco. That on either side of this were grand stands crowded with spectators, appears, moreover, not only from the fresco panel but from the introduction of the characteristic pillars of these stands between representations of scenes of the taurokathapsia on steatite rhytons.13

It further appears that the remarkable painted stucco fragment found by Schliemann in the area of the tomb circle at Mycenae, in which women are seen looking out from a sanctuary window—connected, as we now know, with the cult of the Double Axe—stood in relation to a spectacle of the same kind.14 With it, in fact, was found another fragment in the same semi-miniature style, showing part of the back of a bull with the hands of a turning acrobatic figure above its back.15

Another interesting conclusion may be drawn from the characteristic incident of the tumbler caught by the figure who emerges at the critical moment with outstretched arms. It is evident that such immediate aid, necessary in these cases to avoid broken limbs, could only have been given if a relay of 'catchers' had been set at close intervals, possibly in some recesses arranged for the purpose along the borders of the course.

The acrobat, however, may not always have been caught in this manner. One of the Knossian frescoes referred to shows a youth springing down behind the bull with his right arm thrown back and the left forward, almost touching the border of the panel on that side, without any sign of another performer ready to catch him. So, too, on another very beautifully executed fragment we see an alighting female figure by herself in a somewhat similar attitude. The border of the panel is not shown, however, in this instance, and it cannot be regarded as certain in either case that no trained assistance was rendered.

13 See op. cit. p. 688, seqq. 14 See pl. IX. (ed. Palace of Minos, i. p. 344, Rodenwaldt, Ath. Mitt. xxxvi. 1911. Fig. 320.) 15 Ibid.
It is noteworthy that in the two representations of the Knossian fresco panels in which a female "taureador" is seen grappling the horns of the charging bull, the action seems to be performed by a dash from the side—indeed it is difficult to see how anyone standing in the direct course of the animal could avoid injury.

To the same group with these Circus scenes,—at least as regards the artificial arrangement of the surroundings,—must be referred the remarkable "tour de force," illustrated by a gem, of a small acrobatic figure springing down from some coign of vantage to grapple the head of a bull while he is engaged in drinking at a high square basin. The palatial connexions of this scene are well brought out by the remarkable fact that the decoration of the tank, consisting of a lattice-work square with diagonals, corresponds with that of the painted stucco preserved on two recesses on either side of the North entrance of the Central Court at Phaestos. 16

The actual enclosure of the Circus round which the bulls ran in the usual type of those "Corridas," may well have been, as generally in Spain and Southern France to-day, a wooden palisade. In that case it is hardly probable that the actual remains of such will come to light.

That these artificial sports of the "bull-ring" standing in a sacred connexion go back in Crete at least to the beginning of the Middle Minoan Age, is made probable by the subject of two M.M. I. rytons in the form of a bull found in the early ossuary tombs of Messara. There we see three small acrobatic figures clinging to a bull's head and horns in a symmetrical manner more suggestive of Circus performances than of the grappling of the wild animal. 17 It appears indeed from a cylinder impression on a sealed clay envelope from Cappadocia, dated by Sayce at about 2400 B.C., that sports of a similar nature had existed at a still earlier epoch on that side. A bull is there seen kneeling, with a throne-like structure on his back. A man appears in front, with his face on the ground and feet in the air, falling on his left arm and with his right stretched out backwards, while to the right is a man standing on his head.

One fact that is clearly brought out by the bull rhyton with the acrobatic figures is, that by the epoch to which it belongs, that is c. 2000 B.C., the long-horned Urus breed of cattle was already introduced into Crete. The earlier indigenous class, a form of shorthorn, Bos Creticus of Boyd Dawkins, was indeed not well adapted for such a form of sport.

The Urus, or Bos primigenius, is the characteristic wild ox of prehistoric Europe. But its range certainly extended over a large Western Asiatic tract. Varro speaks of wild bulls in the Troad in the first century B.C. 18 Already in the Sumerian period, moreover, as appears from the copper bulls' heads of Tello and other evidence, it was found on the Mesopotamian plains. The struggles of Gilgamesh and Ea-Bani, as seen on early cylinders, are, in fact,

16 See in this Palace of Minos, i. p. 377 and Fig. 374.
17 Palace of Minos, i. p. 189 and Figs. 127b, c, d. Cf. Minos, Scena di Creta, p. 184, Fig. 85.
18 Pinches, Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology, i. p. 76 seqq., No. 29.
19 Also in Thras alcan (De Re Rustica, i. 111).
a real anticipation of sports which in the ensuing age make their appearance in Cappadocia and Crete.

The Circus performances themselves must be regarded as a secondary offshoot of the prowess of early hunters and herdsmen. And this more primitive class of cowboy feats not only continued to co-exist with the other, but formed, as we know from the Vapheio vases and other sources, an almost equally favoured theme of the Minoan artists. It had, indeed, much grander potentialities and was also more fertile in tragic episodes.

It is noteworthy that the Greek traditions of the bull-grappling feats of Theseus and Hercules clearly acknowledge a Minoan source. It was at the behest of Eurystheus, King of Mycenae, that Hercules captured the Cretan bull, received by Minos from Poseidon. In the case of the Marathonian bull, the feat which, according to the Athenian legend, had been unsuccessfully attempted by Androgeos, son of Minos, was achieved by the national hero, Theseus.

![Fig. 8.—Oxford Marble Relief of Taurokathapsia.](image)

It is true that in the later versions of the bull-grappling sports, whether in the open or in the arena, horses play a part. But with an equestrian race this may well have been a natural development.

The feats indeed, *mutæta mutandia*, were much the same. Thus one particular method of using a coign of vantage to spring at the bull’s head, and so to overthrow the monster by a dexterous twist, of which we have hints in Minoan representations, was a well-known *tous de force* of the Thessalian horsemen. This feat entered into the programme of the Circus sports of the ‘taurokathapsia,’ introduced by Claudius, in when the Thessalian riders first wearied the animals by driving them round the arena, and then brought them down by jumping on them and seizing their horns. A special class of gladiatorial *taurokathapsia* thus sprang up, recorded in inscriptions. The best


89 C. I. G. iii. 114.
illustration of these Circus sports is to be seen in the Greco-Roman relief from Smyrna, in the Ashmolean Museum, illustrating a scene of "the second day of the taurokathap sia." The riders are represented by boys, wearing round the middle part of their bodies the leather bands, or fasciae, that distinguished the aurigae of the Roman Circus. The relief is for the first time photographically reproduced in Fig. 9.

I am informed that the method of the sport here illustrated exactly corresponds with certain cowboy feats still practised in the Wild West of America. Young bulls or steers are there pursued on horseback till the rider, springing at their horns, throws them over and, as is shown in the relief, pins the animal down by sitting on its head. According to Pliny, however, in the case of the Thessalian sport the performer was able by a violent twist of the neck to kill the animal. Such a termination of the encounter would have eminently suited the taste of the Roman spectators.

It appears, moreover, that the earlier practice of tackling the bull on foot was still a recognised form of the sport. On the obverse of fifth-century coins of Larissa and other Thessalian cities, though the national emblem, a galloping horse, is seen on the reverse, a youth appears on foot grappling with a bull's horns and head and endeavouring to overthrow it. This earlier Thessalian version is practically identical with that which recurs in some representations of Theseus and the Minotaur. But the Heroclean feat—matched by those of Gilgamesh in his struggles with Ea-bani—very closely recalls a scheme of which we have more than one version on late Minoan seal types.

The most characteristic of these designs are seen on some lentoid gems, or their clay impressions, showing a convoluted arrangement that marks the full adaptation of such subjects to a round field. This class of intaglio is very characteristic of the closing phase of L.M. I. and of the last Palace Period at Knossos (L.M. II.). A very good example of the type is supplied by a clay seal impression belonging to the Fifth Magazine there, which is countermarked by a barrel 2 sign and endorsed with sign groups of the linear Class B.

ON A MINOAN BRONZE GROUP FROM CRETE.

The countermark somewhat interferes with the effect of the design, which is, however, clearly shown in a sketch, made for me by Mr. Fyfe, in which this feature is omitted, Fig. 10. A man wearing the usual peaked helmet, doubtless adorned with rows of boars' tusks, and exhibiting the usual loin attire and foot-gear, has one arm over the bull's nearer horn, which he grasps close to its root, while with the other hand he presses on the animal's lower jaw.

On a banded agate lentoid from Mycenae we see a much weaker version of a similar scheme in a reversed position (Fig. 11), and a similar design, in this case boldly cut, appears on a green jasper lentoid from the same site (Fig. 12). Here the man holds the tip of the bull's further horn with his left hand and grasps the nozzle with his right.

The very prominent nose of the Knossian seal impression, Fig. 10,

![Fig. 11. Banded Agate Lentoid, Mycenae.](image)

which is still further accentuated in the hooked type seen on the last-mentioned gem, recalls the proto-Armenoid physiognomy of what appears to have been a Minoan priest-king, represented on a seal-impression from the Hieroglyphic Deposit at Knossos, of M.M. II. date. This, indeed, may have a real significance in showing that such feats were a special tradition of the old Anatolian stock in Crete.

Herecules feats such as the above, repeated thus in Minoan gem types, may well embody the traditional prowess of some godlike hero of the ancient stock. The Athenian tale of the great athletic champion Androgeos, the son of Minos, who grappled—in this case to his ruin—with the Marathonian bull, may well refer to the original subject of these designs.

Arthur Evans.

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ARCHAEOLOGY IN GREECE, 1919-1921

The following report has been compiled at the request of the Editors of the Journal of Hellenic Studies and has been made as complete as the short notice given has allowed. I have to thank my colleagues of the Greek Archaeological Service and of the other foreign schools in Athens for the information, which they have so courteously placed at my disposal. Thanks are also due to the Managing Committee of the British School for permission to give a brief account of its latest work.

AMERICAN SCHOOL.

In the spring of 1920 Miss Walker conducted careful and scientific excavations at Corinth, on and around the hill where stands the Temple of Apollo, in the hope of obtaining further stratified evidence to illustrate the prehistoric inhabitation of the site. The area dug had been considerably disturbed by the building of the temple and by Roman alterations. On the south side of the temple in the lowest stratum, amid the debris of what were probably rude huts, were found quantities of pottery resembling that of the First Thessalian Period, and in the upper portions there appeared wares more closely related to the Second than to the First Thessalian Period. On the north side the deposit produced no pottery resembling that of the First Thessalian Period, but wares contemporaneous with the Second and an almost equal quantity of Early Helladic pottery. To the south-west of the Temple Hill other trial pits produced principally Early Helladic ware, though there were occasional fragments related to the Second and Third Thessalian Periods. All the areas yielded obsidian knives and stone implements of the usual types, and one piece of a marble vase similar to those of the Cyclades was also discovered. The publication of these finds, which are very important for determining the relative dates of the first three Thessalian periods and the Early Helladic Age, will be awaited with great interest.

In 1921 an expedition of the school under the leadership of Dr. C. W. Blegen, who very kindly invited members of the British School to take part, conducted excavations on the mound of Zygouries near the village of Hagios Vasileios in the plain of Kleonai, and to the east of the site of the ancient city. Here remains of all three Helladic periods were found, though the mound had been somewhat telescoped and had suffered from Christian, probably Byzantine, occupation. On the top the ruins of a considerable Early Helladic settlement were laid bare, including part of a narrow street and several houses. The houses are in plan generally rectangular, and seem to have had flat roofs with walls of crude brick resting on a low stone foundation. Some had more than
one room, though the largest was apparently a one-roomed house. But it, like many of the others, had in one corner a row of three or more pithoi for keeping produce or household stores. The street was paved with gravel mixed with potsherds and off it there seemed to be one or two small alleys. The pottery of this settlement was all Early Helladic, and a large number of complete vases were found including several with simple painted decoration, two 'sauceboats' with spouts in the shape of a ram's head; and innumerable specimens of the ordinary coated and uncoated Early Helladic wares. Other small finds comprise a bronze dagger blade, a terra-cotta seal with signs that resemble some of the earliest Minoan characters, and a small terra-cotta figurine of a woman. Above this settlement there had been one of the Middle Helladic Period, but the ruins of this seem to have been swept away in Late Helladic times, and most of the Late Helladic buildings had in their turn suffered similarly in Christian times. One or two Middle Helladic graves were found of the usual cist type known at Orchomenos and elsewhere. In one of these were two small matt-painted vases and a necklace of crystal and paste beads. In the Third Late Helladic Period a large and important house was built on the east side of the mound, where two basement rooms were cleared, which were full of unused pottery. There were so many vases that one can only assume they were intended for trade rather than for household purposes. One room yielded five store jars, one of which was extracted complete, and a mass of broken kylikes. Of these latter some thirty with painted decoration have been put together and many more will probably be restored, when the detailed study of the pottery is undertaken. They make a most interesting series and well illustrate the development of the Mycean kylix from the Minoan goblet through Ephyrasen ware. In the other rooms were not far short of three hundred cooking pots of a casserole type, which had been piled in rouleaux upside down, and been telescoped into one another by the collapse of the roof. In spite of this, ten were extracted unbroken. The same room produced three gigantic and six smaller stirrup-vases in fragments and quantities of unpainted pottery, small saucers, scoops, jars and so on, very many of which are still unbroken. In a drain trap just above were found a bronze knife with an ivory handle and a small gem, while near by many fragments of wall paintings came to light, unfortunately all too small for any design to be made out. The importance of this excavation lies in the discovery of the Early Helladic houses, the first so far found, and in the fine series of Late Helladic III, domestic ware.

Recent exploring work has brought to light a neolithic mound in Arcadia, between Mantinea and Tegra, with pottery of a northern type very similar to that from Corinth. It thus seems that the so-called Thessalian or northern culture was spread all over Greece in neolithic times, and that the Bronze Age people of the Early Helladic Period were intruders from Crete or the islands, to judge by the close kinship between the different kinds of pottery. This, coupled with the finding of Early Helladic ware near Vaphio and Old Phaleron, shows that the background of the Mycean Age on the mainland is daily growing wider.
BRITISH SCHOOL.

In 1920 and 1921 excavations were undertaken at Mycenae on the suggestion of Sir Arthur Evans in an attempt to solve in the light of the Cretan evidence some of the problems propounded by Schliemann and Tsountas. The success of the excavations was partly due to the courtesy of Mrs. Schliemann, who lent for reference her husband's original notebook of his excavations, and to Professor Tsountas, who most unselfishly gave up his rights on the site in favour of the School. The new investigations have been directed to three main spheres, the Grave Circle, Lion Gate and surrounding area, the Palace on the summit of the Acropolis, and the cemeteries.

The six Shaft Graves later enclosed within the Grave Circle were once part of a cemetery, which lay on the hillside at this point just below where the hard limestone stops and soft rock begins sloping down to the valley. Thus, this was the nearest spot to the Acropolis rock suitable for a cemetery, as graves could not be dug in the hard limestone. The cemetery began to be used in Middle Helladic times (1800–1600 B.C.), for within the Circle on the east Schliemann found several and Stamatakis found four Middle Helladic graves, and now to the south underneath two Late Helladic III. houses (Ramp and South Houses) four certain and three probable such graves have been discovered. To the north of the Circle underneath the building known as The Granary, which lies between the Lion Gate and the entrance to the Circle, another Shaft Grave was found. The contents of this had been removed in ancient times, but it still contained nineteen gold discs, some worked boars' tusks, six beads of glass paste, and two crushed vessels of lead. This grave seems later than the other six, but is probably not much later than the beginning of the Second Late Helladic Period. It cannot be later than that period because the Granary is an L.H. III. building. At the beginning of the Third Late Helladic Period, when the great Cyclopean wall of the Acropolis was laid out, the later palace built and the whole citadel replanned, it was found that the intended line of the wall running south-west from the Lion Gate would pass through the Royal Graves. Consequently the wall was made to bow outwards so as to avoid them, and at the same time the Grave Circle itself was constructed to enclose them within a kind of temenos and to preserve their sacred character. A careful study of the levels recorded by Schliemann has shown approximately the level of the sloping surface before the Grave Circle was built and the area enclosed was terraced. That the Grave Circle was an open space and not the base of a tumulus is proved by the finding of a line of pavement slabs laid against the upright slabs on the inside and by the erection of the stelai over the graves. These stelai are considered by Sir Arthur Evans, Dr. Kurt Mueller and other authorities to be contemporaneous with the interments; they must therefore have been lifted to the higher level when the Grave Circle was made. The Ramp, the Granary, the House of the Warrior Vase and other houses lying south of the Grave Circle are consequently.

1 Schliemann, Mycenae, pp. 162 ff. 2 Tsountas-Manatt, Mycenaean Age, p. 97.
later in date than the creation of the latter and the building of the Acropolis walls, as Late Helladic III. pottery has been found below the floors of the Granary and South House. Below the Ramp House a large number of fragments of fresco came to light with L.H. I. and II. pottery. These fragments are identical in style and subject with the fresco fragments found by Schliemann, the exact provenance of which was unknown. One interesting piece shows part of a bull against a blue ground, another two acrobats or bull-baiters, and there are many pieces of a large frieze of iris or lilies, while the commonest pattern is an imitation of wood graining which seems to indicate a Victorian tendency in Mycenaean art.

On the summit of the Acropolis the palace found by Tsountas has been re-explored with most interesting results. Beneath the existing palace, which seems to date back to the beginning of the Third Late Helladic Age, are the scanty remains of an earlier building, probably that in which lived the kings who were buried in the Shaft Graves. The fine staircase of approach from the south had at least two flights with lobbies and landings, was lighted by a window, and was on the whole no unworthy successor of the Grand Staircase at Knossos. From the top of this one enters a room, which probably served the same purpose as the Throne Room at Knossos, and the court, whence the megaron and domestic quarters are reached. The hearth in the megaron proves to have had ten layers of painted stucco and more fragments of the frescoes from the walls were found badly burned, but on the best preserved can be seen an elaborate architectural background before which stands a lady with auburn hair. The domestic quarters which lay higher up the hill—the palace is built on a series of terraces and had at least two stories—have almost vanished, but at one point are the remains of a stepped tank coated with red stucco, which may have been a bath like the Knossian examples. On the other side of the court a corridor leads to the Western Portal, a massive threshold of conglomerate flanked outside by ashlar walls of poros. This entrance was probably approached by a sloping passage through a propylon situated to the north-west. Unfortunately on this side the palace ruins have suffered from Hellenistic disturbance just as on the summit they were partly destroyed by the foundations of the Doric temple. Interesting minor finds include a series of small clay cups with different coloured paints—the palette of some long-forgotten artist—a table of offerings of painted stucco on a backing of clay, and part of a bull's head rhyton in steatite. Fragments of two more such rhytons were found in a well which also yielded a clay sealing showing a sacred pillar guarded by two quadrupeds. Over them fly two doves, while a third is perched between the horns of consecration which crown the pillar. This sealing is the first of its kind to be found on the mainland and shows that more such sealings are to be expected, and perhaps also inscribed clay tablets like those of Knossos.

A re-examination of the famous relief of the Lion Gate shows that the main lines were cut out with saw and drill and that the figures thus blocked out

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were finished with the chisel. The entrance to the Lion Gate has been cleared of the fallen Cyclopean blocks, and the architectural appearance is now much more imposing. It has also been discovered from the evidence of dowel holes in the top blocks of the wings that the gate was roofed over inside, in the same way in which modern entrance gateways in Greece are roofed. One of the grave *stelai* found *in situ* by Schliemann,\(^6\) over the Fifth Shaft Grave has been practically completed by two more pieces. The *stela* has a flat and not a gable top and was divided into three registers of equal height. The upper and lower registers contained purely decorative patterns (rosettes and spirals) and between them was framed the central register representing a man in a chariot. This fresh evidence for the shape and composition of the *stelai* is most important.

Efforts to find earlier tombs outside have been most successful. In a hitherto unexcavated area on the north slope of Kalkani hill, a cemetery which dates back to Late Helladic I times has been discovered. One tomb has no less than eight strata of interments. The first stratum is represented by the remains of at least six skeletons swept into a pit in the floor of the chamber. With them were some fine glass beads and a blue faience cylinder said to be a Mycenaean copy of an Anatolian imitation of a type derived from Mesopotamia. The pottery associated with them is of L.H. I and II types; there is a fine rhyton similar but superior to the splendid example from the Second Shaft Grave, a typical L.H. I saucer and three small alabastra. With the third interment was a stirrup-vease of the Tell-el-Amarna style showing that this and the later interments are of L.H. III date. The fourth interment, presumably a woman, had a long necklace of white crystal, cornelian and paste beads. Of another tomb only the entrance passage has been cleared, but here were found a set of seven painted clay alabastra, a large term-cotta spindle-whorl with a fine design of iris, a granulated gold bead, and six gems of which five are of the finest style. One, an onyx, has a magnificent lion, two other onyxes show respectively a cow suckling her calf—a scene full of sympathy—and two enchanting oxen. Two cornelians have identical representations of the Mother Goddess arrayed in the usual flounced skirt and open bodice, with a fine rampant lion on either side. Below her feet three lines make a kind of exergue—an unusual feature—and above her head is a ritual object, formed apparently of snakes, from the centre of which rises the sacred symbolic double axe. In view of Hesychius' equalisation of πέλαγξς with κόβηςς we may see in her the goddess Kybele or Rhea. Since one of these gems was found on the west and the other on the east, they may have been so placed with the intention of giving her protection to the dead amid the shades below. These and the other objects found in the entrance dromos are archaeologically of the same date as the Yaphio tomb, and so there are great hopes that when in the coming excavations the chamber itself is cleared, really important objects will be found.

A re-examination of the Treasury of Atreus, the Tomb of Clytemnestra and the other tholos tombs goes to show both from the finds and on architectural

\(^6\) Schliemann, *Mycene*, p. 86, Fig. 141.
grounds that these two tombs and the smaller perfect tholos tomb fall towards the end of the series about the beginning of the Third Late Helladic Age.

This is naturally only a brief summary of the more interesting results, but the amount of fresh information that has been collected is very great. Mycenae was first inhabited in the Early Helladic Age, but does not seem to have been very important. In Middle Helladic times it advanced in civilisation and towards the end of this period arose the dynasty whose princes were laid in the Shaft Graves. About this time Mycenae rose to a high pitch of power and wealth, and it is an open question whether this was due to conquest and colonisation from Crete or to peaceful penetration by trade and the like. Whatever the cause, the Middle Helladic culture of the mainland suddenly became saturated with Minoan influence. In the first two phases of the Late Helladic Age the underlying mainland element began by degrees to affect more and more the imported Minoan style. The earlier beehive tombs are probably those of the dynasty which succeeded the Shaft Grave dynasty. Then with the Third Late Helladic Period Mycenae reached the zenith of its dominion and riches, so well illustrated by the rebuilding of the palace, the replanning of the city and the laying out of the gigantic fortifications, corresponding so well with those at Tiryns, which the Germans have now proved to be of the same date. The Treasury of Atreus agrees so well architecturally with the Lion Gate that it is possible that the great king who built the Cyclopean walls, built also for himself the Treasury of Atreus as his tomb, in the same way in which in Egypt the pyramid building kings constructed each for himself a tomb pyramid. The prominent features of this time were great accuracy in architectural planning, and amazing mechanical and technical skill in cutting hard stone and moving gigantic blocks: it was an age of monumental engineering. It was a late period it is true, but the walls, palaces and tombs of Mycenae and Tiryns prove that it was not degenerate.

The two campaigns at Mycenae have been an unqualified success; but after another season's work in 1922, principally on the tombs, it has been decided to suspend the excavation of this Homeric site in favour of a classical one.

Two minor excavations were also carried out under the aegis of the School in 1921. Professor P. N. Ure, assisted by his wife, made some additional researches in the cemetery at Ritsa in Boeotia, which yielded such an abundant harvest to the late Dr. Ronald Burrows and himself in 1907-1909. Some forty more graves were discovered, of which the earliest belongs to the 'Geometric' period, a considerable number show various phases of Corinthian pottery, and the richest series were furnished with late black-figured vases, Boeotian kylikes of the latest phase of the style, and imnumerable black-glazed kantharoi. In the latest graves the vases were almost all black-glazed cups with occasional floral black-figured kylikes and small Proto-Corinthian skyphoi. Terra-cotta figurines were fairly frequent in all types of graves except the earliest, while beads, rings, strigils and other objects were also found. The modes of burial were various and there were many cremation graves. The evidence continues to point conclusively to single interments as the normal
practice, and there is every prospect that the new series of graves will throw further light on the chronology both of the pottery and the figurines, with which they are so abundantly furnished.

The other was an experimental excavation on behalf of a research committee of the British Association conducted by Mr. S. Casson at Tsoukiotes in Macedonia. This site, which the excavator identifies with Kalindoa, is large and complex, and has yielded objects ranging from neolithic to Roman times. This year a cemetery was examined on a low mound where some burials came to light during military excavations in the war. Fifteen graves in all were found which yielded a large number of spiral armlets, pins, beads and spectacle fibulae of bronze, iron knives, and several vases of strongly contrated types. Some of the vases are plain red jugs with cutaway necks; others have simple geometric ornamentation and are compared to the earlier geometric or Marnarian-Meototokou ware of Thessaly; and some are ribbed wheel-made vases of grey-black ware. The excavator thinks that no very great period of time is covered by the burials on the mound, and dates the culture they represent to between 100 and 650 b.c. It is proposed to continue the work in the spring, when scientific excavation should solve some of the interesting problems raised by these finds, which the excavator associates with the Dorians and Macedonians.

French School.

In Argolis in 1920 the Mycenaean acropolis of Asine, near Tolon, seven kilometres from Nauplia, was planned. The ancient fortifications were studied and preparations made for the excavations which will be carried out there in March 1922 by a Swedish archaeological expedition under the patronage of H.R.H. The Crown Prince of Sweden.

The exploration has been begun of a Pre-Mycenaean and Mycenaean site near Schoinochori, which should be perhaps identified with Lykeia mentioned by Pausanias. The human occupation of this site probably goes back at least to the Middle Helladic Age, as Minyan ware was found. In the cemetery five rock-cut chamber-tombs with short dromos yielded vases, figurines and gems of the Late Helladic Period, and some interesting observations on the funeral customs of the age were also made.

In central Greece supplementary researches have been made at the sanctuary of the Muses near Thespiae and at Thebes to prepare for the publication of the results of the excavations of Jamot and de Ridder on these sites.

At Delphi work was carried on in 1920 and 1921, when studies of certain portions of the hieron were continued and completed, especially with regard to the Propylaea of Attalos and the terrace of the Apollo temple, while the Altar of Chios has been partially reconstructed through the generosity of the modern authorities of the island. At Marmaria the exploration of the lower archaeo-
logical strata has resulted in a fortunate series of finds which completely change our ideas about the arrangement of the kieros of Athena Pronaia. A new part of the enclosure has been found with a new entrance on the south-east, thus enlarging the temenos to the east of the archeia altars; and bronzes, vase-fragments and ruins of curved houses have been found on this side below the stratum of the seventh century B.C. The two buildings hitherto considered to be kieros (of Phylakos and possibly Autonoos) belong to a terrace of treasuries analogous to those at Olympia. The temenos of Phylakos was probably to the north of Marmaria where excavations will be undertaken. A collection of votive offerings has been found in the second temple of Athena in poros. New documents have furnished quite new material for the study of the two treasuries, the Doric and the Aeolian, while to the west of the fourth century tholos an archaic crypt has been discovered which was destroyed when the limestone foundations of the temple of Athena were laid down. The foundations of the Sikyonian Treasury in the kieros itself, which are largely composed of the remains of rectangular and circular buildings, have been subjected to a new examination to determine better the character of these earlier constructions. MM. Colin and Courby have completed the publication of the monuments of the temple terrace, and fresh soundings have been made in the theatre in preparation for definite plans. By the way leading to Marmaria from the east a necropolis of the sixth century was discovered, and one tomb here has produced among other vases a fine alabastron signed by Pasiades and similar to the example in the British Museum which was until now unique.

Delos.—An important inscription at Mykonos, a consular law passed by the comitia in 58 B.C., which regulated the financial situation of Delos after the war with the pirates, has been copied and commented upon. On the north-east of the southern slope of Mount Kythnos a temenos of Artemis Eileithyia has been cleared, together with an altar of the fifth century, and a small temple and a series of marble votive reliefs of the third century. New discoveries have also been made in the theatre in connection with the stage. The exploration of the hippodrome has been resumed and the tribune has been cleared. In the neighbourhood several small sanctuaries have been found; one of them with a central row of columns is archaic. The vase-fragments have enabled the Archaeageon to be identified, and further to the south the clearance of an avenue leading from the kieros to the gymnasion has been commenced.

Macedonia and Thracian Archipelago.—Round Philippi and at Philippi itself important results have been obtained. Exploration of Mount Pangaeon, the plain north and south of Philippi, and the valley of the river of Nevrokop has enabled the prehistoric sites of the Drama-Kavalla district to be mapped, and eighty-six Greek and Latin inscriptions have been found, among which may be noted a milestone of the Via Egnatia, the oldest yet known. At Philippi excavations have brought to light the temenos of the Egyptian gods, consisting of five parallel cellae with many inscriptions, and the shrine of Silvanus, which is thirty metres west of the rock with the dedication of P. Hosti-

lius Philadelphens. In the theatre the orchestra has been cleared and the general plan of the basilica has been verified, but it does not agree very well with that given by Strzygowski. 11 Shafts sunk in the prehistoric mound known as Dikili Tash have yielded quantities of prehistoric pottery and many figurines, especially animals. The study of the stratification of the pottery from this important mound should provide a good sequence to form the basis of a classification of Macedonian prehistoric wares.

At Thasos the excavations interrupted by the war have been resumed, and on the Acropolis the study of the fortifications has been completed. Here a gigantic statue of Apollo Kriophoros three and a half metres high was discovered; it is unfinished, but is one of the largest examples of an archaic Apollo yet found. In the lower town the general arrangement of the porticoes in the ophora has been determined, and in the northern portico an interesting fragment of the medieval walls of the Gattelusii came to light. In the theatre the stage buildings and the orchestra have been begun, and the arrangement of the analemma and the kolon has been made out and a study of the monumental inscription of the orchestra balustrade has been undertaken. Near the spring Archonda outside the walls the temenos of Archonda has been identified, with a large archaic altar and a sixth century temple.

Asia Minor.—At Notion the interrupted work has been taken up again, although the excavation house had been destroyed during the war. On the Acropolis the general topography has been ascertained. In particular the discovery of the Athenaion to the west fixes for us the division of the city, of which the eastern half even at the end of the fifth century was still occupied by the Persians. Certain buildings are repeated on either side of the diastechisma mentioned by Thucydides; 12 there were, for instance, two ophorai. The Athenaiion has been completely cleared and its identification is verified by an inscription. It has a closed peribolos with an entrance to the north-east, four Doric porticoes, a sacrificial altar and a temple, which in its present state is of Roman date and of the Corinthian order. Many votive figurines of terracotta were found and some fragments of the cult-statue. The necropolis has been located, and an exploring journey between Teos and Lebedos has yielded a bag of about eighty new inscriptions, while the Proto-Ionian site of Poystichides has been identified.

Crete.—At Mallia, some nine hours east of Candia on the north coast of the island, operations have been commenced at Kato Chrysolakkos; some four hundred and fifty metres north-east of the palace (Ano Chrysolakkos) found by Dr. Chatzidakis in 1917–18. 13 So far attention has been directed to a square building with thick ashlar walls of the same date as the palace and with an opening to the west. This was perhaps a sanctuary; in it has been found still in situ a column of clay coated with red stucco with fluting of a novel type. Many small objects of obsidian, steatite, marble, a Minoan seal, and pottery of the Middle and Late Minoan Periods were found. To the same periods

12 "Ακρωπολισ. Τελευταία IV. (1916), Παραπομπή, Fig. 708.
13 III. 34.
belong vases of stone and clay found in the adjoining houses and in the
cemetery, though some specimens reach to a post-Minoan period. Three
polychrome larvakes were also unearthed.

GERMAN SCHOOL.

The only excavation actually undertaken was a small trial by Professor
Studniczka near the Monument of Lysicrates in Athens, which was afterwards
carried on by Dr. Philadelphaes with the assistance of Dr. Welter. Dr. Noack
continued his work on the fortifications of Acarnania and Aetolia, and his
researches into the history of the Telesterion at Eleusis. This latter study
produced important results and throws further light on the plans of Kimon
and Iktinos. It appears that the latter's plan was never carried out by him,
as he was probably relieved of the work when Phidias and the Periclean party
did not disavow, and its completion was then entrusted to the three architects
mentioned by Plutarch. This would account for many of the peculiarities
and shows that the original plan of a large columnar hall goes back beyond
the time of Pericles, probably to that of Kimon. This fact, taken in
connection with the discovery of the Odeion of Pericles in Athens, gives a fresh
aspect to Athenian architecture of the fifth century. It was also found that
the earlier roadway did not follow the line taken by the later entrance through
the Roman propylaea, but ran more to the south-east. At Tiryns Dr. Kurt
Mueller has been continuing his study of the walls in view of the forthcoming
publication. The citadel of Tiryns, it now appears, had three periods. To
the first belong the earliest entrance below the propylaea of the outer court of
the palace and the walls running from it westwards and south-eastwards,
so as enclose the highest part of the hill. To the second period belongs the
upper and middle citadels, except for the galleries, the south-east tower, the
great gateway and the ramp. To the third period are to be assigned the
galleries and other additions to the upper citadel, the great gate and ramp and
the whole of the lower citadel. In the north wall of the second period there
seems to have been a kind of gallery or store chamber with a flat roof
supported on wooden beams. The first period is probably L.H. I. or II, in date,
but the second and third are without doubt Late Helladie III. That the
famous galleries of Tiryns should be shown to belong to a comparatively
advanced date in the L.H. III. period is a further proof, if any were needed,
that this was not a degenerate age.

GREEK ARCHAEOLOGICAL SERVICE.

ATHENS AND ATTICA.—In 1921 Dr. Kastriotes resumed his excavations in
the Odeion of Pericles, which he had begun in 1914. 44 As a result of his two
campaigns on the traditional site of the Odeion at the south-east corner of the
Acropolis and directly adjoining the theatre of Dionysus on the east, he has
found a building which must be identified with it, although it does not conform

44 *A.X* Ept. 1914, pp. 143 ff.
to the plan which all authorities propheised for it. He has cleared the north side and parts of the east and west sides of a large hypostyle hall, for the rest of the area is occupied by small houses which are to be expropriated. On the north the wall is preserved to a height of three metres and is built against the rock, which has been cut away to accommodate it, and is composed of poros and crystalline limestone in ashlar work. It was originally faced with marble slabs. Above this ran the dvaroma, the so-called peripatos, behind which were rows of seats as in the bouleuterion at Priene. The foundations of the east entrance were also laid bare and a large substructure on the west is in all probability that of the western entrance, which was closely connected with the theatre, for as we learn from Andocides the conspirators entered the orchestra from the Odeion. The seats were of marble and had in front sculptured owls, and some have been found in the Zappeion garden in the ruins of a Roman bath. The north-west angle of the Odeion adjoins the north-east supporting wall of the theatre, and ran into it far enough to cut off the upper parts of three wedges of seats. Apparently, from what we know now, both buildings were planned in the time of Pericles, although the theatre seems to have been completed by Lykourgos. Within the area of the Odeion only four column bases were found in situ, but the places where the others stood are quite clear. They were six metres apart and there were in all, it is calculated, six rows of six columns each. These marble columns probably belonged not to the Odeion of Pericles, which very likely had wooden columns, but to the Odeion as it was restored by Ariobarzanes of Cappadocia, after its destruction during the siege of Athens by Sulla in 86 B.C. The column drum with the dedication to Ariobarzanes, which stands near the temple of Dionysos below the theatre, was one of them, as it is of the same marble and has the same diameter. It very probably supported a statue of the king, the head of which has been recognised. Between the columns the floor was paved with slabs probably of marble; none of these have as yet been identified and none found in situ, and the discovery of three large limekilns of later times within the area explains their disappearance. The restored Odeion seems to have perished by fire, for a thick stratum of wood ash was found during the excavations.

The most important result of this excavation has been to show that the Odeion of Pericles was not a circular building as most authorities have hitherto assumed, according to a misinterpretation of the passage of Plutarch describing its likeness to the tent of Xerxes. The Odeion was certainly a large rectangular hypostyle hall cut on the north side into the rock and on the south built upon an artificial terrace. Plutarch's reference to the tent of Xerxes applies only to the roof, which was sloping and possibly round. Dr. Kastriotes, who is much to be congratulated on the success of his patient efforts, compares the relations of the Odeion and the Theatre to those of the Thersilion with the theatre at Megalopolis. Dr. Doerpfeld and all other archaeologists who

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16 De Myst., 38.
17 'Aph. 'Ep. Le., Fig. 17.
18 CY. Weller, Mon. of Athens, pp. 200 ff.
have seen the excavations are in entire agreement with him that he has at last solved a very interesting problem of Athenian topography.

Dr. Leonardos' latest work at the Amphipareion has already been described elsewhere.  

As remarked above, Dr. Philadelphs continued, with the assistance of Dr. Welter of the German School, the excavations begun by Professor Stadnicka by the Monument of Lysicrates. At a depth of three metres the pavement of the Street of Tripods appeared; and by it the foundations of two other choragic monuments, probably like that of Lysicrates, while on the north side also a similar foundation was cleared. Trials were made to trace the line of the Street of Tripods towards the theatre, and in the course of these some parts of the Odeion of Pericles came to light.

Arbolis and Corinthia.—In 1919 and 1920 Dr. Philadelphs excavated five chamber-tombs at Priphanti south of Mycenae and two at Mycenae itself. All were of the Third Late Helladic Period. The Priphanti tombs yielded principally vases of well-known types, but one of the Mycenae tombs contained an interesting gem. This, an onyx, shows three female figures dancing with their arms akimbo. The central figure is larger than the others and probably represents a goddess. The same archaeologist has also commenced operations at Sikyon with the assistance of Dr. Welter. Near the theatre he has cleared a stoa and a rock sanctuary, probably of the nympha, a spring and a cistern whence water was led in pipes to the agora and town. Near by has been discovered a hypostyle hall with three rows of seats and sixteen columns, which is probably the bouleuterion mentioned by Pausanias. North-east of the theatre, beside a building cleared by the Americans many years ago, the excavator found the substructure of an important building which he thinks may be either that of the temple of Artemis Limmia or of the Stoa of Kleisthenes, both mentioned by Pausanias.

Achaia.—In the summer of 1921 Dr. Kyparissies began excavations in the cemetery of the ancient Olenos near the modern village of Kato Achaia, where local tradition reported great treasures had been found. In fact a rich tomb, well constructed with poros slabs and one and a half metres long by one broad, was excavated. This had belonged to a wealthy family of the third century B.C. and had contained several bodies. It seems certain at least that there were buried in it a man, a woman, and a child, to judge by the gold ornaments recovered. These ornaments principally consist of wreaths in the form of leaves of many different kinds; olive, oak, myrtle, etc. The wreath with oak leaves and that of the child have in the centre a head of Medusa probably with an apotropaic object. There were several diadems of curious form, but only one was complete. The grave-clothes consisted of some stuff woven partly with gold thread, for in the earth of the tomb was found a great quantity of fine gold thread, which, being metallic, had survived when the rest of the stuff perished. There were also sewn on to the clothes small gold ornaments with various figures such as small Erates, Pegasos, Helios and so on. Other finds include
earrings with winged Nikai or three-legged designs, a necklace from which hung myrtle leaves, several finger-rings, and bracelets in the form of snakes. Beside the gold objects there were some fragments of bronze and silver, and a few poor clay vases, one of which contained rouge so that the deceased could still beautify herself in the other world.

Bœotia and Phocis.—Dr. Papadakis has completed his excavation at the monastery of the Taxiarchs near Koroneia, and found many very important inscriptions. Apart from the usual crop of grave stelai, there is one dealing with the sale of a large estate to a sanctuary of the Egyptian gods, and a series of five long imperial rescripts from Hadrian, Antoninus Pius and M. Aurelius relating to the construction of dykes in the west part of the Kopais basin, towards which funds were contributed from the imperial privy purse. On Mount Oeta at a place called Marmara (on the Xerovouni of Pavliana) he has continued his excavation of the shrine of Herakles. Apart from the great rectangular pit of burnt debris, full of bones of oxen, pigs and rams, clay vases and bronzes, a small Doric shrine has been cleared. This, which stands on the remains of a yet older shrine of poios, has two unfluted columns in antis at each end and store-chambers closed by gratings constructed between the columns and the antis. There was an altar in front and some distance away a long stoa of seven rooms dating from the times of the Aetolian League, though to judge by the deeper finds it was first built at an earlier period. Among the burnt debris were a few fragment of black-figured vases, but the most noticeable finds are two bronze statuettes of Herakles striding forward, with uplifted club, several bronzes bearing votive inscriptions to Herakles, a bronze and an iron club, and tiles from the stoa with the inscriptions ΕΡΑΙΗ [ΡΑΚΑΕΩΤΗΣ] or ΕΡΟΠΗ [ΡΑΚΑΕΩΤΗΣ]. There are a few coins of the fourth century, many of the times of the Aetolian League, and of imperial times down to Maximinus.

At Thebes Dr. Keramopoulos continued his exploration of the House of Kadmos with great success. It is now clear that there were two palaces, to the earlier of which belong the frescoes representing a frieze of ladies with elaborate dresses and carrying flowers or ivory pyxides. Below this earlier palace there are strata of the Early and Middle Helladic Periods. The later and upper palace dates from the Third Late Helladic Period, and of this a few rooms are preserved though not in very good condition. A corner wall built of large ashlars blocks is the only trace of any large room, but there are a number of small rooms and corridors, mostly store-rooms apparently. In two of these excavated this year, Dr. Keramopoulos has found a great number of stirrup-vases. One deposit of about thirty seems to have consisted of inscribed vases, for the only two unbroken specimens both have inscriptions in the mainland variety of the Cretan script similar to the well-known examples from Orchomenos and Tiryne. Many of the fragments are also inscribed, and the inscriptions, instead of being written at random on the side of the vase, form part of the design. This find of what we may term Kadmean letters at Thebes is most interesting, and the marked difference between the mainland script (as shown by Thebes, Orchomenos, Tiryne and Mycenae) and the Minoan (which is of course the parent
of the other), very likely indicates, as Sir Arthur Evans has suggested, a
difference in language.

_Thessaly._—Dr. Arvanitopoulos has made a small trial excavation at the
Kastro of Volea which is usually held to be the site of Iolkos. Here on the ne-
olitic stratum he has found a building (a 'palace') with a floor of stucco, and
painted stucco on the walls, but as the site is covered with modern houses no
details could be ascertained. At Pherai, some twenty minutes west of Velestinos
on the right bank of a small torrent, he has found a large temple of the fourth
century B.C. On the east side the stylobate is preserved with the two lower
steps of white local marble; of the other sides the foundation is only partly
preserved. The temple was Doric and hexastyle with columns of _poros_ coated
with stucco. Some fragments of the cornice with carved and painted decora-
tion have also come to light. At the north-east corner are four fluted columns
_of poros_ of an archaic type, which with various other finds prove that there was
an earlier temple built about 650 B.C. This seems to have been burnt about
400 B.C. and replaced by the building found, which was in its turn destroyed
by fire. To judge by inscriptions it was dedicated to Zeus Thaulios. The
finds are very numerous; there are inscribed bronze plates with procony decrees,
bronze libations vessels, many archaic bronze figurines of animals, bronze rings,
lead figurines, couchant ivory animals, terra-cotta statuettes and many bases
and other fragments of statues. The vase-fragments range from the neolithic
age to the third or second century B.C.

_Aetolia, Kerkyra, etc._—At Alyzias, in searching for the temple of Herakles,
Dr. Romarios has found an interesting _mausoleum_ of the second century B.C.
This enclosed a sarcophagus and stood on a foundation 9.30 metres square
resting on four steps, the uppermost of which ended at the four angles in vultures'
heads. Above the steps comes an ashlar wall topped with an Ionic frieze and
cornice. Above this was a row of low _orthostat_ crowned at the corners with
_akroteria_ of an acanthus design, in the midst of which rises an eagle holding a
wreath in its beak. The whole construction had the form of an altar, and as
yet no trace of a door or any other entrance has been made out, nor has the
position of some Ionic columns discovered in the excavation been determined.

At Kerkyra more work has been done on the great temple which yielded the
famous pediment sculptures with the Gorgon and lions during the excavations
of 1911-1914. The west side has now been uncovered and the results confirm
Doerfler's restoration of the temple, and add a few fresh details. Over the
_prodomos_ ran a continuous sculptured frieze, and the Gorgons, which adorn
the centres of the east and west pediments, were true pendants, as the western
Gorgon advances her left foot and the eastern her right. Another discovery
confirms the view that this was a temple of Artemis, for a pamphlet of 1812 by
a native of Corfu called Vrakliotes says that a dedicatory inscription to Artemis
was found on this site.

At Thermos the continued examination of the temple of Apollo has given
new and important details. The existing stylobate is archaic dating from the

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_L.C., IX. 1, No. 706._
end of the seventh or the beginning of the sixth century B.C., and only a few blocks were replaced after its destruction by Philip V, in 218 B.C. The long narrow building below this is clearly a temple, probably of the Geometric age, and is much better preserved and more important than the early temple of Artemis Orthia at Sparta. The cela was divided into three as in Sicilian temples, and was surrounded by a colonnade which was curved at one end. Technically this temple is connected with the apsidal houses of the second millennium B.C. (Middle Helladic Period).

Macedonia.—Dr. Pelckemtes has actively carried on his researches in Samothrace and the neighbourhood. Outside the western walls of the city he has found a cemetery of the time of Constantine the Great with built graves covered either with slabs or vaults. In them were vases of late Roman times, glass vessels, and many bronze ornaments such as crossbow fibules and buckles: some of the latter are of silver and some gilt. In the Vardar quarter he has found a temple dedicated to Sarapis and other Egyptian divinities, which seems according to the evidence of an inscription to date from the very end of the pre-Christian era. This has yielded a sphinx in black stone, a statue of Athena (a copy of an original of the fifth century), and a copy of the well-known Venus Genetrix type, which some consider to represent the Aphrodite of Knidos of Alkamenes. At the mound of Hagios Elias \( \text{21} \) he has found a settlement of the six and fifth centuries B.C., perhaps the site of Therma with a cemetery near by. The finds include Corinthian and black-figured vases, female terracotta figurines of an archaic type, and ornaments of gold, silver and bronze. At Amphipolis an early Christian basilica with three aisles has been cleared, and also on the far side of the Strymon on the hill called Nkranti the foundations of houses of the fifth century which perhaps mark the site of Thucydides' Kerkyra.

Epirus.—Dr. Philadelphos resumed his work at Nicopolis in the summer of 1921. He completed the excavation of the temple of Poseidon and Ares found in 1913. Then he proceeded to examine the space north of the spring and great reservoir of the city. Here two adjoining buildings of the Christian period were found, one of which he thinks was a Bouleuterion from the presence of two marble larnakes or fonts. Both buildings are assigned to the fifth or sixth century A.D., because the construction and the mosaics resemble closely those of the Basilica of Dometios. With the co-operation of an officer lent by the Fifth Army Corps, he was also able to make a plan of the site, which had not previously been done.

Crete.—In 1919 Dr. Xanthoudides excavated at Niron Chani some thirteen kilometres east of Candia on the coast. Here he has cleared a large Minoan house rectangular in shape and measuring about thirty by thirty-four metres. The entrance was on the east through a porch with two columns. Within there are some forty different divisions of the house—rooms, courts, corridors, etc. Many rooms have gypsum slabs on the floors and interior walls, while the majority of the walls were covered with painted stucco. A staircase led to an upper floor which generally seems to have been divided like the ground floor. In plan and construction the house is a much smaller version of the palaces

of Knossos and Phaestos, for there are corridors and light wells, halls, with
gypsum seats, rows of store-rooms with big pithoi and other details. The most
important finds are four enormous double axes of bronze plate found in a room
on the ground floor; one measures 1'20 metre across, and the other three 1'90
to 1'00 metre. In two small rooms was a store of some fifty altars or tables of
offering, of painted stucco on a clay backing, with three feet. Four steatite
lamps were found and some fifty vases of the First Late Minoan Period, which
enable us to date the house. It seems to have been the residence of the chief
of the seaside settlement, traces of which are to be seen on the beach and to the
east with part of an ancient mole. The number of ritual objects found seems
to exclude the possibility that they were all for use in this one house. Are we
therefore to assume that the minor priest-kings of Minoan Crete kept in their
hands the monopoly of supplying ritual objects, such as tables of offering, to
their dependents? —

Asiean Islands.—In Lesbos Dr. Evangelides has excavated at Klomidados
in search of the temple of Apollo Napaos located there by Koldewey. No
ruins, however, of the temple were found and it seems that the ancient architect-
ural fragments on the spot had been brought there in Byzantine times to build
the church of the Taxiaraches. In 1921 in continuation of his search he excavated
at a place called Keramidote west of the village of Hagia Paraskeve. Here he
found the foundations of a large temple very much destroyed, among and near
which were discovered four column capitals of Koldewey's Aeolic type and
fragments of others, so that this may be the Temple of Apollo Napaos. In
Samos the same archaeologist has commenced the excavations of the ancient
cemetery of Glyphaida, and cleared so far thirty tombs, which have not, however,
yielded anything very striking.

Ionia.—Dr. Oikonomos has begun work at Klazomenai and has discovered
the cemetery whence come the famous painted terra-cotta sarcophagi that
adorn so many museums. The place, called Monasterakia, is on the east side
of a small plain opening to the north-east to the Gulf of Smyrna, and the whole
surface is covered with the fragments of vases and sarcophagi. About forty
groves with painted terra-cotta sarcophagi of an earlier date than the second
half of the sixth century were excavated. The burials were made without any
system or arrangement and the sarcophagi were often placed one above the
other, so that sometimes there are as many as six layers of them. This shows
the long period during which the cemetery was in use, and ought to assist in
arranging a chronological series of the sarcophagi. As in the case of those
already known, the upper edges are decorated with a great variety of patterns,
wave lines, triangles, meanders, friezes of flowers and lotus buds alternately,
and finally animals such as sphinxes, lions and oxen. In them nothing was
found, but all around in the soil were quantities of vase-fragments. Each
sarcaophagus contained one skeleton, and only in one case were two skeletons
found in one sarcophagus. They were usually covered with slabs of poros,
and in one case with a big terra-cotta slab. On the island of Hagios Ioannes,

Koldewey, Lesbos, pp. 44 ff., Pl. 16.
which formerly served as a quarantine station and lies in the bay of Kklazomenai, excavations have revealed a street of the ancient city. This has been uncovered for a distance of about one hundred and fifty metres, and here and there side-streets diverge from it. It is paved with stone slabs and is four metres wide. In one of the houses at the side a fine mosaic came to light. On this within a polychrome border Amphitrite is shown riding a hippocamp advancing to the left. This central circular picture is set in a square, the corners of which are occupied by white seabirds with red legs and beaks. This in turn is surrounded by another broad decorative border, and near the door is a pretty scene of a Psyche trying to defend herself against an Eros armed with a spear. On the east side of the island another mosaic floor has been cleared. The design of this is mainly decorative, but at one point are two peacocks drinking out of a crater. The character of the building to which this belongs cannot yet be determined, but it is apparently of the Roman period. Finally on the rocky summit of the island excavations have been begun in what seems to be a shrine of Athena partly cut in the rock and partly supported by a terrace wall.

Byzantine Excavations.—In 1919 Dr. Soteriou began work at Chios in the church of St. Isidore and St. Myropes outside the city. The church in plan is cruciform with a central dome, and in the centre of the north side was a crypt with the graves of the martyrs. This church belongs to the beginning of the second millennium A.D. and is built above an older church (of the seventh century A.D.) of which only the atrium could be made out. In the citadel of Chios the ruins of an early Christian basilica were found. In 1921 the same archaeologist began at Thebes the examination of the supposed site of the church of Hagios Gregorios, a building of the ninth century known from inscriptions. Part of the diaconikon was uncovered, and many architectural members were decorated with sculptured designs.

In Asia Minor, on the hill of Agiosoulouk, near Ephesus, Dr. Soteriou has begun to clear the great church of St. John the Theologian. This was built in the reign of Justinian, was cruciform with five domes, and largely constructed of marble blocks taken in all probability from the Artemision. There were arcades between the colossal piers that supported the domes. The excavation of this important Christian monument will be continued.

ITALIAN SCHOOL.

The Italian School has not yet been able to undertake any excavations since the war, but its members have been actively engaged in exploring the coasts of Caria and Lycia, and it is hoped that in 1922 it will be possible to begin operations on some Carian site, perhaps Mylass.

A. J. B. WACE.
NOTICES OF BOOKS.


This first and very splendid part of the German Oriental Society's publication of Baalbek is devoted almost exclusively to architectural technicalities: but we must wait for the second volume before the actual temples will be published. The present instalment deals first with outlying remains—the Town Walls and Gates, the Water Conduits, the Quarries, the Cemeteries and the Theatre. Then it describes the gigantic Pachy of the Temple block as a whole, and finally, the Propylaia, the Forum Court and the Main Court, containing the Altar and the finely preserved tanks. This arrangement shows the way for the second volume, which will treat of the great Temple of the Helipopolitan God and the lesser Temple of Bacchus.

There is reserved also all historical discussion, e.g. the dating of the various parts of the block, with which Dr. Wiegand himself is to deal. The first instalment envisages hardly any archaeological question that is not a constructional technicality: for example, it offers no precise date for the Town Walls and Gates, perhaps because they have been so largely reconstituted in Arab times that certainty is unattainable. Also it publishes almost no non-architectural finds. A rude sculpture of the Helipopolitan God and some ruder terra-cotta versions of the type, all found in the 'Kiarbasen' (filter-tank) of the chief Water Conduit, which comes down from Anti-Lebanon; one or two sepulchral stelae from the Cemeteries, and a mutilated statue of a seated goddess found in the Temple Court, exhaust the list. We believe that there are not many more non-architectural objects to be published even in the second volume. The operations, which Koldewey began and the ex-Kaiser blessed on his visit in 1889, continued to the end to be more in the nature of clearance than of excavation. The chief work was done from 1902 to the end of 1905, and this, as Dr. Heberdey once told the writer, was from first to last more an engineer's job than an archaeologist's, and resulted in very few plastic or epigraphic discoveries. The restoration and the reconstruction of architectural remains of the later classical times, which appealed strongly to the grandiose imagination of Wilhelm II, and have claimed most of the resources and energy of German and Austrian excavators during the past generation, constitute a great work and a great advantage not only to architectural students, but also to the sightseer; but one sighs that so little effort should have been made to explore the earlier strata of the great sites cleared superficially at such enormous expense. Our regret has been shared by more than one of the excavators themselves, notably by the late Dr. Beindorf in respect of Ephesus. But, after all, we have as yet only a first instalment of the Baalbek publication before us, and perhaps in the second Dr. Wiegand, who is as interested as any one in early things, may throw light on a sanctuary and a cult which can hardly not have been of much greater antiquity than the extant remains of the 'Kalaat' attest. This Atlas is apparently not the only one that we are to have. About a third of the 135 plates are plans, architectural drawings and restorations of the remains treated of in Volume I of the Text. The balance is made up by splendid views of Baalbek as a whole from various points, and by photographs of remains in general and in detail. As examples of photographic reproduction the plates could hardly be surpassed. It is refreshing to be so amply assured that this sort of thing can still be done in Germany.

D. C. H.
NOTICES OF BOOKS


The small island of San Pantaleo, north of the modern Marsala, has long been recognised as the site of Motya, one of the oldest and probably after the Greek invasion the most important of all the Phoenician entropole in Sicily. Stormed and sacked by Dionysios of Syracuse in 397 B.C., it was not reoccupied on his retreat by the Carthaginians, who, instead, established themselves at Lilybaeum on the mainland, probably because, as Mr. Whitaker suggests, the island was too covered with ruins. There is thus probably no Phoenician site which offers greater promise to the excavator; and the author of the book under review, after having for forty years cherished the project of excavation, had at length the satisfaction of becoming sole proprietor of the island. One could wish all ancient sites were equally fortunate. Digging was at once commenced, but then came the war and the work had to be suspended; and pending its resumption, Mr. Whitaker was well advised to publish this book, which will call attention to the site and its possibilities.

The book is, of course, only a preliminary report, and most of the problems of the town still await solution; but useful work has been done on the fortifications, the dock or 'nouthos,' and the burial-grounds. The individual finds are well illustrated; nothing seems as yet to have appeared which might modify the low value set nowadays on Phoenician art. We find the usual Panis stele, and masses of deadly dull pottery; and all finer pieces are Greek importations. A curious mosaic (Fig. 24) deserves mention; it obviously derives its inspiration from South Italian red-figure vases. We await with interest the final report which Mr. Whitaker will give us some day, after the completion of the excavation.


These two works form the second and third parts of Wiegand's report of the activities during the War of the German Commission for the protection of Ancient Monuments on the Palestine front. The first part, dealing with the ancient sites of the border region lying between the desert of Sinai and the hills of Southern Palestine, was reviewed in this Journal about twelve months ago. Part II. is a collection of the Greek inscriptions found within the same area. It must be confessed that the material is poor and unpromising; beyond a tariff inscription from Bir Saba, previously edited, there is little but Byantine epigraphy; still the editor has striven diligently to squeeze from them such scraps of information as they contain with regard to the social conditions of this little-known Debatable Land.

Part III. is of more general interest; it is a report of a lengthy re-examination of Petra, and contains much that is new. The high dates assigned to some of the monuments will, we think, hardly commend themselves; it is startling, for instance, that the Ha'me, which the late Sir Mark Sykes has somewhere aptly likened to a colossal drawing-room clock, is considered to be of the early Hellenistic period. An appendix, 'Zur Erklärung der petraischen Felsfassaden,' by K. Wulzinger, proposes a novel explanation of the peculiarities of Petraean architecture; it is suggested that the architects, forced by the exigencies of the site to build perpendicularly instead of horizontally, developed a perspective style as in scene-painting for the stage, and that the piled-up stories with their broken pediments and sedilia are meant to represent the normal domestic architecture of the period with low and black colonnades brought into the same plane. The illustrations of some of the monuments are inadequate, but the work is of course not designed as a definitive publication of the Nabataean capital.
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An archaeological survey, made under war-time conditions, of the district of central Albania centring round the ancient sites of Apollonia and Byllis: the unfamiliar title is taken from the modern Albanian names for the area. A general survey of Albania was undertaken by Praschniker in 1916 and published under the style of Archäologische Forschungen in Albanien u. Montenegro. In late 1917 he returned for more detailed work on the Apollonia sector, "at once the richest in antiquities and the most exposed to damage by its proximity to the fighting line." This landable activity was, however, brought to an abrupt end, and many of the finds were lost. Before this, however, the site of Apollonia was mapped and the walls were examined; some remains of an ornate Flavian temple had been laid bare; the western end of the Via Egnatia was visited; and a collection of miscellaneous finds of sculptures and inscriptions was installed at Durazzo. Of the sculptures mentions may be made of a fifth-century relief with a wrestling scene and of a group of third-century steles from Apollonia with Erotes and rosettes which surely must be copied from Hellanistic earrings. A mosaic from Durazzo reproduces on a gigantic scale the female head seen on Apulian painted vases; and among the inscriptions we observe the epitaph of Robert de Montfort, banished from England in 1107.


This little volume is the sequel to the Prolegomena and Theseis. Very briefly and simply Miss Harrison summarises the results to which her long work on the origins of Greek religion have led her. There are three chapters: the first two show that both primitive ritual and primitive theology spring from one common source—the impulse to the conservation of life. Chapter I, "Ritual," emphasises the group idea as the basis of religious notions—first the totem-group, arising out of the social conditions of the early human family, according to Durkheim's view; indissolubly connected with the practice of exogamy in its origin, and bearing in the embryo form of tabu all later notions of sin and sanctity. Then follows the wider idea of the tribal group with its consequent of initiation rites. Out of these groups arises the individual in the shape of the medicine-man or king-god, the ruler and yet the servant of the tribe; lastly there is to be considered the expression of the tribal wish to live, the fertility play or dance, emphasising the sequences of seasons and harvests, of death and resurrection. Chapter II, "Theology," traces the development of the idea of a deity; out of a succession of leaders of ritual dances comes the hazy notion of a daemon of the dance; the ritual decays or is no longer believed in, but the daemon lingers on, becoming more dehumanised, more isolated, and thus finally an Olympian deity. Chapter III, "The Religion of To-day," compares the primary motives which produced Greek religion with the immaneient movement of to-day.


The outstanding feature of Professor Pettiasoni's clear and interesting sketch of the position of Zoroastrianism in the religious history of Iran is the attempt to show that Zaratustra's teaching in its closely allied features of monotheism and universalism was strange to the genius of the people of Iran, and that it was not until the Sassanian period that Zoroastrianism was able, by a process of acceptance of polytheism and nationalism, to attain the rank of the religion of the Persian people. These characteristics of the history of the faith have suggested to the author the further conclusion (pp. 82, 83) that Zarathustra drew his inspiration from a foreign source, which may be found in the teaching of Israelites, deported by the King of Assyria to Media after the fall of Samaria to Sargon II in 722 B.C. The deportees may have sought to propagate their monothestic views, and
the intellectual ferment thus set up may have evoked the monotheism of Zarathustra and his attacks on the daeva worshipers. This view renders it natural to hold that the scene of the prophet's early work lay in Media, and leads the author to deny the traditional view that Zarathustra's patron, Vitasapa, ruled in Bactria, and to hold that Bactria was a late acquisition of the Iranians (p. 75).

Ingenious as the theory is, it may be doubted if it can stand serious investigation. That the deportees from Samaria were monotheists anxious to spread their faith is a pure conjecture, and by no means convincing. Moreover, if we accept it, we are bound to adopt a late date for Zarathustra. Now, it is true that one line of tradition would place the activity of Zarathustra in the period 600 B.C., but the value of this tradition is rendered minimal by the fact that we can see the ground of its coming into being, the certainly erroneous identification of Vitasapa, the prophet's patron, with the father of Darius. Every other consideration, and beyond all the extraordinary closeness of the language of the Gathas to that of the Vedas hymns, tells in favour of a date not later than 500 B.C. and possibly a couple of centuries earlier. Nor does it seem wise to seek to trace the Iranian movement as predominantly one from west to east; later history strongly supports the natural assumption which holds that in the Indo-Iranian period Bactria was occupied by pro-Iranians. There is also some measure of exaggeration in deducing (p. 60) the universal character of Zarathustra's faith from his seeking to win Turan over to it; Turan denotes merely the nomad Iranians, and Zarathustra's teaching, despite its nobility, is clearly dominated by conceptions directly due to local surroundings, which must from the first have made it far more difficult to spread his doctrines outside Iran than it was to extend the circle of followers of Buddhism.

It is difficult also to follow Professor Pettazzoni in his distinction between the status of Zoroastrianism under the Achaeemidae (pp. 126-130) and its position in the Sassanian kingdom. Whatever may be said of Darius's predecessors, that king was emphatically a devotee of Aryananda, and if, like his successor, he believed also in other gods, the Sassanians were in similar case. Moreover, Zarathustra himself had left the way open for the recognition of inferior deities in his own acceptance of the Amesa Spenta, and at no time can we suppose that his monotheism was ever fully appreciated except in a select coterie. The attempt, which was made by the last Persian dynasty, to associate the revival of the old faith with the new national kingdom evidently failed to extend effectively the sphere of Zoroastrianism, as is proved by the success of the Nestorians and the Manicheans, even when the kingdom could use its temporal power against heresy, and the rapid passing over of Persia to Islam when the Arabs overwhelmed the state. But, whether we accept Professor Pettazzoni's conclusions or not, recognition must be accorded to the value of his discussion and to his command of the literature.

A. Berriedale Keith.

Dr. Reitzenstein's latest work vindicates for Iran an important part in the development of the ideas of immortality and of a Saviour in the Jewish and Christian beliefs, thus negating in essentials the results attained by Dr. J. Scheffelowitz in *Die altpersische Religion und das Judaismus* (1920). The author's views have been largely influenced by his new conclusions by study (pp. 2-10) of a Zoroastrian fragment which seems to him to contain ideas which afford a clue to the ultimate source of the doctrines expressed by Paul in 1 Cor. xv. An elaborate examination of Manichean fragments and of the Mandara Book of the Dead (pp. 43-92) is made to yield the conclusion that it is fundamentally erroneous to seek in Greek philosophical developments the source of dualistic views, which can far more easily be derived direct from Zoroastrism, and a determined attack is directed (p. 106) against Leisegang's effort to derive the doctrines of Philo from a Greek

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source. The author's arguments suffer from complication and lack of orderly presentation, but they serve to show that it is unwise to ignore the existence of the Zoroastrian creed as an important factor among the causes which brought forth early Christian doctrine. It may be feared, however, that in his enthusiasm for his case Dr. Reitzenstein has fallen into the error of overestimating the evidence which can be adduced on the other side. Thus he traces the distinction in Philo of the κοίλην ἄνθρωπος and the γόνος ἄνθρωπος to the Iranian distinction between the soul and the spirit, the latter embodied in matter, while the former comes from the world above; and Paul's views he would refer to the same ultimate source. Yet it must be remembered that there was ready in the De Anima (iii. 5) the germ of a similar distinction. If, as it is open to argue, the κοίλην ἄνθρωπος is inseparably combined with the body, whose form it ultimately is, then the κοίλην ἄνθρωπος may come from without and be divine. We may believe that the Iranian doctrine may have affected Philo, but there is no reason to suppose that the conception which it suggested was in any way incompatible with the development of Greek philosophy.

In somewhat loose connection with the main object of his work stands a treatise of considerable length (pp. 151-250) on the conception of the Aion and the eternal city, lines which are carried back through Iran to India itself. The speculations of the Brāhmanas culminate in the conception of Prajāpati as the year and the symbol of eternity: in Zoroastrianism there appeared at an uncertain date the conception of Zervan Ahuramazda, time as uncirculated and eternal; from this comes the conception of Aion in the Hellenistic period, and the treatment of the Aion in the Epistle to the Ephesians and in I Cor. ii. 6. In Babylon (p. 207) the Iranian idea took shape in the form of the conception of the eternal city, an idea which is to be discerned in the Roman doctrine of James and of the auctorem imperii. The theme is expounded with much curious learning and ingenuity, but the Iranian origin is very far from being proved. There is much also in the attempted demonstration that is obviously wrong; to assert (p. 176) that the seven-day week is derived from the progress of the moon through her twenty-eight stations goes far beyond the available evidence, and ignores the fact that India for centuries held the doctrine of the moon stations without thinking of a seven-day week. To suggest that the conception of a thirty-day month or 360-day year is later again contradicts the Indian evidence, which shows this division as obviously primitive. Nor is there any plausibility in the suggestion (p. 249) that the conception of the Aion as a chariot is to be derived from the Indian view of the horse as the symbol of the sun.

A. BERKILDALKE KEITH.


In this learned monograph the writer gives us a careful study of the relics preserved at Constantinople in the centuries before the sack of 1204, and so puts vividly before us an interesting side of Byzantine faith and practice. The book consists of two parts: in the first, Les anciens sanctuaires de Constantinople, the author discusses the most notable collections of relics preserved in the churches of Constantinople, and in the second, La dispersion des trésors des sanctuaires, the types of Byzantine reliquaries as they are known from the examples preserved in the churches of Europe, to which a certain number found their way after the sack of 1204. This second part gives him occasion to remark upon the influence which these examples of the art of the Byzantine goldsmith and jeweller exercised upon western Europe.

So complete has been the dispersion of the relics and reliquaries and the destruction of the churches in which they were stored, that the first part of the book has to rest almost entirely upon literary sources. Of the churches whose treasures are, as it were, reconstituted only St. Sophia, S. Irene and the church of SS. Sergius and Bacchus are now standing; of Valachernal and of the Fugi nothing is left but the sacred springs over which they

1 De Gen. An. ii. 3, 336 b 27; ἀλεισμόν ἐκ τῶν τιμίων ἑωραντεῖς δικαίωσαν καὶ ἄλλοι ἐναὶ χρόνον.
were built. All the others have disappeared, unless indeed the mosque known as Kilisii Mesjedi is the church of Agia Anastasia Pharmacoloplytra, a point on which the author would have done well to consult Van Millingen's Byzantine Churches in Constantinople. The second part finds its material in the actual relics and reliquaries of Byzantine work scattered about in Europe, many of which can be directly traced to the deprivations of the Crusaders. And even amongst these much has been lost; many examples, formerly preserved in France, disappeared at the Revolution, and are now known only from earlier descriptions.

The study of these sanctuaries is carefully documented throughout, and affords striking evidence of the part played by relics in the popular and official worship of the church at Constantinople. This is all the more valuable, as a change has come about in this matter owing to the wholesale dispersal of relics by the crusaders and Turks. Conspicuous relics are now comparatively few in the Christian east, and the popular devotion which was formerly spent upon them is now mainly directed to wonder-working eunons. The present book reminds us that this was not always the case; the city was full of relics, and these were regarded as its protection against enemies, and received on fixed days the ceremonial visits of the emperor and the Court. Finally, mention must be made of the very interesting illustrations of the cult of relics drawn from the Menologion of Basil II.

R. M. D.


This book contains five papers and an appendix, the results of the author's archaeological studies in Constantinople in 1920, of which the first and the third are of the greatest general interest.

The first deals with a series of sarcophaei at Constantinople, now brought together in the Imperial Museum. First we have a series of seven and fragments of two more, all in porphyry, datable by their shape to the fourth and fifth centuries. Literary authorities tell us that nine emperors, from Constantine the Great to Marcian, were buried in such porphyry sarcophagi. Although no individual sarcophagus can be traced, there is a strong probability that we have here a series of imperial sarcophagi of this period. Next, there are five sarcophagi of verd antique, a material known to have been used for the sarcophagi of six emperors from Leo I. to Basil I., and lastly other sarcophagi of various marbles. Since the violation of the imperial tombs by the Latins in 1204, the sarcophagi have been so much moved about that no definite identifications are possible, but there is no doubt that this collection now in the museum represents as a whole the tombs of the earlier emperors. The second paper records observations made amongst the ruins of the great palace of the emperors, now made possible by fires which have destroyed the houses by which they were until recently concealed. The third paper deals with the Arabjami. F. W. Hashuck wrote a paper (B.S.A. XXII, p. 157) on the traditions connected with the building and on its present name, a point upon which Ebersolt does not touch, and traced its existence back into the Genoese period, when it was dedicated to St. Paul and belonged to the Dominicans. A recent restoration has now cast fresh light on its history. Besides traces of frescoes, a series of sculptured slabs have been found, which date some of them to the fifth and sixth, some to the tenth or eleventh century. The position in which they were found we are not told, and they have now been removed to the museum. They are shown on the Plates, and the author points out that they go to show that there was possibly a church on the site in the fifth century, reconstructed in the tenth or eleventh, or that in a church built at the later date was made of earlier materials. The flooring slabs with Latin inscriptions and Genoese coats of arms, mentioned by Hashuck, have also been removed to the museum. Of the twelve Byzantine inscriptions 'ludites su peu commis,' published in the fourth paper, eleven are funeral epitaphs in Greek of no great interest, but the twelfth, a 12-line metrical epitaph in had Latin elegies dated to 351, is of a kind less common in Constantinople. The last paper
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consists of notes on Greek MSS. preserved in the library of the Scaglio. It is curious that no one who goes there seems to see all the MSS., so that each visitor's list differs a little from that of his predecessors. It is gratifying to see that the 'unique MS. of Critoboulos' 'History of Mabouroued II,' is still there. The short appendix is devoted to a fragment of a sculptured column.

The appearance of this fully illustrated volume is very welcome, especially as it shows that it is now possible to do archaeological work in Constantinople, and it is to be hoped that this fair promise will be continued.

R. M. D.


Dr. Poulsen's good fortune in discovering so much new material is only equalled by the skill with which he handles the now hackneyed subject of Greek and Roman iconography. His little book opens with a discussion of two unpublished portrait heads at Steengaard, one a new replica of the head of Hypereides; the other a rather poor copy of that of Chrysippus, distinguished from all other replicas by the spiritual turn of the head to the right, which gives new life and meaning to the figure as we know it: in the Paris statue, now wrongly restored with the head of Aristotle.

With the two unpublished portraits in the National Gallery of Edinburgh, interesting as they are, the reviewer is less concerned than with the admirable vindication of the Naples Zeno as the Stoé as against those who hold that the owner of the famous Villa at Herculanenum was too fanatical an Epicurean to admit the head of a rival school into his collection, and with the extremely lucid and interesting discussion of the Menander of Studnitzer in connexion with other Hellenistic portraits of the same character. The discussion of the double horn of Menander and the Pseudo-Scorva is both interesting and profitable, and Dr. Poulsen is certainly right in regarding the latter as the portrait of a poet earlier than the second century B.C. In the present writer's opinion, based on the replicas, larger than life-size, in the British Museum, the poet in question must not only be earlier, but much earlier, as no author of the fifth or fourth centuries could conceivably be recognised after this fashion. Hesiod, the one ineradicable gap in our poetic iconography of Greece, seems to fulfil this condition sufficiently well, and the combination with Menander on the double horn of the Villa Albaní might be explained by the fact that both were essentially gnomic poets, and quoted as such over the whole Hellenic world.

Of the seated Borghese poet of the Ny-Carlsberg collection, of the famous Galgina there and the almost equally well-known statue of Metrodorus, Dr. Poulsen has much to say, and the admirable effect of the Athens head of the philosopher when added to the torso makes us wish that a similar experiment could be made with the Louvre Chrysippus and the new head discovered by Dr. Poulsen, who justly contrasts the stately bearing of Epiphras on his cushionless chair with the comfortable lounge of his disciple. "Der Meister thront wie ein Prophet, während Metrodorus es sich ganz menschlich leimes macht."

The tentative identification of two portraits, Nos. 619 and 628, in the Ny-Carlsberg as Antonia and Agrippa Postumus is bold but not unjustifiable, and the further identification of another perplexing portrait known to us from two replicas (Hekler 191 and the Ladywigaufen bust here reproduced) as Marcus Antonius is of the first importance; if we imagine the head placed more upright, as on the coins, the likeness to the losses bearing the head of Antony is remarkable, and the suggestion merits careful consideration.

The final essay on Technical Innovations in the Portraits of the Hadrianic Age is of great interest, and points the way to a fuller treatment of the subject of the artistic rendering of the pupil of the eye, the polishing of the surface, and the use of the drill in the hair. Perhaps Dr. Poulsen will see his way to producing the treatise on the beginnings and cause of the new technique which he urges on others in his concluding sentences. Meanwhile we must note that thirty-five plates and twenty-one drawings, all well reproduced,
add to the attraction of his luminous and entertaining pages, one of the few works on the subject which we could wish longer. How much of interest has been omitted from this brief review the student who consults the book will soon discover.


A greater service could hardly be rendered to students of the Greek drama than the gathering into one volume of all the scattered archaeological evidence, which can be reproduced in illustrations, bearing upon the history and external setting of the Greek Drama. In the present volume this task is very well carried out, and its 109 plates and 142 illustrations in the text leave out very little that is important. The illustrations are well executed, and the accompanying explanations short and clear. In the summaries, given at different points in the book, of the history of the various types of drama there is inevitably much that is disputable; for instance, Dr. Bieber takes in the main Dürpfeld's view of the place occupied by the actors, and follows the conventional theory of the relations of Tragedy and Satyric drama; but whatever may be said on these obscure matters, she shows excellent judgment and self-restraint in drawing conclusions, e.g. from vase paintings; as regards the history of the drama, she is well aware of the limits of this method, and not infrequently differs with good reason from Robert and others of her predecessors. The illustrations of the remains of extant theatres, which are particularly good, are followed by a long series bearing upon the costumes worn in Tragedy, Satyric drama and Comedy. Dr. Bieber shows a special interest in questions of costume (as those who are acquainted with her article on the Dresden Relief would expect), and these are more fully discussed in the text than are some other subjects. After these come a large number of reproductions of Phlyakes vases and Terracottas illustrative of Comedy, and the work concludes with a brief treatment of Music. There is a good bibliography, but the third (1900) edition of Haigh's Attic Theatre should have been cited, not the second (1898), and there is no mention of the writings of Fickinger and J. T. Allen; there are, in fact, very few references to English or American work. On p. 194 ('Biotische Poesie') Mr. A. B. Cook's paper in the Classical Review for 1895 should have been mentioned. By an odd slip of the pen, 'Andromeda' for 'Andromache' occurs twice on p. 111, but the work as a whole is thoroughly careful, and will be valuable to scholars, not only for the time that it will save them, but for the brief and clear indications of questions at issue and (often) of the chief arguments which have been used in the solution of them.

A. W. Pickard-Cambridge.


This book seeks to prove that the P.V. is a political allegory. Zeus represents the sovereign Athenian democracy; the foolish marriage points at Themistocles' naval policy; Prometheus is the poet himself, with some reference to Aristotle; the oppressed mortals are the subject-allies.

Mr. Harman's treatise has very few of those exciting details which one has learned to expect from critical filibustering of this kind. But there is one good example; on p. 16 he maintains that Orestes represents the old landed aristocracy, as is shown by the play on the traditional Eupatrial claim to άπό το ευπατρικόν οίκον (v. 308 sq.).

Any one who essays to show that a literary work does not aim at its ostensible object, but possesses a quite different meaning, must obviously prove not only that the work suits the supposed allegory but also that it does not fit the ostensible object. Mr. Harman fails even more markedly in the latter respect than in the former. His only relevant
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suggestion here is that the conception of Zeus in the P. V. differs from that found elsewhere in Aeschylus. This argument most people would answer by referring to our considerable knowledge of the companion-plays. Mr. Hartman, however, does not believe that the P. V. formed part of a trilogy; indeed, he will have it that the play was never performed on the stage. His proof of these two contentions is entirely unconvincing.

GRACEY NORWOOD.


Mr. James has made an experiment which should excite the interest of all phil-Hellenes. He accepts the 'Greek-less' school as an established fact, but far from losing courage he recognises that nothing is lost irretrievably so long as Greek civilisation continues to be studied, and he believes that this civilisation can be salvaged from the wreckage of the old linguistic curricula. In the present volume the author surveys the life of Greece from the earliest days down to the 'great deliverance' from Persia. In his introductory chapters he summarises the distinctive features of the Greek land and people, not forgetting the people's achievements and sufferings from Caria to Navarino. He next illustrates Homeric Greece with translated extracts from the Iliad and Odyssey and an explanatory chapter on the archaeological background of Homer. The third section of the book contains a brief description of the age of colonisation, and of Spartan and early Athenian institutions. The remaining chapters tell the story of the Persian wars, interwoven with numerous excerpts from Herodotus.

In regard to the author's choice of subjects our only regret is that he did not find room for a passage or two from the Argonautica to illustrate the adventures of the age of Discovery; apart from this, his selection could hardly be improved upon. His treatment of the subject-matter is uniformly scholarly and up-to-date. He is unashamedly reticent about the blind violence of the Homeric heroes and the crass parasitism of Sparta. He decidedly over-emphasises the distinction between Dorians and Ionians. He does not always make clear his attitude to Herodotus' good stories, e.g., whether Xerxes really brought along 1,700,000 men. Nevertheless his picture of early Greece is true in all essentials, and it is drawn in clear outlines. The chapter on prehistoric archaeology is conspicuous for its limpidity, and the narrative of the Persian wars reproduces Herodotus' own sober enthusiasm.

We shall look forward with interest to Mr. James' second volume, which will deal with Greek art and literature, and (let us hope) Greek science.

The Greek Renaissance. By P. N. URE. Pp. 175, 12 plates. London: Methuen, 1921. 6s. net.

In this volume Prof. Ure provides for the general reader a brief and bright account of the most momentous of the world's many renaissances. He begins by setting off the civilisation of historic Greece against the dark background of the 500 years that followed upon the collapse of the prehistoric culture of Greece. He then proceeds to discuss the causes of the great revival of the seventh and sixth centuries. Among these causes he emphasises (1) the slow resumption of settled industry, as typified by Histiae, in place of the 'city-sack' habits of Homer's heroes; (2) the stimulus of contact with Lydia and other foreign powers; (3) the growth of wealth consequent upon colonisation, and the resulting political upheavals which ended in the establishment of a progressive type of government under the so-called 'tyrants.' Prof. Ure makes comparatively little use of the striking parallel between the Greek renaissance and the last three centuries of the Middle Ages; and he does not define the contribution of the Homeric school of poetry towards the regeneration of Greece.

Nevertheless his preoccupation of early Greek life and thought is both comprehensive
and sharply defined. Of the many felicitous remarks in Prof. Ure's book it will suffice here to single out two. Prof. Ure aptly points out that the comparative failure of the Greeks in the field of natural science had two really serious effects: it retarded political co-ordination and it prevented that diffusion of knowledge which might have made the world safe for Greek culture. Best of all, he reminds us that the Greeks' tradition was a guide but not a strait-jacket, and that early Greek art and literature were anything but 'classical' in the bad sense of that word. Altogether, The Greek Renaissance is a thoughtful and a thought-compelling book, and it certainly should realise the author's hopes of bringing ancient Greece nearer to us than to our fathers.


This booklet contains a reprint of Mr. Walker's contributions to the eleventh edition of the Encyclopaedia Britannica. A full third of it is devoted to a discussion of sources and authorities; in the remaining part the author characterises the principal epochs of Greek history down to the death of Alexander and discusses the key problems of each period. Mr. Walker has nothing to say on the important question, whether Philip and Alexander were foreign oppressors or legitimate successors in the hegemony of Sparta and Athens over Greece. But apart from this omission he makes reference to all the chief topics of Greek political history. We may mention, however, his refutation of Beloch's heresies concerning the Dorians, his defence of the tyrants and of the Peloponnesian League, and his excellent summary of the strong and weak points of Athenian democracy. But the whole book is a storehouse of close-packed argument, and a model of method to students who desire to think things out.


This is a popular book, but it includes in its short chapters nearly all the important results of recent researches in ancient mythology. The facts are placed with sure appreciation of their importance, and are frequently illuminated with parallels or observations from the religions or superstitions of other peoples.

The first chapters describe the different sources of art and poetry, from which knowledge of Greek religion is derived, and trace the scientific treatment of the myths from the logographers down to modern scholars. Of great interest is the chapter on Cretan-myceenian survivals in Greek religion and myth, a field of research which the author has lately contributed an excellent little study, Ueber Die Anfänge der Göttin Athena (Meddelelser af Kgl. danske Vidensk. Selsk., 1921). Subsequent chapters deal with the myths of the creation of the world, the great Greek gods, the gods of the Romans (with many valuable observations), the cult of the Roman emperors, personifications and allegories in Roman belief, and the Oriental and German gods.

The second volume contains the legends of the Greek heroes, so far as they are not told in relation with the gods, the Roman myths, and finally a list of genealogies. The whole book is finely and copiously illustrated, and well deserves translation for the benefit of other than Scandinavian readers.

F. Poulsen.


Mr. Radcliffe's net is of fine mesh, and he has cast it very wide. He has pursued the history of fishing from A.D. 500 to its earliest recorded origins not only among the Greeks and Romans, but in Egypt, Judaea, Assyria, and China, with sidelong from other
quarters of the world. The book is written with zest and industry, with an ample equipment of scholarship, and with a practical knowledge of angling and pisciculture. The abundant illustrations, chiefly from archaeological sources, are not merely a delight to the eye, but have been chosen with a strict regard to the elucidation of the argument. Besides a few misprints (as Tuncus for Tuncus, hirundinus for hirundinae), the chief blunders are a fondness for following irrelevant issues and a forced and slangy jocosity.

The four historic methods of fishing are by the spear, net, hand-line, and rod; fishweirs and other fixed engines, and the use of poisons and explosives, may be regarded as subsidiary. The earliest fishing implements that we know of are the harpoon or spear, and the gorse—the primitive ancestor of the fish-hook. Strangely enough, there is no record of the fish-spear or the rod having been used in Mesopotamia; and it is even more remarkable that the rod appears not to have been used by the Jews, though it was familiar in Egypt. Physical conditions may partly explain these diversities of practice. Fish-spearer requires either such a firm bank over deepish water as is afforded by our own salmon-rivers, or calm water, neither too deep nor too turbid, if practised from a boat. The rod is fundamentally a device for projecting a line beyond a screen of vegetation on the river-bank, or far enough to reach deep water, and secure a certain amount of concealment, when the fisherman is perched on a rock, as in the lively representation attributed to Chrysothyon, and reproduced on p. 131.

It has already been observed that nearly all Homer's references to fishing occur in similes; and this is natural when his main narratives are of war and adventure rather than the pursuits of civil life. Mr. Radcliffe discusses at length the only passage (Od. xii. 250-4) in which Homer definitely mentions a fishing-rod. There seems here a point in the description of the fish as fishing for 'little' fish; for it is probable, as Mr. Radcliffe suggests, that Greek fishermen preferred the hand-line for catching heavier fish, as did all our own sea-fishermen until very lately. Sea-fishing with a rod, now growing popular, is a development not of commercial fishing, but of sport. Mr. Radcliffe quotes, on the other hand, the contention of modern fishermen (that) the value of the rod as an implement increases in proportion to the weight of the fish on the hook.' This surely applies only to the powerful elastic modern rods, equipped with reel and running line—these last an improvement since Isaac Walton's time. In the same passage, as well as in II. xxiv. 80-3, occurs the much-disputed problem of the 'horn of the field-ex' which the fish casts into the water. Mr. Radcliffe inclines to the view that this was a horn lure, like a metal pilke-amo, and states that horn spoons are now used in England in pilke-fishing. But the Greek says definitely 'a horn,' not any fragment of horn; and in the passage in the Iliad, Iris plunging into the sea is compared to a piece of lead fastened to a horn. It seems clear that the horn and the lead formed a sinker, like leaden weights, or split shot, bi-day. Perhaps an ox-horn was chosen as a common and convenient receptacle into which molten lead could be poured.

Aristotle's recognition of at least the elements of the recently developed science of scale-reading is justly quoted as another example of his superiority to all other naturalists for nearly 2000 years. Passing to authors of the Roman period, Mr. Radcliffe claims to find in Martial the first mention both of the use of the fly in angling, and of the jointed rod. The first of these contentions is the sounder, and the more interesting if accepted as true. Martial (Ep. v. 18, 7) asks who does not know that the eager scores is deceived by the fly it devours. Since all the MSS. read massa, there is no need to substitute massa, in the sense of alga, and understand that a bait for the scores was a piece of weed. But there is here no hint of an artificial fly; the first mention of this is still Elianis, who not only describes its use on the river Astaeus in Macedonia, but gives precise directions for trying it. As for the jointed rod, the crucial line (Ep. iv. 55, 3) is Ast orosceutis tazvanis karabnus guwad, and neither here nor in the lamp-design illustrated on p. 149 is there any indication that the prey was fish and not birds. The three rods of the grotesque Fowler on the lamp need no more be meant to be fitted together than three arrows; three, through Mr. Radcliffe affirms the contrary 'past peradventure.' Crescent, and crescit in Ep. xiv. 219, seem simply to mean 'quietly lifted'—unless crescit can possibly mean 'tapering'—with the form of the growing rod, as a 'crescent' is the form of the waxing moon.

The editor of Dioscorides has shown that a philologist can write excellent treatises on Greek medicine. This book proves, what is perhaps more remarkable, that distinguished labours in the practice of the art may be combined with accurate and scholarly knowledge of its history. But the monographs of Wellmann and others serve only as paving-stones—dually marked—for a footpath along the Roman road which stretches through more than a millennium of human history, and the numerous necessary deviations add to the interest of the journey. After an account of theurgic and folk medicine in early Rome, and elsewhere, the author makes "a long digression" to the Ionian and Italian schools of philosophy and medicine. He lays much stress on the naturalism of the Ionians, their abstractive, and points out that Greek science is derived directly or indirectly from them. Some may be surprised by the statement, "Cos and Cnidus were Ionian," yet it may be fairly argued that the Hippocratic writers, as well as the Cretan Diogenes and Empedocles of Aegae, had their spiritual homes in Ionia, though the physician who gave science her first watchword against superstition, εἰς τὸν ἄνθρωπον αὐτοῦς, probably thought himself a good Dorian. Another long digression deals with the Alexandrian schools, and we return to Rome fairly well acquainted with early Greek philosophy and medicine. The achievement of the latter is well portrayed in one of the lucid summaries which abound in the book.

In spite of "the manifold doctrine spun by Greek ingenuity ..." there were for the wiser physician three factors of safety. He was free from magic: he was a master of hygiene, and, whatever his abstract notions, he never forgot to treat the individual.

From the second century B.C. all roads led to Rome, and we may safely conclude that Rufus, Soranus, Antyllus and Philumenus sojourned there, as well as Asclepiades, Archigenes, Heliodorus and Galen. The reader will find no better combined account of these and other remarkable men than that which is given in the seven following chapters, where the author shows himself at home with the latest German monographs and competent to pass an independent judgment, as for example the Marx-Wellmann-Ullberg controversy on the sources of Celsius. Greek medicine in the East from Orbeaus to John Actuarius is set forth in a chapter on Byzantine medicine, while an essay on Salerno joins western Rome to the Middle Ages. Fragments which may remain are gathered up in essays or addresses on the ancient doctrines of the pulse and generation, hygiene, infections and other notables diseases, and pharmacology, while others deal with later episodes in scientific and medical history down to our own day.

This method involves some amount of repetition, but the reader is left asking for more, since by a little straightening out and filling in of gaps we should get an admirable and complete history of Greek medicine, legitimately continued to the author's own time, for, as he tells us, his teachers retained "no little remnant of Galenism." Ionic Macedonia, however, was probably a pleasanter river than "the swift Hellespont," and a copious index directs the reader to any desired point.

In dealing with so vast a subject some oversights and doubtful statements are inevitable. No one, for example, can carry in his mind all the voluminous works of Galen; which probably accounts for the statement (p. 42), "Galen does not mention II [Asculapius worship] even to attack it," and for what is perhaps the only serious oversight in the book (p. 143 f.), which the author shares with another distinguished scholar, the failure to notice that the mysterious but "learned and distinguished Alexandrian physician" of Dr. Budge's Syriac Book of Medicine is none other than Galen, large portions of whose De locis affectis, including all the "cases," are clearly visible through the double translation.
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What Mr. Fobes on his title-page professes to have done he: has done so well and so thoroughly that we cannot help regretting that he has not done, not apparently contemplated doing, a little more. The contents of Aristotle’s Meteorologica are so interesting in themselves, and make so strong an impression of the author’s wide knowledge, wide research, and wide curiosity, that a few notes from a scholar so competent as Mr. Fobes would have been very welcome, at least in those places where his emendations of the text imply an alteration in the meaning. His discussion in the Classical Review, 1916, of a difficult passage in the second book shows how valuable a commentary he could have made in a small space; but when we turn to the passage we find nothing but a brief intimation in a footnote that the text has been changed. And surely a diagram might have been inserted at the two or three places where the author employed one.

Mr. Fobes retains not only Bekker’s division into chapters, but also his paging, so that comparison is easy. He has also given us a list of all the passages in which he has made any considerable alteration in Bekker’s text. It will be found that he is chary of suggestion; for example, in 371 a, 4, he rejects spectum specto in favour of spectum specto, without any hint as to the meaning of the unusual word thus restored to the text. In another passage, 376 b, 25, where Bekker’s τέμ θε τέμ θε τέμ θε τέμ θε is not very satisfying, he does indeed hint in a note at a possible solution, but contented himself with printing in the text the unmeaning and improbable MS. word τέμ θε τέμ θε τέμ θε τέμ θε. A peculiarity of the volume is that ζυγωμ. λυγωμ. στεκτ. are always spelt ζυγωμ. λυγωμ. στεκτ.. If I understand Mr. Fobes aright, he regards this unusual spelling as merely a freak of the scribe of his favourite MS., and if so, one hardly sees why the familiar forms should not be retained. Mr. Fobes gives a very clear and very full account of the many MSS. he has examined, and a most valuable “notitia litteraria” containing a list of commentaries on the Meteorologica, ancient and modern. There is also an index verborum, the more valuable because the vocabulary of the fourth book in particular is extraordinarily rich. Altogether he has given us in a beautifully-printed and very portable volume a most satisfactory edition of a most remarkable book.


This attractive volume will be welcomed on many grounds, and especially by those readers whose appetites were whetted by the articles on Italian architectural terracottas by Mrs. Strong and Mrs. Van Buren in Vol. IV. of the Journal of Roman Studies. The author’s enthusiasm, almost too modestly, the hope that “a simple catalogue of the figurative terracotta revestments from Etruria and Latium in the earliest periods may be found useful,” for this is much more than a simple catalogue and will prove not only useful but indispensable. In scope and sumptuousness it does not, naturally, rival Koch’s Dorfertöpfe aus Campanien—a pre-war publication—but it provides a handy and lucid collection of similar material from Etruria and Latium, collating duplicate examples of types, quoting helpful parallels, and revealing an extensive acquaintance with a wide range of material.

Thirty-two plates of good photographs—many of which reproduce several pieces—are a generous but not excessive allowance for the seventy-four pages of text, for so little of this material is easily accessible to students in this country, and it is somewhat of a revelation to see how many museums have been drawn upon for the purpose.

The catalogue is divided into three sections—Antefaces, Arcateria (which includes a variety of other architectural members), and Frieze—and each is prefaced by a short
introduction. When we observe that on pp. 31-35 there comes a brief, but clear and scholarly discussion of the ancient authorities for the fictile decoration of Italian temples, we realise that the book is an accretion of three articles, which might with advantage have been rearranged so that all the introductory matter preceded the catalogue proper under its three headings; indeed the miscellany appended to the Acræoteries might well have formed a fourth and separate section. We feel also that the usefulness of the book would have been increased by even a short discussion of these terra-cottas on a chronological basis, to justify the laid statement of dates, e.g. 'VI century,' 'VI-V. centuries,' etc., given without further explanation, which may puzzle readers who are naturally less familiar with the material. Certain other omissions can hardly pass without comment: (1) references to the Plates at the end should have been inserted in the text as well as in the elaborate table on p. x. I.; (2) the scale of the illustrations is not given; (3) the dimensions of all fragments, not merely of a selection from acroteria and friezes, should have been furnished. Scarcely less serious, and perhaps more irritating, is the inadequacy of the pass-correction. Misprints occur rather too frequently for a book of reference of only 74 pages. We note antihynae [p. 3, twice], satyr sand Pans [p. 25], Streitigum [for Satirincna, p. 36], and Kohler and Keeskes (pp. 57, 69, 71) among authorities cited; Pl. XXXI. represents Type V., not VI., of the friezes. The foot-notes seem to have been inexcusably neglected, as witness the four citations of the excavations at Cordone by the brothers Köter:


We hope that the descriptions and references have been checked with more care than this inaccuracy and inconsistency indicates. The descriptions given are usually clear and ample, though 'height, cm. 8 by 10 5' (p. 16, note 3) is a rather Thucydidean construction, and the 'lateral akroterion of a horse' (p. 59) is mystifying without the context. It has not been possible to check the completeness of the catalogue, but surprise may be expressed at the omission of the large series of architectural terra-cottas from Lanuvium presented by the late Lord Savile to the British Museum; in fact the anteprecedent Division IV., Type XX. (= R. M. Terracotta, II 603, of which there is another slightly different example in the Museum at Leeds, unknown to the author), is almost the only type figured from this site. But perhaps the other pieces would not come under the title 'Figurative,' of which the reviewer unfortunately does not know the literal meaning. And after all, even this rather formidable list of minor blemishes, mostly easy of remedy in a subsequent edition, does not seriously impair the value of this attractive book, and we offer congratulations to the authors on the successful completion of a laborious but clearly congenial task.


This new periodical, of which the first volume was published in 1920, and the first half of the second in September 1921, deserves a hearty welcome. An introduction by Dr. Bees lays down the lines which it is to follow. The war put an end to several periodicals on Byzantine matters; thus Byzantina and the Neue Hellenenmuseum and the two Russian journals, the Byzantijetkijrennan uud the Journal of the Russian Archaeological Institute at Constantinople have all disappeared, and if Byzantine studies are not to fall behind, their place must be filled. It is remarkable that neither in this list nor in any part of the introduction is any mention made of the most important of all these periodicals,
the Byzantinische Zeitschrift, founded by Karl Krummbacher at Munich, carried on after his death until August 1914, and begun again in 1920 with the third and fourth parts of Volume XXII. This omission cannot pass without notice in view of the great services rendered to Byzantine studies by Krummbacher, and it is in this case all the more curious as the new periodical follows exactly the admirable arrangement of the Zeitschrift in dividing its contents into three parts, original articles, reviews and short notices. The present undertaking is purely private—the editor writes, "Das Unternehmen ist—ich beinahe ausdrücklich—nicht von irgendwie Regierung angeregt, sondern rein privat." It is published by Dr. Bees himself, and the necessary expenses have been found first by Mr. George Paine, a Greek of Dresden, and then by subscriptions from a number of Greeks, all resident in Germany. A very wide field is to be covered; the new periodical is to deal with Byzantine literature both learned and popular, internal and external history, language, folklore, art, religious life, the geography, topography and ethnology of the lands which formed part of the Byzantine empire, epigraphy, numismatics, sigillography, jurisprudence, medicine, and other departments of Byzantine and modern Greek science. In addition the editor lays stress on his intention to deal with papyri and manuscripts, the koine, early Christian art, the Greek diaspora, and the influence upon other peoples exercised by the Greeks both in the Middle Ages and in modern times. The character of the periodical is to be international, and articles will be admitted in Greek, Latin, German, French, English, and Italian, although everything at present has been in German, except two articles and two reviews in Greek and one review in French, which is, however, by the Greek Professor Andreas. The future of the periodical largely depends upon whether it can obtain the support of Byzantine scholars outside Germany and Greece, but to this beginning a warm welcome can be extended. All readers of the old Byzantinische Zeitschrift know how much such a periodical is needed, and Dr. Bees will have all good wishes with him in his enterprise. The articles published are various and interesting, and it will be especially gratifying to members of the Hellenic Society to read the editor's warm appreciation of the work of the late Mr. F. W. Hasluck and his wish for a complete edition of all his papers. In conclusion the price is moderate; for this country 25 French francs for each annual volume, and this first volume contains 456 pages.

R. M. D.


"This," says Dr. Farnell of a somewhat foolish theory, "is ingenious, but much that is ingenious is not worth saying." To the Thracian realm of scientific investigation here implied he remains himself true. He is not concerned to make a demonstration of dexterity nor to balance inverted pyramids of hypothesis upon some random analogy, and his investigations start inductively from a collation of all the facts ascertainable about particular problems.

The result of this method is deadly to the assumptions of most schools of mythologists, from the champions of the solar myth to those who would read into every legend an hieratic meaning. The only assumption upon which Dr. Farnell insists, and here the trend of modern scholarship is with him, is that saga, whatever accretions of folklore it may have collected, contains a nucleus of historical tradition. Not that he believes in any single master key which will unlock the mysteries of the origin of all Greek hero cults. The Greeks themselves supposed that all their heroes had once been mortal men; Usner, on the other hand, was sure that they were all faded deities. Dr. Farnell gives uncrirical adherence to neither view, but his bias is rather towards the Greeks. He recognises a small group of heroes, Trophonius, Linus and the like, who appear to have their origin in cult, and he acknowledges the existence of some functional heroic powers. But of the other five classes into which he divides the heroes of cult, all consist of persons who at the time of their canonisation were, rightly or wrongly, believed to have once been living men.
Opinion may perhaps be divided as to the assignment of particular heroes to particular categories, but the breadth of Dr. Farnell's classification would appear difficult to shake, or to the current tendency but to see in the epic hero a divine god. The case rests ultimately upon general probability and the fact that Homer appears to consider Asklepios the human father of Machon and Podalirios. The analogy between Asklepios and Asklepiadas, and other professional patronymics as Tarsilambrias, Homeric; and the like, supports upon the whole the heroic theory. But though doctors are from Homer onwards the "sons of Asklepios," the remarkable thing about the cult is the lateness of its emergence as a Pan-Hellenic worship of the first importance and the extraordinary success which it then achieved. From the fifth century B.C. to the end of Paganism its popularity steadily increased. Although Trikkas was the original home of the cult, this expansion was certainly due to Epidaurus. It is true that various cults, both in the Peloponnesus and elsewhere, have been connected with the name Asklepios, but we know very little about them before the period of Epidaurian influence, and nothing about the parent cult, except that it had a substratum θησος. Perhaps the most satisfactory feature of the discussion of the cults of Herakles and Asklepios is the clearing away of much obscuring lumber. The criticism of solar and stellar explanations is ruthless and convincing. Throughout Dr. Farnell rightly emphasizes the importance of historical perspective and the chronological evidence of the evidence. It is important that Kastor and Poldehy thesis were not called Asklepios earlier than the Homeric Hymns, and that not before Euripides is there any trace of their stellar connections. Similarly the apotheosis of Herakles in the stories of the Oeta is unknown to Homer and Hesiod, and therefore not to the Homeric origin of Herakles, but to a conclusion resulting from the identification in historical times of the Greek hero with the alien Sandi and Melqart. The advisability of treating evidence in its chronological sequence may seem too obvious to need emphasis, but in practice it is often ignored.

The book is full of matter which demands reflection, and most readers will find that postulates, which they have uncritically held, need re-examination. For example, it may come to others also as a surprise to find that the distribution of the cult of Herakles has little or no connexion with the movements of the Dervi; the facts which Dr. Farnell adduces appear conclusive upon this point. But upon the whole the very great value of the evidence of cult upon questions of tribal movements is once more demonstrated in this volume, and interesting results would be likely to follow a systematic examination of the religious material from the ethnographical standpoint. Boreto would seem here as central a point of importance as in the Catalogue.

In view of the mass of material which is contained in the book, it is perhaps a pity that the index is not more elaborate. There is no entry, for example, under "Minyans," though there is much in the text which throws light upon the distribution of that people. There are one or two misprints, chiefly caused by the difficulty of maintaining consistency in the transliteration of Greek names upon an uncompromising system of letter for letter. Praise is due p. 159, where the Allusion is clearly to the Hecia Triana sacrifice, must be a slip for Phaistos. The most notable omission as regards subject matter is the absence of any reference, whether for praise or blame, to Sir William Rigby's theory of the origin of tragedy.


This little book suffers by comparison with Dr. Farnell's Outline History of Greek Religion. The author has read widely, but may be suspected of a better acquaintance with theories both ancient and modern than with the actual facts of Greek cult. His work lacks the
clarity, caution and grasp of essentials which distinguishes the English book, and his generalisations are too often based upon disputable assumptions. In this respect the earlier part of the book is particularly weak. It is stated as a fact that the Mycenaean in the period of the shaft graves spoke Greek, which the Minoans did not. Inubation, and with it the worship of the dead, was abandoned by the invaders of Asia because they had perforce left behind them their ancestral graves in Greece. Greek polytheism developed from the reaction of the poems of the Asiatic Homer upon mainland Greece, and the new Olympian gods of Homer's mythology absorbed the pre-existing Sondbergite cult tittles. The importance of the cult of the Nature goddess in the Bronze Age is not sufficiently appreciated; the emphasis is laid upon the worship of the dead and its continuity. It is therefore surprising to find that Adriastos and Melanippas are assumed to be faded deities of vegetation. The claim of Delphi, which is surely inconsistent with the facts, that the policy of the oracle had been consistently opposed to tyrants, is made the basis for argument. The intute of Euripides' *Orestes* would be surprised to learn that it was by the words τις ἂν ἀποθετέον πάντα τιθέον that he proclaimed his conversion to vegetarianism (proclami di aver posto fine ai pasti crucenti).

The assumption that the worship of Demeter was in origin peculiarly the property of an agricultural people is opposed to an urban class suggests a misapprehension of the size and economic conditions of ancient Greek communities. It is of course true that Greek religion absorbed, sobered and civilised wilder elements, both native and foreign. But this is true not only of Athens but of Greece, and the attempt to show from the peculiar political and social history of Attica that the process is connected with the acquisition of political power by the lower classes will not carry universal conviction.

It indeed one is to philosophise upon the history of Greek religion, the forces which call for analysis seem rather to be centrifugal and centripetal tendencies which characterise Greek civilisation throughout—an Hellenism and particularism, civic religion and individualism. Eventually, and here the tendencies of the later pagan philosophies and religions prepared the way for Christianity, the middle term of these pairs of opposite, based as it was upon a political fact which had ceased to exist, became eliminated. Religious thought in its various manifestations tended to become universal in its scope, embracing not merely Hellenes but mankind, and individualistic in its absorbing interest in the hopes, fears and needs of the individual soul.


The Byzantine Research and Publication Fund has added to its previous volumes on S. Irene and the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem this study of the Church of our Lady of the Hundred Gates in Paros. The description and discussion of the architecture, the drawings and the bulk of the photographs are the work of Mr. Jewell, a travelling student of the Royal Academy of Arts, who visited Paros in 1919, and later completed his researches by a second visit to the island; the late Mr. F. W. Hasluck has contributed chapters on the history of the church and on the inscriptions, while Mr. H. A. Ormerod, a member of the British School at Athens, rendered assistance in recording the inscriptions.

The church is situated at Paroikia, the capital of Paros, and is indisputably the finest in the Cyclades. In the earliest records the church is known as Katapoliani, which is, it seems, the adjective derived from the place-name Katara, probably from kar and παίζω, both at Katara in Amorgos and in Naxos with their churches named Katara, as here in Paros, the church is built on lower ground than the adjacent village. Even in Paros the old name remains the common spoken form; the new name, appearing first according to Mr. Hasluck in the *Ecclesiastica* of Meletios 1681-1714, reflects the pride of the islanders in their church. 1 The new name is accounted for by the legend that the great

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1. The new name is accounted for by the legend that the great
church had a hundred doors (πόροι, which common sense compels the Parians to construe doors and windows), of which ninety-nine are visible, and the hundredth is to be revealed when the Greeks take Constantinople 1 (cf. Kambanis in the Athenian periodical *Ethnics* iii. [1886] p. 345).

Apart from local legend (see pp. 1–3) we possess no history of the church during the Byzantine period, but Mr. Hasluck refers to the account of the political mission of Niketas (Magister) to the Saracens of Crete in A.D. 902. This account is contained in the *Σεία της οικίας μεταξύ των Σοφιάν* της εκσέγησης και σημαντική της καθαράς παραφ.*

Niketas on his way to Crete, being detained by contrary winds, 2 to quote the summary of Mr. Hasluck, "put into Paros, and being there, thought well to make his prayers at the Church of the Virgin. He found the island entirely uninhabited save for a hermit, who told him the story of S. Theoktiste the Lesbian; the saint, carried off by Arab pirates from a convent in her native island, had eluded them in Paros, and for the rest of her life lived as an anchorite in the abandoned church, where she was discovered by a hunter from Euboia and eventually died in the odour of sanctity.

Mr. Jewell suggests that the crypt in the present church situated under the holy table (11 ft. × 3 ft.) is apparently: the traditional retreat of S. Theoktiste (see pp. 43–4). Niketas describes the deserted church *στὸ στάθμια και κάπως κάτω* ἐν τῇ παλαιᾷ ἁρπαγμῷ, που ἐν τῷ στάθμῳ και ὑπὸ τοῦ φωτοῦ τῆς σταθμείας, ἢ δὲ εἰς τὸ παλιὸν τὸ κάτω ἁρπαγμὸν παραλλελοῦσα τοῦ κειμένου. Εἰς ταπεινοῖς τῶν τούτου λεγόμενος λεγόμενος ἐν τῇ τετελεσθέντι καὶ ταίοις σταθμείοις, εἰς τὸν τάφον, διὰ τοῦ σταθμικοῦ οἱμών έκκλησα της τοῦ τελεῖ τίνι κακερίου.*

Niketas' account of the church may be illustrated by the fact that the original cupola of the choirion has perished, and been replaced by cement.

Since the Byzantine inscriptions give us only the names of two bishops, Hylasius and Georgius, both otherwise unknown, the sole means of dating the construction of the church is thus the architecture of the building itself. The great church has incorporated an earlier church of S. Nicholas which stands to the N. of the bema and to the E. of the N. transept. This small church was, Mr. Jewell argues, originally of a basilica type planned as a simple nave with aisles; to this the dome and cruciform upper structure were added at a later date, probably at the time of the building of the great church. With the original form of the church of S. Nicholas Mr. Jewell compares the plan of the church at Bin-bir-kilisse (cf. Strzygowski: *Kronos* p. 104). The great church itself is of cruciform plan with a single dome and transepts; a baptistery adjoins the church on the S., and is approached both from the aisle and the transept. Although in type and character the great church at Paros seems to be unique, Mr. Jewell argues that it probably dates from the reign of Justinian, and is perhaps contemporary with the church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople. The baptistery would seem to have been built soon after, possibly in the latter part of the sixth century.

This is no place to enter into the detailed considerations by which Mr. Jewell supports his views (cf. pp. 49–53); two points of special interest in the church may, however, be accentuated here. The columns, bases, capitals and lower screen of the original iconostasis are still intact, and with the exception of the columns are all of Parian marble. Mr. Hasluck notes that a stone screen preserving so much of its original form is rarely met with in Greece; as probably the best example he cites the screen at Tornello. In Greek lands the absence of such screens is attributable partly to the transformation of churches into mosques and the consequent removal of the screens as obstructions, and still more to the vogue of carved and gilded wooden screens dating in particular from the eighteenth century. Further, the choirion, praised by Nicoleas and apparently contemporary with the foundation of the church, which still stands, is probably unique in the East, for here even in churches which have remained in Christian occupation the stone ribas have been replaced, like the stone screens, by others of carved wood.

Students of Byzantine architecture have every reason to be grateful to the Research Fund for this valuable study of a most interesting building.

N. H. B.

1 Of this *Σεία* the best text is published by Ioannou in his Περ. *Athénaïs* Venice, 1884, from which the citations are made, pp. 4, 5, 7.
NOTICES OF BOOKS


Mr. Bouchier's sketch of Antioch on the Orontes is in his own words 'an attempt to gather together a few leading points regarding the history, life, manners and interests of this great centre of population', from its first foundation down to its devastation in 1268 at the hands of the Sultan of Egypt. 'I am quite conscious,' he writes, 'that such a book, like its predecessor, will be open to a charge of superficiality.' But teachers, at any rate, will be slow to raise the charge. Such general sketches of a city's life will help them in accounting the continuity of historical development as well as the individuality of the centres of Hellenistic civilization, while they may readily awake in students an interest which will only be satisfied by further detailed work upon special aspects of the city's story. It is for this reason that one could have wished that the bibliographies given at the close of chapters could have been more adequate; thus the reader hears of Julian at Antioch, but he is not reminded that a large part of Julian's works is now translated in the Loeb Library, nor to any of the recent studies (e.g., by Genniken or Bilze) on the apostate emperor; a picture is drawn of the rhetoricians of Antioch with Libyanus at their head, but there is no mention of Walden's book with its valuable chapters on the later Greek rhetoricals, nor to Missong's recent study of the paganism of Libyanus. It would also have been well if some hints could have been given to the reader of the contents of the books entitled, though adequate for the specialist, is often an insufficient guide for the initiate. A well-written popular book is an admirable thing, but its greatest achievement is surely that it should stimulate curiosity and itself supply some direction towards the satisfaction of that curiosity.

In a work like the present every student will naturally find omissions which he regrets; the reviewer looked for a mention of the long-lived legend of S. Mercurius and the death of Julian (cf. W. R. Halliday in Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology, vii, pp. 99–106), he would have welcomed some account of the life of S. Simon, the Younger (the Vita printed in the A. S. is mentioned in a footnote, but cf. now Engelbert Müller: Studien zu den Biographien des hl. Simon des Jüngeren, München dissertation, Aachshofenburg, 1914). In the treatment of Jewish hostility to the Christians in Antioch in the seventh century it is a pity that the frank confession of James the Newly-Baptised was not utilised (cf. the edition of N. Bonnefoin in Abh. d. kais. Gesellschaft d. Wiss. phil.-hist. Klasse, N. F. xii. No. 3, Berlin, 1910, p. 391), while there is apparently no reference to the influence of Syrian traders in western Europe (cf. L. Brebion: Les Colonies d'Orientaix en Occident au commencement du moyen âge, B. Z. xii. (1903), pp. 1–39, and papers in Chambre de Commerce de Marseille: Congrès français de la Syrie, Sciences et Traditions, Paris, II. Marseille, 1919). The list could of course be prolonged, but it would serve no purpose, Mr. Bouchier's book, let it be repeated, will be of real use alike to the teacher and the general reader.

N. H. B.


This small book of 151 pages is the most original contribution to the study of the Apocalypse of John that has been made for many a long day. The author, Professor Boll of Heidelberg, is the chief living authority on the Astronomy and Astrology of the Graeco-Roman world. He is engaged in making a Catalogue of all ancient astronomical and astrological MSS., and some readers of this JOURNAL may know his book Sphaerae. In the work before us he has turned aside to tell us the impression made by the Apocalypse in the New Testament on one whose special business it is to be familiar with what men thought in the first century A.D. about the sky.

The result is startling. The late Dr. Cumming (who predicted the end of the world in 1867), Ferdinand Christian Baur the Tübingen theologian, and Canon Charles, are found
on one side, Professor Boll on the other. Baur and Charles and Dr. Cumming differ very widely, but they agree in this, that the Apocalypse is a book of cryptic history. Dr. Cumming and old-fashioned scholars thought it contained future history, Baur and Charles think it contains history now past, but they all assume that the word-pictures painted in the Apocalypse refer to events on earth—a Parthian invasion, a flight of Christians to Pella, etc. Prof. Boll will have some of this, or very little of it. He believes that there is very little reference in the book to current events on earth, but that the seer supported his belief in the imminent trials and miraculous vindication of his fellow-Christians by literal signs from Heaven, signs in the stars and constellations as interpreted in current myths and beliefs about the heavenly bodies. Do we suddenly hear about the Altar in heaven (Rev. vi, 9), under which are the souls of the Martyrs? Naturally, says Prof. Boll (p. 33), the Altar is in the Milky Way; you can find it if you look for it on the Celestial Globe. And of course the Martyrs are underneath it, i. e. nearer the horizon; does not even Cicero tell us in Scipio’s Dream that the souls of the virtuous dwell in the Milky Way?

Possibly the astrological key will not unlock all the difficulties to which Prof. Boll applies it, but in certain cases this new method of interpretation sheds at least some light and order where all before was confusion, and in no case is this more so than in his explanation of the woman clothed with the Sun (pp. 98–124). In Rev. xii, the Seer sees a great sign in heaven, a woman arrayed with the Sun and the Moon at her feet; she is about to bear a child, and a great red Dragon stands in front of her to devour it when born. The child is born, but is caught up to God; there is war in heaven, and Michael casts the dragon down to earth, who proceeds to persecute the woman, now transferred herself to earth; the monster casts a river of water out of his mouth to carry her away, but the earth swallows the river, and the Dragon goes off to make war with the woman’s seed, which “hold the testimony of Jesus.” It is not too much to say that no explanation has ever before been given of this famous word-picture (or rather moving panorama) that has been even plausible.

Prof. Boll regards it as an adaptation of the myth of Isis and Typhon by the Christian writer, who turned it into a myth of the birth in heaven of the pre-existent Messiah. A sign in heaven in touch with Sun and Moon must, says Prof. Boll, be in the Zodiac; we naturally think of Virgo, below which is Hydra, the sea-monster. “The name notwithstanding, Virgo was connected with Isis nursing Horus (p. 110). Further, when both the ‘Dragon’ and the ‘Woman’ come down to earth, the image of the earth swallowing the Dragon’s river to help the woman fits the Isis-myth, for the land of Egypt swallows the Nile.

Yes, it may be said, the Isis-myth fits the imagery of Rev. xii. well enough, but what is the Christian application? How did the Apocalypticist come to put it in his book? This question also is considered by Prof. Boll, and he suggests that the Apocalypticist regarded the Isis-myth and the Constellations connected with it as a mystery or type of the cosmic drama of Redemption, particularly of the pre-mundane birth of the Messiah. He points out that we must not think of the Apocalypticist and his first readers as acquainted with our Gospels, or as familiar with the doings on earth of ‘Christ after the flesh.’ Jesus indeed had come to earth, died, and had risen again and was about to come to reign in glory over the Saints, but little more than this can be gathered from the Book of Revelation. When, therefore, the Christians began first to ask themselves what was the origin of their Lord, it was not in every place that they were well instructed in all things from the beginning by those who were eye-witnesses (Luke i, 2, 3), but they had the text from Isaiah, ‘Behold, the Virgin shall conceive.’ Revelation, chap. xii., seems to show that there were some Christians of Asia Minor who interpreted this of a birth from a heavenly Power or Being, whom the heathen had corrupted into Isis, the Queen of Heaven.

This interpretation of the passage is not without difficulties, but at least it gives some sort of a sense, which in my opinion no previous explanation has given, and for that reason it should not be lightly rejected because of its strangeness. In fact, I venture to think that no one should reject Professor Boll’s conclusions, novel as they are, without a careful study of his book as a whole.

F. C. BURKITT.

Ever since its appearance in 1913 (second edition 1914), Dr. Buschor's book has been recognised as the best consecutive account of Greek vase-painting. Wide knowledge, and a wide outlook; a love of beauty, but none of verbiage: the essential facts seized, and expressed tersely and vividly; the illustrations well chosen, and nearly all from excellent drawings or photographs. Not a book for beginners: or rather the best kind of book for beginners, one which is not for beginners only.

The book was hard to translate, and Mr. Richards' translation reads like a translation; it seldom breaks into English. Nearly all foreign sentences need to be revised, and not merely corrected before they begin to be English; the translator must observe English sentence-structure and English idiom, or his rendering will be not only cacophonous, but often obscure as well.

In his interesting preface (pp. ix-x), Prof. Gardner speaks as if there were no beauty in Greek vases before the middle of the sixth century, but only historical interest. Happily this is not Dr. Buschor's view. He finds beauty, of form and of decoration, in Mycenaean and in geometric vases, in protocorinthian, in early Attic and elsewhere. Prof. Gardner also states that 'German scientific writers aim at an exactness in the use of terms which we seldom attempt.' This is not true of chemists or mathematicians; and I trust it is not true of archaeologists.

A short bibliography might have been added to the translation, since the chief defect of Dr. Buschor's book was that the series to which it belonged did not allow footnotes. Pp. LXXXIX has been retouched, and some of the illustrations are fainter than in the German edition. The gilt tondo on the side-cover is an error of taste, but excusable if it helps to sell this excellent book.

J. D. B.


The first volume of this Catalogue, containing the archaic sculptures, by the late GuyDickins, appeared in 1912. It should have been followed at a short interval by Mr. Casson's volume on the sculpture of the fifth century and later, and the MS. of this work was actually ready in 1914, when the War intervened to delay its publication for seven years. Mr. Dickins had set a very high standard in his admirable Catalogue; and Mr. Casson has not fallen below it, though the material he has had to deal with and the problems he has had to face are of a very different nature. It has not been practicable in this volume, as in the other, to give an illustration of almost every number in the Catalogue; but the need for this is to a great degree met by the publication of series such as the fragments from the Parthenon in the British Museum plates, or of the Erechtheum frieze in the Antike Denkmaler.

It was not to be expected that many new discoveries or identifications could be made in material so often worked over by different archaeologists. But a careful account is given of the assignment of various fragments in Athens to their place in the metopes or frieze of the Parthenon, the frieze and balustrade of the temple of Nike, the Erechtheum frieze, and other compositions. Some new joins are recorded, and some new identifications made—notably the fine female head from a metope, published for the first time on p. 96. Another interesting point is that Mr. Casson thinks, from the style of the work, that repairs of late Greek or Roman date can be recognised in some of the sculptures, notably in No. 27 from the Nike Balustrade and in some of the wings from the Parthenon pediment. Such repairs are known at Olympia, but have only been recognised in one or two doubtful cases at Athens.

The descriptions and references appear, so far as can be judged without using the
Catalogue in the Museum, to be very accurate. The numbering as previously marked on the figures and fragments has been preserved, but this causes little trouble to the reader, thanks to the index given at the end. The only omission I have noticed is No. 1044, which is described as part of the recently reconstituted slab of the frieze on p. 101. The two horses of Selene on the East pediment of the Parthenon have now been transferred to the Museum; it is stated that these are perhaps the middle two. But, according to Prof. Sauer's investigations, the last fourth horse was that nearest to Selene, and the two in Athens were at the extreme end. In the unfinished statue, No. 1325, the grooved lines are said to be 'cut with a gouge.' A sculptor has assured me that the instrument used was a round chisel. That it should be worth while to mention such minor points is a testimony to the general accuracy. There are two or three oversights in details. On p. 284 '5th century' is a misprint for '6th century' (date of Andokides); and on p. 321 'terminus post quem' should read 'ante quem' (in the section on terra-cottas).

The section on the architectural fragments is interesting, particularly in the suggestion that the painted architectural fragments, which are all stated to be in Pentelic marble, are later than the painted terra-cotta fragments—probably about the first decade of the fifth century, and that in earlier buildings the terra-cotta simas and antefixes were actually replaced by marble ones. The date suggested, however, seems later than necessary, especially if, as stated, the painted fragments from the Peisistratos peripteral building are also in Pentelic marble.

In the treatment of the terra-cottas, Mrs. Brooke (Miss Dorothy Lamb) acknowledges her indebtedness to Dr. Winter's type catalogue and to Miss Hutton's discussion of the reliefs. Here, as in the sculptures, an introduction summarizes the evidence as to the various types and technical questions. It is noted as unfortunate that there is little record as to where, on the Acropolis, the various terra-cottas were found.

The whole volume will be a most useful work of reference for all who are making a detailed study of Attic art.

E. A. G.


The third edition of this well-known handbook is welcome. Paul Cauver has always distinguished himself among Homeric scholars by his sound, impartial, clear reasoning, and competence, more especially on the philological side. The third edition, of which this, the first half, contains Book I, 'Textkritik und Sprachwissenschaft,' and Book II, 'zur Analyse der Anhalte,' augmented by a chapter on the Homeric hexameter, takes account of recent literature up to the date of publication without megalomania or compas-sionismo. With all this open-mindedness Herr Cauver does not seem to have materially altered his own position, e.g. with regard to Ithaca, the Homeric dialect, or the reality of the Trojan war. And indeed, in face of such distances of time and the possibly impending new evidence, we must be content to say ναο τε ἐνίοτε ἐναγόμενον, ἐν τῆς ἑπτής ἐποχῆς πρὸς τὰς Ἑλλήνας προσφέρειν.

T. W. A.


As much cannot be said for this book. The first volume, of 510 pages, contains a farrago of people’s opinions on all subjects connected with Homer except the MSS. Information may be obtained from it, but the utility of the information is qualified by the value of past and present Homeric criticism. It is pathetic to see Herr Stürmer to the tune of 637 pp.
NOTICES OF BOOKS

thinking by an effort of the intelligence to recover the original sections of the Odyssey. Herr Decum will apply the same process to the Íliad in Vol. II as yet unpublished. This is understood to be a defense of the Unitarian position. Non tolli assigni. This book, and Homer und die Ílias by Wilmowitsch (1916), show that the leopard does not change his spots, bricks do not wash, and the Germans, like the Bourbons, have learned nothing. On passera autre.

T. W. A.

Recueil Milliet. Textes grecs et latins relatifs à l'histoire et la peinture ancienne.


MR. MILLETT having presented a sum of money to the Association des Études grecques for the publication, with translation and commentary, of the passages in ancient writers which treat of art, the work was entrusted to Mr. Adolphe Reinach, who had completed a great part of his task when the war broke out. After Mr. Adolphe Reinach's heroic death, the duty of publishing his manuscript fell to Mr. Solomon Reinach. The first volume deals with Greek painting from the earliest times to the Hellenistic period, and supersedes the corresponding section in Overbeck.

"Il s'agissait," as Mr. Solomon Reinach truly says in his preface, "moins de commenter des textes que de les établir et de les interpréter." The value of this volume, however, lies chiefly in the comprehensive and interesting commentary. The translation is not free from errors; and the treatment of the text is unsatisfactory: there is no critical apparatus; conjectural readings, certain and uncertain, are admitted without warning; the manuscripts are sometimes quoted, but not always correctly. The punctuation is erratic, and migrates very numerous. It would be unjust to impute these faults to the author: we may be sure that he would have removed many of them in his final revision.

In the translation: p. 8, l. 2, rusticis ... descritae is "gathered by the attentive rustic"; p. 25, 37, θεοῖς is not "il veut"; p. 36, 16, vitium indecentiae go together: p. 44, 12, tomentes ordinem inventae artis is not "observant les règles d'un art perfectionné," but "observing the sequence in which the processes were discovered" (the idea Aristotelian, see no. 37): p. 44, 18, τὸν ἀνικότητα is not "l'honour propre traitant"; p. 46, 4, όσον is "and then"; p. 46, 24, τῇ λογίᾳ κατὰ τὸν πᾶσας is translated as if it were τὸν πᾶσας: p. 75, 18, ἀνειμμένη means "attitude"; p. 82, 17, ἀνειμμένεισι is not "to enjoy a reputation"; p. 112, 17, ἐλεπίστωσα, under his body, not under his foot: p. 132, 3, ἀνεπίστωσα is not "ponder"; p. 146, 10, ἀνείοι plural: p. 198, no. 163, νὰ δέομαι is simply the status (of Zeus), not the wooden parts of the statue: p. 208, 10, the subject of ἀνακάτασθαι is δὲ ἀπὸ: p. 218, 15, ἀνάκτος ὁμοίως is contrasted with the ἀνάκτος ὁμοίως of no. 172: p. 220, 10, multa contultum is not "made many works," but "contributed greatly" to the progress of the art: p. 234, 7, ἀπομελεία mistranslated: p. 248, 3, ἀναπομελεῖται is passive: p. 260, 8, the subject of dixit is Εὐριπόρος: p. 286, no. 363, the translation misses the point of the anecdote: Nikias was so fond of his work that he would often ask his servants, "Have I had my bath? Have I had breakfast?" p. 294, 7, τὸν ἀνικότητα is not "such a subject" (that is, in the engagements), but "Subject"; p. 300, 12, ἀληθεία is not "true": p. 301, 29, mami and brevier go together, "too small for his hand": p. 302, note 2, sēra ζεύς must mean "of the same rank as Zeus"; p. 336, 27, artifices and Col together: p. 340, 15, χρώμα goes with ἀλήθεια: p. 334, 24, nulla in Apelles torquata pictura erat is not "il n'y avait aucune peinture à fresque d'Apelles"; p. 358, 1, quam ... factät is "on which he particularly prides himself."

In the text: p. 101, note 3, the manuscript reading, εἰς στοὰν τῷ, is not ascertainable from the critical note: p. 111, note 4, τῷ στοᾷ is the reading of all, not some, manuscripts, in 39 (not 31): p. 142, no. 118, no MS. reads ἑγγόμενος τοῖς: p. 242, no. 297, "Overbeck écrit locum": so do the MSS.: p. 268, no. 342, Aristidē is not the reading of some MSS., but a conjecture: p. 307, note 5, the readings of the better MSS. are not given: restorā is printed in the text, and picturā translated.
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Misprints: p. 4, l. 3, read experiment; 6, 8, quum; 15, 37, penicilli; 16, 10, prose painted as verse; 19, 43, read relictus; 20, 1, igni; 26, 3, macuncus nuda; 66, 8, inuenus; 28, 1 mini; 28, 14, autem (not ad); 30, 5, VII; 34, 1, vero; 38, 14, Proutogenes; 44, 35, illita; 46, 22, a whole line of Plato is omitted; 48, 5, med ec; 49, lat, dissiminillum; 52, 32, que not quae; 58, 10, trans▸λεγων; 60, 17, h; 60, 29, γεως; 72, 6, ciepote (the misprint is taken from Overbeck). 80, 13, desce is missing. 85, 24, read ονειρος; 117, 22, fr.; 122, 22, σπειρος; 123, 1, σκε, 5, Λογος and γεως, 8, Φυσι; 9, σπειρος, 13, γεως, 15, γεως; 132, 15, ου, 23, μηνυοντης; 135, 38, initis (not initia as here; nor illis as on p. 158 in the same passage); 125, 36, γεως and γεως and τηκεντος; 148, 9, υμει (an emendation anyway for the MS. υμει); 150, 2, θεος; 150, 17, τοις βιοις (not τοις βιοις); 160, 3, φιλοκρατος; 175, 33, κοροιδοις; 166, 34, σπειρος; 174, 25, Φυσι; 188, 3, Φυσις; 188, 19, postea (not postea); 192, 14, ris (misprint after Overbeck); 196, 22, καταφόρος; 214, 18, ulmose; 222, 2, ντι; 231, 35, προκακταλουκος; 234, 9, εν εις; 234, 13, nobilissima; 240, 23, quae; 246, 12, addullius; 254, 23, ιπποτης; 280, 3, est (not et); 298, 3, aliquando. 302, 19, visit is missing. 306, 19, read καταφόρος; 308, 35, Φυσις; 309, 31, τοις (not τοις); 312, 7, τηκεντος; 316, 20, quo, 27, vindicaturum; 336, 2, effinger; 336, 27, est is omitted. 346, 4, read δη; 358, 17, obnoxia; 358, 23, sigmata; 366, 7, philosophus; 378, 2, etpe; 380, 5, Φυσις (not Φυσις); 381, 14, Eticon; 404, 2, ντι; 420, 6, atollis; 420, 15, οικογενες, 25, εν εις; 421, 20, οικογενες and Φυσις and Φυσις; 341, 21, φηκεντος.

By the omission of a stop, or the dext insertion of a comma in the wrong place, the difficulty of a sentence may be considerably increased: yet the object of punctuation is to facilitate reading, not to impede it. P. 4, 5, read permanentes, quod calx: 3, 2, falluum, cern; 22, 14, colon est, question-mark after facie; 23, 29, comma after άνακενηρας; 24, 14, ολοκα ορατος; 26, 27, quasque, transmutandumque; 46, 3, ελεορητος, ιπποτης ικες; 46, 27, επομενεια σε, 5ος; 58, 110, τοις εσ; 72, 7, ουκ εκεντος; 80, 18, προσποτης; 89, 15, αριστερα εις; 101, 30, nobilis cristus; et at; 208, 8, full-stop after ολοκα ορατος; 228, 17, οικογενες; 240, 19, comma after syllabibus; 276, 33, οικογενες, 34, εν εις τηκεντος; 288, 1, colon after Danaeum, 21, comma after奥林匹; 342, 6, τοις οικογενες; 344, 20 and 40, full-stops after fit and oceano; 383, 17, αντι εις; 376, 11, ντι; 382, 17, tabellis, utinam. In the Vitruvian passages, Choisey's extraordinary punctuation is usually retained, but not consistently.

The commentary deals at length with the historical, technical and other questions suggested by the text. It shows wide reading, and the material collected will be useful to students of ancient painting.

In the commentary: p. 7, l. 4, is obscure: we do not know that all monochrome were on marble. P. 44, no. 31, for splendor and lumen, see Seneca, Eph. 2, 9, 2. P. 65, note 4, most of the Clazomenian sarcophagi, if not all of them, are much later than the beginning of the seventh century; p. 75, on no. 780, it is doubtful whether any such painting existed in the time of Timachidas, and the inscription is almost certainly a fabrication; p. 77, note 2, the metopes of Thermus must be earlier than the middle of the sixth century; p. 88, no. 106, refers to the Iliupersis at Athens, and should be placed with no. 116; p. 113, note 2, the 'vase de l'Italian du Sud' is the Attic vase in Vienna; Dike is not covered with spots: her clothing is: p. 125, note 4, Pausanias does not say that the lyre was at the feet of Thamyris in the statue; p. 141, note 4, if the artist had meant Theseus to be receiving a ring, they could and would have made their meaning quite clear: p. 147, note 12, the youth on the cup Μον, 11, 33, which must be earlier than 469, is not seizing a spear but holding one; that the subject is Achilles in Scyros is improbable: the 'hydria' in Munich is a neck-ampora, the style singularly unlike that of the Brygos painter; the new publication in Furtwangler-Reichhold should have been mentioned, also Hauser's discussion of the Naussian vases, and of Polygnotus' Nausica, in volume 8 of the Jahrbüfer; the Berlin vase mentioned next is not a αι fragment, but a α να φιλοραμφος; p. 167, the reference to Winter unintelligible: p. 175, note 3, Glaucus dated too late; pp. 180-1, Robert's publications of nos. 3 and 4 should have been cited; p. 199, note 3, the vase is Faliscan not South Italian; p. 229, note 3, the vase belongs to the third quarter of the fifth century, not to the fourth: what is the seated type of Philoctetes found from the beginning of the fifth century? p. 230, there is no ground for calling the terra-cotta
nurses Thracias; a Thracian nurse (tattooed) is represented on the early Lucanian fragment, E.M. Cat. Fane, 3, p. 308; p. 270, note 8, the principal publication of the Alexander mosaic is Winter's; p. 271, the text no. 344 does not mention portrait of women; p. 273, the abridgment of the passage from Quintilian makes it unintelligible; p. 369, note 2, there is no reason to suppose that the archaic representatives of the Births of Athena or Dionysos are meant to be caricatures; p. 368, note 2, doubtful if the signature of Acteon is genuine; pp. 340-341, note 1, the Polybian passages do not refer to animal painting, and the last not even to painting.

Mr. Salomon Reinach states in his preface that a second volume, dealing with the later painters, is ready for the press; we hope that its appearance will not be long delayed, but we hope also, that Mr. Salomon Reinach, or some other scholar, will make himself responsible for giving it those finishing touches which it doubtless deserves.

J. D. B.


Of this collection of twenty-two papers on the study of language two appear for the first time; the others, written since 1905, are collected from various periodicals. They find a unity in the point of view of the author. To the medieval mind, as he remarks, grammar appeared as a branch of logic, and it was only in the nineteenth century that this way of looking at the matter gave way to scientific observation and to an impartial collection of the facts. Professor Meillet would now carry the study a step further and co-ordinate these facts in accordance with certain "règles générales que déterminent les conditions universelles de toute langue." This can only be done in one way, by taking into consideration that language exists as a product of society, and that therefore "les causes dont dépendent les faits linguistiques doivent être de nature sociale, et que seule la considération des faits sociaux permet de surmonter en linguistique l'examen des faits bruts la détermination des procès" (p. 222); that is, to arrange facts in their real sequence of development. Until recently the study of language was confined in the main to the psychical factor, itself generally unconscious, and to the examination of the physical mechanism of the production of sounds; to these must be added the social factor. It is in the perpetual variation of social conditions that the author sees the causes of linguistic development, for which the physiological and mental factors, owing to their fixed nature, cannot satisfactorily account; although whether these two factors are really "partout semblable les mêmes" is perhaps not so certain as he would have us believe. That it is not easy to set down the precise nature of the action of this social factor is a difficulty inseparable from the problem, but it none the less remains that the author lays himself open to the charge of invoking a factor as an explanation on no other ground than that it undoubtedly accompanies the phenomenon to be explained, avoiding the very difficult task of showing that they have any causal connexion. To many readers in this country the whole book will perhaps seem rather too deductive in method, with occasionally what looks like an attempt to force the evidence. For example, on p. 108 the possibility of the existence of mixed languages gets in the way of the view that borrowed elements can always be readily distinguished from the native in a language; but to say that they are the language "de populations inférieures; ils ne survivront généralement pas," is not to get rid of the fact, and to go on to say "au cas où ils survivront, il est permis de se demander si l'on en pourrait faire la théorie: les faits seraient beaucoup trop compliqués," is to set a theory above the facts upon which all theories must be based. Space does not allow us to do more than mention the fundamental principles which underlie all the author's treatment of the subject. The book is full of the most suggestive ideas, and this insistence on the social aspect of language marks a real advance, as well as the resolve aimed at the disengagement of general ideas of universal validity. Some of his views cut very deep into
generally accepted notions. If, for example, we follow him in his paper on *Les parentés des langues* in admitting that similarities in kindred languages may proceed not from a period of linguistic unity, but from parallel and independent developments due to similar tendencies in the slaughter languages spoken in similar social conditions, not only are we forced to grant, as he says, that the idea of "Latin vulgaire" is a fallacy, but many beliefs as to the character of the *Ursprache* must disappear also. And certainly long and similar, but quite independent developments, provided an original source of the impulse existed in the period of linguistic unity, seem in no way impossible. But all depends upon the exact nature of a "tendance générale" (p. 74), and this it is not easy to grasp precisely, nor is it easy to see what social conditions will produce what "tendance." That these deep problems are raised shows that Professor Meillet has given us an important and most stimulating book, and it is because of the interest of his theoretical views that we have devoted space rather to the chapters on general questions than to the latter part of the book which treats of special subjects. But these are no less worthy of attention; in particular we would call attention to the two papers on the problems of gender and to the paper *Comment les mots changent de sens*. The last paper, *La religion indo-européenne*, shows us what is left of the ones so rich contributions of comparative philology to the early religion of the Indo-Europeans after the evidence has passed through Professor Meillet's sieve.

R. M. D.

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This small memoir describes the results of an excavation undertaken in 1915 by the American branch of the Egypt Exploration Society (then the Egypt Exploration Fund) under the direction of Mr. G. A. Wainwright, one of the British archaeologists working for the Fund. Prof. Thomas Whittimore, the American representative on the Committee of the Fund, was charged with the general oversight of this special work on behalf of the American subscribers, and he explains the circumstances of the excavation in a preface to the scientific part of the work, which is written by Mr. Wainwright. Tombs were excavated at various dates from the predynastic period to the New Kingdom, and yielded a fair amount of archaeological material of the usual kind for the contributing American museums.

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Mirone d'Elentere. By SALVATORE MIRONI. Pp. 120, 11 plates, containing 64 Illustrations. **Catania:** F. Tropea, 1921.  

Our knowledge and appreciation of Myron and his work have been increased in the most remarkable way in recent years; and therefore Signor Mironi's monograph upon his namesake appears very opportunely. The identifications of the Athena at Frankfort and Dresden and of the head of Persée at Rome have placed the artistic character of Myron in a new light; and in addition to these there are numerous other suggestions and attributions, some of them less convincing, that are scattered throughout archaeological literature. The author has collected and criticised this material with great care and thoroughness, and all students of Greek sculpture will be grateful to him. If he is sometimes too ready to discover or to accept Myronic qualities on scanty evidence, this may readily be forgiven to the author of such a monograph, especially since he states the evidence in every case.

The work is clearly arranged; it opens with a discussion of the ancient authorities as to Myron's art and as to his various works, together with such extant sculptures as can be connected with them. As these are in all cases copies and not originals, the question of
the fidelity of the copies to the style of Myron is important. Signor Mirone discusses this carefully in each case; among the copies of the Discobolus he regards the new example from Castel Porziano as the most trustworthy. But he is somewhat too ready to accept an attribution to Myron where little or no evidence exists in its favour. For instance, the fine group of Heracles wrestling with the lion, which appears on many coins of the fifth century and later, may be worthy of Myron; but there is no proof that he designed it. And it is a strange oversight to associate the triple Heracles on coins of Aegina with Myron’s statue, which Pausanias expressly says had only one head and one body. Again, the poor reproduction of two warriors from an Athenian lead tessera does not suggest at first sight the σάγανας και τιμίας αἱ σφυγκρατίαι ἤμεν πασανάς whom Pausanias describes as Eresitheus and Imonarthus. A discussion of works wrongly attributed to Myron, or really belonging to a later Myron, is useful. Among these the drunken old woman is assigned to the Pergamene age. The dates of Myron’s career are fixed. There is also a discussion of the character of Myron’s art, especially in relation to the ancient criticisms quoted by Pliny. Here the much-disputed ‘numerus’ is interpreted on the supposition that the Latin ‘numerus’ is a translation of ἀριθμός.

Finally, there is a list of such other works as may be attributed directly or indirectly to Myron and to his pupils, most of these are now generally recognized as showing his style. In general, Signor Mirone points out the great influence exercised by Myron on his contemporaries and successors, and even on such works as the sculptures of the Parthenon. In contrast to Phidias and Polycletus, who were the leaders of traditional schools, Myron was especially the master of those who showed their individuality by breaking away from tradition. The plates are useful for the identification of the various works mentioned in the text; but the reproductions are far from clear, especially in the case of vases.

Man’s Descent from the Gods, or the Complete Case against Prohibition.

It is a bewildering task to present to readers of this austere Journal an adequate summary of the work under review, as wordlessly as it is compounded of Greek mythology, dietetic values and Nietzschean misogyny. Let us, at all events, make a beginning with the mythology.

The ναύαθρα, whence Mr. Ludovici draws his universe of Puritans and Professors, is Herbert Spencer’s dictum that ancient deities are traceable back to human origins. Armed with this explanation, we attack the myths of Prometheus and Dionysus. Zeus is the chief of a Cro-Magnon tribe which has seen better days and is now reduced to mixing with Aryan Greeks, people so ignorant that they cannot make fire for themselves, but must beg it of Zeus. Prometheus, desiring to usurp the place of Zeus and thinking to gain the support of the Greeks, reveals the secret. But the result is unexpected; having now fire at their disposal, the foolish Aryan Greeks use it to cook the meat which they had hitherto eaten raw; and, rolling in dyspeptic agencies, they gladly witness the righteous punishment inflicted on Prometheus by Zeus. But the evil gift once imparted cannot be recalled; and mankind suffers all the woes of malnutrition until a great teacher arises, Dionysus, who restores health and vigour by a regimen of raw meat and fermented drinks.

We confess that this baleful summary hardly does justice to the fresh enthusiasm of Mr. Ludovici’s style, or the rigorous detail of his method, which is seen at its best in the system on the Prometheus myth. The chapter on Dionysus is not as good; Mr. Ludovici has made a great mistake in admitting the existence of the ‘miraculous or supernatural;’ it suggests that after all there may be more things in Greek mythology than were dreamed of in the Spencerian philosophy. But it was with regret that we concluded these thrilling chapters of mythological discovery and plunged into the disquisition on food values and vitamines.
The general conclusion of the argument is that beer is a prime necessity of life under civilized conditions. It may be objected that this great truth needed no illustration from ancient myths, but all the same we are grateful to Mr. Ludovici for his book. Nor is the conclusion the only sum part about it. For example, the section on the value of traditional memory would be accepted by most historians nowadays: in fact, while Mr. Ludovici persistently dams the archaeologists, he does not always seem acquainted with the more recent developments of archaeological thought, and thereby misses more than one opportunity. It is waste of powder to bombard poor Max Müller and his solar myths; they have been dead this many a day; but we would have read with much interest Mr. Ludovici's views on the Zeus of Mr. A. B. Cook or on the Erinnus-Daimon.


The system of proportion called by its discoverer, Mr. Jay Hambidge, Dynamic Symmetry has already been made known in this country by papers read by Mr. Hambidge before the Hellenic Society, November 16th and October 16th, 1919, and March 1st, 1921, and reported in J.H.S. xli. p. xxxvi, xl. p. xxi, and by a journal devoted to the subject, called The Diagonal, of which we have seen the first number only. An account of the theory, based upon these sources, was given also in the Times Educational Supplement in 1920. We have now in addition the present book, in which his system is applied in elaborate detail to the shapes and proportions of Greek vases. The author has devoted so much labour and enthusiasm to this study, his views have gained so much acceptance, and cut so deeply into the fundamentals of artistic design, that we welcome the appearance of this book, in which the theory is for the first time applied to a definite class of objects on a comprehensive scale.

Dynamic Symmetry Mr. Hambidge opposes to what he calls Static Symmetry. In the chapter devoted to the latter in this book he does not describe it as clearly as might be desired, but it appears that Static Symmetry is a system of designing the proportions of a work of art resting on squares and equilateral triangles and their inscribed and circumscribed circles. A notice of a paper on this system which Mr. Hambidge read before the Hellenic Society in November 1902 will be found in J.H.S., xxiv. For the present purpose it is to say that the essence of the static system is that the underlying circles have radii in the proportions of 1:2:4:8:..., etc., and therefore the measurements of works of art designed on this system will be, if not confined to these ratios, at all events numerically commensurable. On this system in 1902 Mr. Hambidge was ready to analyze not only numerous natural forms but also the Parthenon. This latter point is of interest, because increased study has now shown him that this view must be abandoned, for he tells us that dynamic symmetry, the system which he is now expounding, was borrowed by the Greeks from the Egyptians in the 6th or 7th century B.C., and continued to be used by them for some three hundred years, and not only for the pottery with which the book deals, but also for their temples. There is no essential difference, we are told on p. 7, "between the plan of a Greek vase and the plan of a Greek temple or theatre, either in general aspect or in detail. The curves found in Greek pottery are identical with the curves of mouldings found in Greek temples."

The Dynamic Symmetry which Mr. Hambidge now finds in Egyptian and Greek works of art, but except in nature nowhere else, is based not upon any such system of dimensions of commensurable length, but upon the proportions of certain rectangles, which he calls the "square" root-two rectangle, the root-three, and the root-five rectangle, and the "root-angle of the whirling squares, the base of dynamic symmetry," which is closely connected
with the root-five rectangle. These rectangles are those of which the shorter side is to the longer in the proportion of 1 to the square root of 2. 1 to the square root of 3, and so on; beyond the root-five rectangle the Greeks seldom went. The result of using these rectangles as a basis for design—that is, of fixing the main points of a design in accordance with a group of rectangles of one of these types and the forms based upon it—is that the proportions of the work will not be commensurable relations of numbers but incommensurable, involving, that is to say, the irrational ratios of unity to such sides as the square root of 2, and so on. What will be commensurable in dynamic symmetry is not the linear measurements of the work, which are not in the relations of numerical units to one another, but the areas of the squares erected upon these measurements, naturally in the corresponding ratios of 2, 3, etc. We quote The Disquisition, p. 48: "Both nature and Greek art show that the commensurability of symmetry is that of area and not line, . . . That is the secret. Dynamic symmetry deals with commensurable areas." It is thus utterly opposed to the system of design by moduli, according to which it may be laid down, for example, that the human figure is so many heads in height. In this book, after a few preliminary chapters, in one of which is an attempt to apply the method to the proportions of the leaf of the American maple, Mr. Hambridge gives us a series of profile drawings of vases in the Museums of New York and Boston, and their analysis according to the principles of his symmetry. Rectangles of his proportions are applied to the profiles of the vases, and it is shown that all the leading points of the profile coincide with the angles in certain arrangements of these rectangles; one vase is therefore called "A theme in three root-two rectangles"; another, "A theme in three whirling-square rectangles," and so on. The groups of rectangles derived in this way from study of the vase are supposed to be those used by the original designer in planning out the shape; he worked from the rectangles to the vase, Mr. Hambridge the converse way from the vase to the fundamental rectangles.

These applications of the system show that a great deal of manipulation of the rectangles by subdivisions is allowed, and although the analysis of each vase is confined to one set of rectangles, root-two, root-three, etc., yet the division of these rectangles gives so much latitude that the reader is apt to think that with an equal amount of ingenuity almost any work of art could be got into such very elastic moulds, so much more accommodating than the bed of Procrustes, that they can be made to fit any patient really almost painlessly. And the attempt to apply the same system to the maple leaf makes the reader who is aware of the irregular development of leaves pause very seriously.

Mr. Blake's criticism in the Art Bulletin, which we only read after Mr. Hambridge's book, is much on these same lines. He remarks that the number of rectangles which can be used for an analysis on the Hambridge system is very great, indeed theoretically unlimited, although he very fairly does not press this point; but according to the examples shown so great that any design can be analyzed in many different ways and according to any system. By figures calculated on the root-five and on the root-thirteen rectangle, and lastly on a rational system, that is on a system of commensurable linear measurements, he shows that it is possible to analyze the design of one and the same vase not only by the use of the Hambridge root-five rectangle, but also by another rectangle of the same class, the root-thirteen, and finally on a basis which is not "dynamic" at all. Space forbids any detailed repetition of Mr. Blake's work, but any one who reads his pp. 112 to 121 will not, we think, escape from the conclusion that any vase can be analyzed in any way, and that there is no proof, and can hardly be any proof, that any one of these systems was actually used, whilst from the absence of any literary evidence there is every probability that they were not. We may add that the statement that Lysippus reduced the size of the head and made it about one-eighth of the total height of the figure instead of like Polykleitos one-seventh, is directly against the use in sculpture of the dynamic system.

In dealing with the claim that dynamic symmetry is the method of nature, amongst many interesting points Mr. Blake touches on the one which we have made above about the maple leaf: he points out the great variety in the proportions of human skeletons, "quite out of harmony with the exactness and incommensurability which distinguish dynamic symmetry." (p. 123). In the point made by Mr. Blake, that this, or we gather any system of design, has no very clear connexion with aesthetic impression, we cannot alto-
gether follow him. If it were proved that in the works of nature or in the more admirable of the works of men this or any other system were followed, we too should do well to follow it, and that without knowing why the results were pleasing. But the practical examples given by Mr. Hambridge have made it to our mind so little likely that the Greeks knew of this system or that nature uses it, that the further question need not occupy us.

Professor Rhys Carpenter (J.J.A. xxv. 1921, pp. 18-36) has discussed Mr. Hambridge’s theory with much the same results. His mathematics are very plain, and lead to a condemnation stronger than his very moderate conclusion that Mr. Hambridge’s evidence is ingenious but ambiguous, and his theory a priori improbable. From the artistic standpoint he observes that dynamic symmetry does not touch the important element of beauty afforded by the shape of the curves of the vase, and that it can therefore at most only be a contribution to the beauty of the whole.

In conclusion we should like to see both Mr. Blake and Professor Rhys Carpenter turn their able attention to Ad Quadratum, a Study of the Geometrical Bases of Classical and Medieval Religious Architecture by F. M. Lund (Batsford, 1921). The author, primarily interested in the Cathedral of Thronhjem, takes occasion to explain the design of Greek and medieval religious architecture in general by means of diagrams made up of the square and the pentagon, and involving, we might almost add of course, the golden section. By this system he analyses the beauties not only of the Norwegian Cathedral but also of the Parthenon, which yields up its secrets to Mr. Lund, just as it did twenty years ago to Mr. Hambridge’s earlier system and now again does to his dynamic symmetry.

E. M. D.


A Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Letters, Catholic University of America in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.


A Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Arts and Literature in candidacy for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.


A scholarly and impartial account of the history of the Greek Orthodox Church, its geographical extent, its doctrine, worship and organisation, its present state and its relations with the Anglican Churches.


This book, which is an appeal to the British people to insist upon the restoration of S. Sophia to Christian worship (without, however, giving offence to Indian or Arabian Moslems), contains a popular account of the fall of Constantinople, the ancient monuments of the city, the history and legends of the cathedral, and the misdeeds of the Turk.


This work is designed for the use of students preparing for University scholarships or taking the Honours Course in Greek at a University. The present volume presents more than half the treatise on the "Functions and Equivalents of the Subordinate Clause and of the Parts of Speech," together with a corresponding "Digest of Greek Idioms." The large collection of examples, which the author modestly claims to be "possibly unique," are a valuable feature.


A new translation into German of the Poetics, with an introduction and an explanatory index of names and subjects.


The Second Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians. By WILFRED H. ISAACS. Pp. 57. Oxford: The University Press, 1921. 7s. 6d. net.

This is a new translation "intended to comprise an exact transference of the Apostle's thought from Greek to English," with some critical notes upon the text, and an introduction dealing with translation generally.


A paper on education read to a meeting of supporters of the Humanistic Gymnasium in Berlin.


Notices of Books


The introduction indicates some parallel political conditions in Greece at the time of the Peloponnesian War and now in Europe.


3 Heft (1914). "Inklains Amorberen" by A. Bauer. Pp. 106.


A Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Arts and Literature in candidacy for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.


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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 civilisation.

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 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, 1921, shall pay on election an entrance fee of one guinea.

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.

37. 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 one guinea, 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.
THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES.
OFFICERS AND COUNCIL FOR 1921—1922.

President.
SIR FREDERIC KENYON, K.C.B., D.Litt., F.R.A.

Vice-Presidents.
SIR SIDNEY COLVIN, D.Litt., F.R.A.
SIR ARTHUR EVANS, F.R.S., D.Litt., LL.D., F.R.A.
MR. L. R. FARNELL, D.Litt., F.R.A.
SIR J. G. FRAZER, D.Litt., LL.D., F.R.A.
D.C.L., F.R.A.
PROF. ERNEST GARDNER.
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MR. G. F. HILL, F.R.A.
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PROF. HENRY JACKSON, O.M., F.R.A.
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MR. WALTER LEAF, Litt.D., D.Litt., F.R.A.
PROF. GILBERT MURRAY, F.R.A.
PROF. SIR WILLIAM RIDGEWAY, F.R.A.
SIR JOHN SANDYS, Litt.D., F.R.A.
MR. A. HAMILTON SMITH.
SIR CECIL HACOURK-SEYMOUR, C.V.O., LL.D.
SIR CHARLES WALSTON, Litt.D., Ph.D., L.H.D.

Council.
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MR. N. H. BAYNES.
MR. J. H. BAZLEY.
MR. H. L. BELL.
MR. E. C. BISSANQUET.
REV. PROF. HENRY BROWNE.
MR. W. H. BUCKLER.
MR. M. O. E. CARY.
MR. A. M. DANIEL.
PROF. K. M. DAWKINS.
MR. J. P. DROOP.
MR. C. C. EDMAR.
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LADY EVANS.
MR. L. J. FORSYTHE.
MR. THEODORE FYFE.
MR. R. NORMAN GARDNER.
MR. H. R. HALL.
MISS C. M. KNIGHT, D.Litt.
MR. H. W. LAST.
PROF. W. R. LETHABY.
MR. R. W. LIVINGSTONE.
MR. F. R. MARSHALL.
MR. ERNEST MYERS.
PROF. W. HAYS ROBERTS.
MR. J. F. SHEPPARD.
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PROF. PERCY N. TURE.
MR. A. J. B. WACE.
MR. R. H. WALTERS.

Hon. Secretary.
MISS C. A. HUTTON.

Hon. Treasurer.
MR. GEORGE A. MACMILLAN, D.Litt., ST. MARTIN'S STREET, W.C.2.

Assistant Treasurer.
MR. GEORGE GARNETT, ST. MARTIN'S STREET, W.C.2.

Hon. Librarian.
MR. A. HAMILTON SMITH.

Secretary, Librarian and Keeper of Photographic Collections.

Assistant Librarian.
MR. F. WISE.

Acting Editorial Committee.
MR. E. J. FORSYTHE.
PROF. ERNEST GARDNER.
MR. G. F. HILL.

Consultative Editorial Committee.
MR. SIR SYDNEY COLVIN.
PROFESSOR PERCY GARDNER.
PROFESSOR HENRY JACKSON, PROFESSOR GILBERT MURRAY, SIR FREDERIC KENYON, and MR. A. J. B. WACE (now editor as Director of the British School at Athens).

Auditors for 1921-1922.
MR. C. F. CLAY.
MR. W. F. MACMILLAN.

Bankers.
MENDES, COUTTS & CO., 8, LOMBARD STREET, E.C.6.
LIST OF MEMBERS.

This List includes members elected during the year 1921 only.

Considerable misapprehension still exists over the long list published in the last volume of the Journal (J.H.S. XL.). That list, as stated on its opening page, was the list of members elected since the publication of J.H.S., Vol. XXXVIII., and not the complete list of members of the Society.

Allan, Miss Gladys R., 19, Manor Road, Bishops Stortford.
Barton, Rev. Walter John, Epsom College, Surrey.
Beck, H. M., Aldenham School, Elstree, Herts.
Birkett, Daniel M., J.F., Leigh House, Hastings Road, Bexhill-on-Sea, Sussex.
Bradley, L. J. N., Stockmar, Chorlton-cum-Hardy.
Brown, A. D. Burnett, Greenhurst, Beaconsfield, Bucks.
Buncher, Llewellyn, 2, Caroline Place, Mechlinburgh Square, W.C. 1.
Carbery, Mary, Lady, Stafford Hotel, St. James’ Place, S.W.
Caskey, Dr. L. D., Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
Choremi, A. D., c/o Davies Benachi & Co., Orleans House, Edmund Street, Liverpool.
Clarke, D., Harcourt, Stancliffe Hall, near Matlock, Derby.
Cole, S. C., 30, Regent Park Square, Strathbungo, Glasgow.
Cotterell, Miss M. E., Royal School, Bath.
Dillon, Gerald D., Balliol College, Oxford.
Elliot, Mrs. Scott’s, 16, Allen House, Allen Street, W. 8.
Evans, Mrs. L. Conway, Woodbury Lodge, Eaton, Exeter.
Farrington, R., The University, Cape Town, S.A.
French, the Lady, 45, Lower Belgrave Street, S.W. 1.
Fitzpatrick, J. F. J., Kabba, Northern Provinces, Nigeria.
Fleck, H. L. O., Deau Close School, Cheltenham.
Francis, Miss F. G., 40, Callcott Road, Bournbrook, N.W. 6.
Gatehouse, Miss R., Abbot’s Grange, Repton, Cheshire.
Gandlet, Miss C., 120, Cheyne Walk, Chelsea.
Gidney, Mrs., 314, Kingsbury Street, Marlborough, Wilts.
Gurney, C. W., I.C.S., c/o Messrs. King, Hamilton & Co., Calcutta, Bengal, India.
Gutman, F., 47, Kempford Gardens, Earl’s Court, S.W. 5.
Harvey, J. D. M., 42, Castelnau Mansions, Barnes, S.W. 13.
Joel, Herbert F., 70, Compayne Gardens, West Hampstead.
Keller, B., Brown, The University, Edinburgh.
La Roux, Prof. Th., The University, Cape Town, S.A.
Levy, Miss G. R., 40, Rotherwick Road, Golders Green, N.W.
Lorimer, W. L., 79, Murray Park, St. Andrews.
Elected 1921 (continued)

Lynam, A. E., School House, Broadwell Road, Oxford.
Manning, E., Edenham Bourne, Lincs.
Montgomery, Marshall, 302, Woodstock Road, Oxford.
Ogden, H. L., Alfreton, Torporley, Cheshire.
Pierce, Miss Elizabeth D., Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, New York, U.S.A.
Powell, Miss M. H., St. Michael's Hostel, Grove Park, Lee, S.E. 12.
Reynolds, Miss R. M., Bincleaves House, Weymouth.
Riches, T., Ketwells, Shenley, Herts.
Russell, Miss Phyllis, 17, Manor Court Road, Hunwell, W. 7.
Sawaki, Professor, Koto University, Tokyo, Japan.
Shackle, R. J., The Wardens, Feltham Avenue, East Molesey, Surrey.
Spencer, Col. Maurice, C.M.G., The Old Rectory, Lower Hardres, Canterbury.
Stobart, J. C., Emsden, Emsley, Middlesbrough.
Woodhouse, R. K. E., c/o Commercial Banking Co. of Sydney, 18, Birchin Lane, Lombard Street, E.C. 3.

SUBSCRIBING LIBRARIES.

Elected 1921.

GREAT BRITAIN.

Beckenham, The Library of the County School for Girls, Beckenham, Kent.
Edinburgh, The Library of St. George's Training College, Garscube Terrace, Edinburgh, W.
Preston, The Library of the Park School, Preston.
Southampton, The Library of the University College, Southampton.

FRANCE.

Strasbourg, La Bibliothèque Universitaire et Régionale, Strasbourg, France.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Beloit, The Library of Beloit College, Wisconsin, U.S.A.
Bryn Mawr, The Library of Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Penn., U.S.A.
Cleveland, The Cleveland Public Library, Cleveland, U.S.A.
Columbus, The Ohio State University Library, Columbus, Ohio, U.S.A.
Greencastle, The De Pauw University Library, Greencastle, U.S.A.
Haverford, The Library of Haverford College, Haverford, U.S.A.
Portland, The Library of Reed College, Portland, U.S.A.
Providence, The Brown University Library, Providence, Rhode Island, U.S.A.
Swarthmore, The Library of Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, U.S.A.
Texas, The Library of the University of Texas, Austin, Texas, U.S.A.
"The Library of the Catholic University of America, Washington, U.S.A.
PROCEEDINGS

SESSION 1920–1921

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

October 13th, 1920. Mr. A. J. B. Wace: Mycenae, with some account of the recent excavations of the British School at Athens.

November 9th, 1920. Mrs. S. Arthur Strong: The imagery of the recently discovered basilica near the Porta Maggiore, Rome.

December 15th, 1920. Mrs. S. Arthur Strong: Recent archaeological research in Italy (see below, p. xviii).

February 8th, 1921. Mr. H. B. Walters: Red-figured vases recently acquired by the British Museum (see J.H.S., xli, pp. 117–150).

March 1st, 1921. Mr. Jay Hambidge: Further evidences for Dynamic Symmetry in ancient architecture (see below, p. xviii).

March 15th, 1921. Mr. G. F. Hill: The Greek theory of portraiture (see below, p. xix).

May 20th, 1921. Sir Arthur Evans and Mr. F. N. Pryce: Two recently discovered Minoan bronzes (J.H.S., xlii, pp. 86–90).

The Annual Meeting was held at Burlington House on Tuesday, June 28th, 1921.

Mr. George A. Macmillan, Hon. Treasurer, moved the adoption of the following


In one way only, but that the most important of all, can the efforts made last year to put the Society on a firmer basis be counted a success. Whether tested by its many meetings, the use made of its library and slide collections, its publications, or the mere numbers on its roll, Hellenic Studies have been more actively promoted during the past session than heretofore.
But the Society suffers from its old difficulty, and for that the Council can only recommend its old remedy. Though the position is eased for the time by Sir Basil Zaharoff’s donation of £1000, expenditure still exceeds regular income by £300 a year. The best remedy still seems to be, not to curtail this or that activity, but to make them all easier in working, larger in scope and more fruitful in result by increasing our resources, i.e. by adding more and more members to our list. Exclusive of our subscribing Libraries we have now 1370 members, double the number with which we were left at the end of the war. Another 300 would make us safe and solvent. Something is done daily officially in this direction, but the best and surest foundation is the approval and interest of our existing members and their consequent efforts for fresh recruits. If there are fewer learners of the Greek language in England to-day than last year, there are more people who are appreciative of general grounds of the legacy that Greece has left us. We have, anyhow, a cause worth the pleading—the retention, as a permeating influence in a sick and troubled world, of the immemorial freshness and charm of ancient Hellas.

Changes in the Society.—Among the losses by death which the Society has sustained, special mention should be made of Dr. C. B. Heberden, formerly Principal of Brasenose, Dr. F. Imhoof-Blumer, Mr. W. R. Paton, Prof. E. Petersen, Prof. G. G. Ramsay, Mr. Arthur Sidgwick and Mr. W. Warde-Fowler.

Mr. E. R. Bevan, Mr. F. M. Cornford, and Prof. Flamstead Walters have retired from the Council. To fill the vacancies so caused, and that resulting from the death of Dr. R. M. Burrows, Mr. H. M. Last, Mr. F. H. Marshall, Mr. J. T. Sheppard and Prof. W. Rhys Roberts have been nominated for election. Mr. Penoyre has returned to his duties as Secretary and Librarian, and the Council wish to place on record the Society’s great obligation to their Hon. Secretary, Miss C. A. Hutton, for having carried on the work at Bloomsbury Square during his absence.

The Council recently circulated a formal enquiry among ex enemy hon. members asking whether they wished again to receive the Society’s publications. The answer was unanimously in the affirmative, and the Journal will accordingly be sent to them as from January 1920.

Meetings.—Seven Meetings have been held in the course of the Session.

On Oct. 13th, 1920, at the first Students’ Meeting, Mr. A. J. B. Wace delivered a lecture on ‘Mycenae,’ with some account of the recent excavations of the British School at Athens.

On Nov. 9th, at the first General Meeting, Mrs. Arthur Strong read an illustrated paper on ‘The imagery of the recently discovered basilica near the Porta Maggiore, Rome.’ This paper will appear in the Society’s Journal. Sir Frederic Kenyon (who presided), Sir Rennell Rodd,
Mr. Arthur Smith, Mr. Hill, and Sir Arthur Evans took part in the discussion which followed.

On Dec. 15th, at the second Students' Meeting, Mrs. Strong gave particulars of recent archaeological research in Italy. The slides, lent for the purpose by the Italian authorities, illustrated letters in the Press from the Director of the British School at Rome, Dr. Ashby. They included views of the recent excavations at Veii; 5th-century walls of a Lucanian hill fortress; photographs from aeroplane of Ostia, showing interesting details of the streets with blocks of flats and a 'bar'; the recent excavations at Cyrene, including a photograph of the Nike; the Sepolcreto San Paolo in Rome; plans for the excavation of the imperial fora in Rome; and the fine series of 4th-century terra cotta figures from Falerii, now in Florence.

On March 1st Mr. Jay Hambidge, at a Special Meeting, gave an illustrated communication on 'Further evidences for Dynamic Symmetry in Ancient Architecture.' This was a joint meeting of the Society and of the Royal Institute of British Architects, and was held at the Royal Institute.

After introductory remarks by Sir Charles Walston, who presided, Mr. Hambidge began by arguing that with the Greeks of the classic period it was customary to study arithmetic with the aid of simple geometrical diagrams. Plato, in the Theaitetos, supplied a lesson in this method of study wherein root rectangles are used. If we used this method of arithmetical study, and the same diagrams, the result was the same dynamic symmetry as the speaker had worked out from the best examples of ancient Greek architecture and general craftsmanship.

During the past year some of the most important of the classic buildings in Greece had been re-measured and examined in detail for the purpose of determining precisely the methods used by the ancient master builders in fixing their proportions, or, as they termed it, symmetry. These buildings included: The Parthenon at Athens, the temple of Apollo Epikurius at Bassae in Phigaleia (both by the Periclean architect Iktinos), the Zeus temple at Olympia, the temple at Samion, and the temple of Athena Aphaia at Aegina. It is the speaker's belief that the results of this labour showed conclusively that we had recovered the classic Greek method of fixing building proportions.

An interesting situation was revealed by a comparison of the two buildings designed by Iktinos—the Parthenon at Athens, and the temple of Apollo at Bassae. The symmetry of the Parthenon was characteristic of the building; it was subtle, refined, and modified in many ways by the introduction of curvature. The building at Bassae was without curvature, except that of the circular columns and their capitals. The Parthenon column has an extremely delicate entasis, while that at Bassae is perfectly straight. Of all examples of Greek design so far found to conform to dynamic symmetry, that furnished by the Bassae temple was the simplest.
As was explained in lectures of last year, the highest type of symmetry was furnished by areas which are fixed by a diagonal to two squares in relation to a side of one of the units.

If a side of one square equals 1, two sides equal 2.
And a diagonal of the two units equals 2:23606 plus, or root 5.
The mystery of classic Greek proportion will, therefore, be found in an area the end of which is 1 and the side 2:23606 plus.

Iktines seemed to have thoroughly understood this, as the nave, the column centring, and the placing of the statue of Athena were arranged in strict accord with the proportions inherent in this peculiar figure. The proportions of the Parthenon unfolded from the centre of the statue of the goddess like those of a flower.

The proportions of the Bassae temple were another evolution of this basic form of 2:36.
The overall plan at Bassae was 2:236 plus 2:36 or 2:472, i.e., four whirling square rectangles or 618 multiplied by 4.
The stylobate proportion was 2:618 or 1:618 plus 1.
The naos proportion was 2:236 or 1:618 multiplied by 2.
The cella proportion was 2:472 or a similar figure to the whole.
If they divided the length of the temple by 2:36 they obtained the length of the cella. If they divided the width of the temple by 2:36 they obtained the width of the cella.

The Zeus temple at Olympia and the temples at Aegina and Sunion showed variations of the same basic ideas of proportion found in the Parthenon and the temple at Bassae. It should be remembered that the proportions of all details in these buildings conformed strictly to their general proportions.

The lecture was illustrated by particularly beautiful lantern slides, a selection from which have been presented to the Society.

The paper was discussed by Sir Charles Walston, Mr. P. W. Hubbard, Mr. George Hubbard, Mr. Cloudesley Brereton, and Mr. Theodore Fyfe. Thanks were accorded to Mr. Hambidge for his paper, and to the Royal Institute for kind hospitality.

On Feb. 8th, 1921, at the second General Meeting, Mr. H. B. Walters gave an illustrated description of the red-figured vases recently acquired by the British Museum. Mr. Walters’ paper, which will be published in the Journal, was discussed by Sir Frederic Kenyon (who presided), Professor Ernest Gardner, Sir Henry Howorth, and Sir Charles Walston.

On March 15th, at the third Students’ Meeting, Mr. G. F. Hill read a paper to illustrate “the Greek theory of portraiture.” He thought that portraiture made its appearance in ancient art at an earlier period than was generally supposed. Early portraits were not now easily recognised as such, partly because the artist had not developed the power of seizing individual traits, but also because we were unfamiliar with his method of giving them expression. He was, further, critical of another widely held opinion, that the art of the 5th century expressed
character, and that of the 4th century passion. In the 5th-century heads associated with the name of Polyclitus pathos was, if anywhere else, discernible; while the 4th-century Demeter of Knidos could hardly be more ethical.

With portraiture he would give an earlier date than was generally assigned to the rise of naturalism generally. The fact was the greater arts had been studied to the exclusion of the minor, and it was in these latter that its early appearance was found. Returning to portraiture, he pointed out that it was earlier and better developed in the countries where the Hellenic element was partly barbarised or subjugated.

Among the illustrations discussed were a fine 5th-century male head from Copenhagen, which might be an Apollo, an athlete, or, as he was inclined to think, an early portrait; coins of Cos on which the head of Herakles showed some resemblance to the head of Mausollos, in whose principate they were struck; the 4th-century bronze head of a Berber prince in the British Museum; and the bronze head of an old man recovered from the sea at Cengotto.

On May 10th, at the third General Meeting, Sir Arthur Evans and Mr. F. N. Pryce offered illustrated papers on 'Two recently discovered Minoan bronzes.' The papers, which will be published in the Journal, were discussed by Sir Frederic Kenyon [who presided], Mr. Hogarth, Dr. Leaf, Mr. Seager, Mr. Forsdyke, and Prof. Ernest Gardner.

**The Joint Library and Photographic Collections.**—The following figures indicate the scope of the Society's work in this department for this session and its predecessor.

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<tr>
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<th>1919-20</th>
<th>1920-21</th>
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<tr>
<td>Visitors to the Library</td>
<td>1,564</td>
<td>2,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Books taken out</td>
<td>815</td>
<td>1,382</td>
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<td>*Books added to the Library</td>
<td>387</td>
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<td>Slides hired</td>
<td>3,709</td>
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<td>Slides sold to members</td>
<td>672</td>
<td>621</td>
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<td>Photographs sold to members</td>
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<td>127</td>
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<tr>
<td>Slides added to the collection</td>
<td>283</td>
<td>213</td>
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The accommodation for books in the Main Library continues adequate, additional space having been provided in the premises on the top floor. Here a room has been made ready for the Society's collections of larger drawings: this will be open in the course of the session. The reference collection of larger photographs is also being transferred thither. A complete outline index to the *Journal* has been added to the Library, and an index of the individual essays in collective *in honorem* works is in preparation. Improvement has been made in the arrangement of pamphlets, opuscula and current numbers of periodicals.

* Exclusive of periodicals.
Among the more important accessions are the following: Antoniades, 
'Εκφρασις τῆς Ἁγίας Σοφίας; the Byzantine Research Fund's publication 
of the Church of Our Lady of the Hundred Gates at Paros, by H. H. Jewell 
and F. W. Hasluck; the definitive publication of the excavations at 
Miletus; the records of the Princeton archaeological expeditions to Syria; 
the facsimile reproductions of the papyri in Berlin, Giessen and Strassburg; 
and Strzygowski, Die Baukunst der Armenier und Europa.

The Library has added the following to the periodicals which it 
receives in exchange for the Society's publications: The Antiquaries 
Journal, the Bulletin de la Société Archéologique Bulgare, the Byzantinisch- 
neugriechische Jahrbücher and the French Government publication on 
research in Syria. All the series of foreign periodicals which were 
interrupted by the war are now complete to date.

The Council acknowledge with thanks books from H.M. Government 
of India, the Trustees of the British Museum, the Chief Secretary of 
the Government of Cyprus, the British Academy, the Museum of Fine 
Arts at Boston, L'Association Guillaume Bude, and the University Presses 

The following have also kindly given books: Messrs. J. T. Allen, 
W. C. F. Anderson, Prof. A. Andreides, Signor G. Bagnani, Messrs. E. R. 
Bevan, W. H. Buckler, S. Casson, Prof. E. Derrup, Mr. A. W. Gomm, 
Prof. B. P. Grenfell, Prof. W. R. Halliday, Mr. J. Hambidge, Mrs. 
F. W. Hasluck, Sir T. L. Heath, Messrs. G. F. Hill, M. Holleaux, Miss 
C. A. Hutton, Rev. Gifford H. Johnson, Dr. K. F. Kinch, Messrs. L. 
Laurend, J. G. Milne, Mrs. J. G. Milne, Signor S. Mirone, Mrs. Ludwig 
Mond, Prof. J. L. Myres, Messrs. E. T. Newell, M. P. Nilsson, Dr. F. 
Poulsen, the Hon. Misses Russell, Messrs. R. B. Seager, G. A. S. Snyder, 
Dr. F. Studniczka, Dr. J. Sundwall, Messrs. W. W. Tarn, M. D. Volonakis, 
A. J. B. Wace, Dr. J. Wackernagel, Mr. R. J. Walker, Prof. T. Wiegand, 
Dr. A. Wilhelm, Prof. P. Wolters, and the Librarian.

The following have also presented copies of recently published 
H. Champion, Chatto & Windus, Jacob Dybwad, G. Franz, P. Geutin, 
W. Heinemann, S. Hirzel, A. Holder, Macmillan & Co., F. Meiner, Picard, 
F. Schoningh, Seemann, Topelmann, and Weidmann.

The Library is specially indebted to Mr. W. H. Buckler and Mr. and 
Mrs. Grafton Milne for the gift of valuable books.

The collection of lantern slides increases in utility, over 6000 having 
borrow been lent during the session. Members are reminded that they can now 
borrow slides in two ways. They can make their own selection from the 
pictures arranged for the purpose in the Library, which is the better way 
for detailed scientific purposes, or, for more general lectures, they can 
order one of the special sets that have been compiled for the purpose. 
Recent additions to these sets comprise Ancient Life (a second set); 
Greek Papyri; Greek Architecture; and the travels of St. Paul. The 
Roman Society has similar sets in preparation. Difficulties in the photo-
graphic trade continue to hamper the production of slides for sale. Members, but the Council have kept the charge for hire at its pre-war figure of 1d.

Gifts to the collections are acknowledged from the British School at Athens, Prof. H. E. Butler, Mr. T. Fyfe, Prof. Ernest Gardner, Mr. Jay Hambridge, Mr. M. Holroyd, Miss C. A. Hutton, Mr. H. Lang Jones, and Dr. Whatmough.

The reference collection of photographs has received large additions and is being rearranged on the top floor. There is no more attractive or informing task than the turning over a large number of photographs and original drawings, arranged in a strict subject order, illustrating the results of excavation and museum research. This collection has involved considerable cost and labour, and the Council think that, when it is more accessible in its new home, it should be of greater use and enjoyment to members.

It will be within the recollection of members that, to cope with the Society's increased activities without multiplying officials, a rota of voluntary workers was established in the Library. The Society is indebted in this way to generous help given by Mr. E. P. Bally, Mrs. Culley, Miss M. Davidson, Miss C. A. Hutton, Miss A. Lindsell, and Mrs. Grafton Milne. Unfortunately the Library has lost its most constant helper, it is hoped only temporarily, by Miss. Davidson's illness. Meanwhile there is very much to do and few to do it. Any member who can spare a morning or an afternoon regularly once a week, and does not mind what she or he does for the good of a good cause, will be very welcome.

Finance.—The last financial year has been a critical one in the history of the Society. With every effort at economy, the preceding year had ended with a deficit of over £250 on the ordinary Expenditure and Income account. But, encouraged by the response to the appeal for the War Emergency Fund, which was inaugurred to provide means for the immediate future, it was decided to adopt a bold policy. The Journal has again been issued in two parts, while in other departments the aim has been to recreate and extend all former activities. To raise the revenues to meet the necessary increase in expenditure, effort was made to obtain new members and increased subscriptions. It was felt that if the objects and aims of the Society justified its existence, funds would be forthcoming to enable it to carry on the work it had undertaken.

The result has been good as far as it goes. The membership roll has been raised to 1370, and the list of subscribing libraries to 280, bringing an increase to the revenues for the year of between £600 and £700. Further donations to the War Emergency Fund have provided £181. (New members paying life compositions have contributed a total of no less than £393, but this of course cannot be treated as revenue, and a sum has been invested to cover this and contributions to the Endowment Fund.) The
Council desire to express their best thanks to all the members who have contributed to bring about this result.

But the expenditure during the year has necessarily been heavy, the cost of the Journal overshadowing everything else. Other headings show considerable increase, some part of which has been incurred in the effort to extend the list of members. The net result is that the increased receipts of £700 have failed to balance the increased expenditure of £800, and the Society is left with a slightly larger deficit than last year.

A further annual income, therefore, of about £300 is still required to ensure relief from financial embarrassment. It is hoped that every effort will be exerted to bring about this desired result, and to this end members are earnestly invited to (1) introduce new members; (2) increase their subscriptions wherever possible; (3) contribute to the War Emergency Fund, which provides additional funds during the present unsettled times; or (4) send donations to the Endowment Fund, which is intended by investment to provide a source of permanent revenue.

Mr. Angelo Hayter seconded the motion for the adoption of the report which was formally put to the meeting and carried unanimously.

The Vice-Presidents of the Society and the members of the Council retiring by rotation (Messrs. J. D. Beazley, W. H. Buckler, M. Cary, E. J. Forsdyke, E. N. Gardiner, H. R. Hall) were re-elected, and Messrs. H. M. Last, F. H. Marshall, J. T. Sheppard, and Prof. W. Rhys Roberts were elected as members of the Council.

Votes of thanks to the auditors, Messrs. C. F. Clay and W. E. F. Macmillan, were moved by Sir Charles Walston and Mr. Penoyre.

The President, Sir Frederic Kenyon, K.C.B., P.B.A., D.Litt., then delivered the following address on "The Requirements of a Law of Antiquities."

It is impossible to begin an address to-day to a gathering of students of the classics without reference to the loss which British scholarship has sustained through the death of Mr. Warde Fowler. It is true that his mark was made in connexion with Roman rather than Hellenic literature; but the provinces cannot be strictly demarcated. A Virgilian scholar is necessarily a Hellenist as well as a Latinist; and Mr. Warde Fowler knew and loved the literature of Greece as well as that of Rome. There are some men who to the knowledge which other scholars possess add a certain spirit which we instinctively recognise as that of the true humanist, of the "happy warrior" of scholarship, whom every scholar would wish to be. Such a one was Henry Butcher, and such was Warde Fowler. In men of this temper lifelong familiarity with the classics has given a peculiar insight into their spirit, so that they are able to interpret them to others with something like prophetic strain. Warde Fowler exemplified this, not only in his writings on Roman religion, of which his sympathetic knowledge made him an unequalled interpreter, but perhaps especially in his Virgilian trilogy, which was his reaction from the strain of the years of war. One had hoped that there might be more of them; for it is seldom that there arises a scholar who has in himself so much of the delicate charm, the curiosa felicitas, of the poet whom he interpreted.
I pass now to some general considerations on the work of our Society, and to a particular topic which I wish to lay before you.

The past year has been for our Society, as for so many other institutions, a year of attempted reconstruction. We have been trying to accommodate ourselves to the new conditions, and this is for us, as well as for the world at large, a slow process. One cannot yet say that the conditions have reached stability. We do not yet know how or when we shall reach economic equilibrium; we cannot judge what will be the value of money six months hence. Finance is necessarily at the bottom of everything. Before we can tell what we can do to promote Hellenic studies, we must know with some approach to accuracy what our income is likely to be, and what is the amount of our office expenses. Next after them comes the expenses of the Journal; for the production of the Journal is the form of our activities which takes precedence of all others. In this respect the prospects are improving. The cost of paper has already begun to come down, and it is difficult to believe that wages in the printing trade will escape from the general downward tendency as the cost of living falls. When we have reached stability in our office expenses and in the cost of the Journal, we shall be able to judge what balance we have in hand for the other departments of work.

Finance therefore is the key to the whole position, and it is finance which has been the first concern of our officers. No words of praise can be too high for the exertions of our Secretary and Librarian, Mr. Penrose (very efficiently seconded by our Sub-Librarian, Mr. F. Wise), to bring in fresh subscribers. I hope the Society realises, as those who are most closely associated with its work realise, that without Mr. Penrose we should have been in danger of extinction. He has devoted the energy, which during the war was directed to the well-being of our soldiers, to setting the Society on its legs again. It has been a laborious and uphill task, and he has strained himself to the utmost limit of his powers, and at serious risk to his health. I should not be doing my duty to the Society if I did not put in the forefront of my annual address an expression of our gratitude to him.

The extent to which these efforts, which have been joyously backed by the personal influence and ungrudged services of our Honorary Secretary, Miss Hatton, have been successful, has been set out in the Report, and I will not dwell further upon them here. I want rather to look forward, and to consider what shall be the programme which we should put before us.

As I have said already, our first duty is the Journal. It is the main organ of classical archaeology in this country, and without it our scholars in this field of learning would be voiceless. I believe I am right in saying that there is no lack of material to fill its pages. Our archaeologists have now returned from the war duties which so many of them performed with such conspicuous success, and are getting to work again with all the more zest because of their enforced abstinence. The men (and the women too) are there, and are ready to work, if the material is forthcoming.

That is the problem which we now have to solve. We shall not have restored our pre-war standard until the machinery for archaeological field-work is again in working order, and is again putting out its full quota of results. That is not yet the case. It is only slowly that the regions affected by the war are becoming once more open to the explorer and the excavator. Mesopotamia, in which valuable work was done during the concluding stages of the war, has been closed for two years through the unsettlement of the political situation. No work has been possible during the past autumn and spring at Carchemish, which lies in the debatable area between the French and the Angora Turks. On the other hand the Palestine Exploration Fund has been able to begin work at Ascalon, and the Egypt Exploration Society at Tell-el-Amarna. But Asia Minor is still closed, pending some settlement between the Greeks and the Turks, and labour difficulties, we are told, prohibit the resumption of exploration in Crete. The British school at Athens has got to work at Mycenae, and the results of the past season have been recounted to us by Mr. Wace; but we can hardly say yet that the School has resumed its full
activity. The supply of students, arrested by the war, is only beginning to flow again, and it will necessarily take a year or two before we have the necessary numbers of trained directors and enthusiastic learners. The same is the case with the School at Rome.

This then is the ideal which we have to keep before us, and for the present we must be content to record advance rather than achievement. Work has been begun and projects put forward, it is our duty now to see that the work begun is maintained, and that projects are considered and brought to feasibility. Two projects in particular may be mentioned. One relates to the site of Colophon. In this neighbourhood the French are already proposing to work; but Mr. Wace, recalling from the past a somewhat nebulous scheme of excavations there by the British Museum, has put in a claim for leave to revive it, and has ascertained that the French are quite willing to agree to a division of the area, which would leave Old Colophon to us, while they would undertake New Colophon, or Naxium. All recognition is due to the courtesy of our French friends in this matter; whether we shall be able to take advantage of it is another question. So far as the Museum is concerned, there are two rather serious fences to be surmounted. In the first place it is doubtful whether any funds would be forthcoming; for if the country is ever to be relieved from a six-shilling income tax, the Civil Service Estimates will have to be cut down rather drastically, and it may well be that little or nothing will be forthcoming for such luxuries as excavations. And secondly there is some obscurity as to the conditions under which excavations would be made in the part of Asia Minor which has been placed under Greek administration by the Treaty of Servia (if it is ever ratified). On this point I shall have something to say presently.

The other project which has been brought to our notice is a more ambitious one. It is no less than the excavation of Constantinople. A high political and diplomatic authority, and a good friend of art and the classics, has urged that the time is opportune for the excavation of the Hippodrome of Constantinople, the site where stood the famous monument of Pallas. In one sense the time is indeed opportune for excavation at Constantinople; for the extant buildings which once adorned the city during the war have laid bare great areas which before were covered with buildings. On the other hand, the political conditions are still so unsettled that it might be very difficult to obtain authority for the work, even if we could obtain the funds for so extensive and costly an undertaking. If the work is to be done by any one, we have a good claim to priority, since a concession of the site had been given before the war to Dr. van Millingen, who was anxious that England should undertake it; now could there be any justification for international jealousies, since there is room and to spare in Constantinople for all the countries that are likely to want to work there. But finance and diplomacy stand as two lions in the path.

Now as to the desirability of our allied institutions, the Hellenic Society and the British School at Athens (with or without the co-operation of the British Museum) resuming active field-work, I do not think there can be two opinions. Activity is the life-blood of a Society, and field-work is the basis of Archaeology. The discovery of new material, the training of a new generation of workers must go hand in hand with the study of the materials discovered. Each is essential to the other, and healthy progress is only possible if both flourish. On the other hand, the possibility of it, as I have said already, depends upon finance. But while the desirability is admitted and the possibility doubtful, I should like to take this opportunity to consider under what conditions archaeological work ought to be regulated in regions such as those of which we are speaking.

The treaty of peace with Turkey imposes on that country the duty of abrogating its existing Law of Antiquities, and of enacting a new law upon lines which are laid down in a series of eight propositions. These propositions, which were drafted by an international sub-committee, after consultation so far as this country was concerned, with the Joint Archaeological Committee, indicate what, in the opinion of the Western Powers, shall be the principles of archaeological administration in
the historic lands of the Near East. The Powers cannot, without stinting themselves, lay down one set of principles for Asia Minor, and another for Syria, Palestine, Egypt, and Mesopotamia. The essential conditions are in each case the same. In each case the inhabitants are either indifferent to antiquities altogether, or are interested in them solely as a potential source of wealth. In each case the land contains antiquities of the highest interest to those Western countries whose civilization is based upon the civilization of which they are the record. It is therefore necessary, first, that the inhabitants should be enlisted on the side of the preservation and scientific investigation of these antiquities, and next that the scientific investigation of them by trained Western archaeologists should be encouraged and facilitated. These are the two principles which underlie the provisions of the Treaty of Sévres; and it is because British officials do not always appreciate them and their implications that it appears desirable to take any opportunity that presents itself to explain and enforce them.

First with regard to the inhabitants of the lands in which we desire to dig. They have a material interest, which they fully appreciate, and a moral interest, which for the most part they do not. Their material interest is to be allowed to make as much money as they can out of the antiquities which their land contains, just as if they were a crop which the land produced by nature. This interest is best served by allowing free traffic in antiquities; by permitting foreigners to buy any objects that are brought to light by the searches of the natives; and by encouraging foreign tourists and explorers to come and spend money freely in the country. There is no question, and experience has amply proved it, that the interest of the native, as he himself sees it, lies in the fullest freedom of traffic.

On the other hand the moral interest of the native lies in his education to take a higher view of the records of the past history of his country. It is the duty of every country which holds another in tutelage to educate it up to a higher appreciation of moral and intellectual values. The tutelar country is bound to look forward to a time when the pupil country will have reached a higher stage of development, and to see that the heritage of its past is not destroyed meanwhile. When a people arrives at years of discretion, it should not find that during its minority its guardian has allowed it to be plundered of the possessions which it has too late learned to prize. This is a consideration which tends to action in a direction exactly contrary to that which has previously been put forward, and, if pressed to extremes, would lead to the retention in the country of every object of antiquity which might come to light in it. The moral and material interests of the country appear therefore to be at odds with one another.

At this point, as another factor in the problem and as a contribution towards solving the apparent antinomy, may be brought in the consideration of the interests of countries other than the country of origin. A people that inhabits a given area of the earth's surface is not merely the proprietor of the objects found therein; it is a trustee for them in the interests of humanity, just in proportion as they are of value for the well-being of humanity. It is not entitled to preserve solely for its own use the goods of which it is the fortuitous possessor, although it is entitled to make a profit out of them. The moral claim of foreign nations varies according to the closeness with which the objects desired are associated with the population which now inhabits the land in which they are found. If the Greek race had been obliterated by a Mongol invasion, the claim of the Western nations which derive their civilization from ancient Greece to the possession of the antiquities found in the soil of Greece would be much greater than that of the Mongol residents. The claim of the modern inhabitants of Mesopotamia to an interest in the Moham median antiquities of the country is very much greater than their claim to an interest in the Sumerian and Babylonian antiquities which throw light on the books of the Pentateuch.

However this may be, it is clear that the Western nations have a very legitimate interest in the antiquities of the Near and Middle East, both as elements in the advance of knowledge in general, and particularly as monuments of the civilisation
on which their own is based. It is plain, also, that their interest in connexion
with the administration of antiquities in the lands of which we are speaking lies,
first, in the preservation and scientific investigation of these antiquities, so that
no portion of their evidence or their significance may be lost; and next in having
them placed where they can best be studied, and where they are accessible to the
largest number of persons who can profit by the sight and examination of them.
The vote of this interest would be in favour of the removal of antiquities from
the country of origin just in proportion to the inaccessibility of that country from
the centres of modern civilisation, and the absence of inhabitants capable of
studying them and making their value known to the civilised world.

We have therefore three forces to take into account in framing a just Law of
Antiquities in lands of archaeological importance:—first, the material interests
of the country of origin; secondly, the moral (or intellectual) interests of the
country of origin; and, thirdly, the moral (or intellectual) interests of countries
other than the country of origin, which may be more comprehensively described
as the advancement of knowledge. A settlement which ignores any of these claims
will be defective, and it is the business of archaeologists and official administrators
to endeavour to find a solution which will satisfy all of them to the fullest extent
possible.

I do not think that a satisfactory solution is hard to find, if only intelligence
and toleration could be presupposed among administrators and scholars. I believe
it is possible to satisfy both the interests of the country of origin and the interests
of other countries in the advancement of knowledge. But it seems necessary to
repeat what has already been said, because we know by bitter experience that they are by no means always realised by those in whose hands important decisions lie.

In the first place, there are certain solutions which should be ruled out at
once as incompatible with the principles which have been laid down. A law which
prohibits all export of antiquities is only defensible—if at all—in countries which
are able to make the fullest provision for their preservation, for their accessibility,
and for their study. The best example, perhaps, is Greece. Greece is well aware
of the moral, as well as the material, value of its antiquities; it makes good pro-
vision for their exploration and for their preservation; it permits excavation
(though not exportation) by foreign scholars; and it is reasonably accessible to
the nations most vitally interested in the study of these antiquities. Nevertheless
I do not think it can be denied that the world would have been the sufferer if such
a law of exclusion had always existed and been enforced. Greece has been and
is the schoolmaster of the world because the products of its great age went abroad
to Italy in the past and to Europe and America now; and although Greece may
at times lament over its vanished treasures, the name of Greece stands higher,
and even its political position is stronger, because the influence of its artistic genius
has been spread throughout the civilised world.

A policy of exclusiveness is bad for the world, and bad for the country which
practises it. How much does not Italy owe, in reputation and in the affection
of other peoples, to the fact that its pictures have been spread broadcast in Europe
and America? On the other hand, the artistic reputation of England has suffered
because our artists are so poorly represented in the galleries of France and Italy.
Except in rare isolated instances, I do not grudge the migration of English pictures
to America: not merely because America has a right to a share in England's past,
but because I believe that the increased appreciation of English art and literature
adds strength to the bonds which unite England and America. What is needed
is not exclusiveness, but an equitable balance between the claims of the mother
country and of other lands.

And if exclusiveness is a doubtful policy in the case of countries like Greece
and Italy, which possess trained scholars of unquestioned competence and educated
publics which fully appreciate their artistic treasures, it is wholly bad in the case
of less advanced countries. I enumerated just now three interests which have
to be taken into account—the material interest of the country of origin, the moral and intellectual interest of the country of origin, and the advancement of learning. In the case of such countries as Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia, Asia Minor, two of these interests suffer by a policy of exclusion, and the third does not benefit. The material interest of the country of origin suffers; and consequently one invariably finds the natives, in whose interest the law of exclusion is supposed to be enforced, using all their ingenuity to evade it, and joining hands with the smuggler and the foreign agent against their own government. The interest of the advancement of learning suffers, because scientific exploration is discouraged, while smuggling, which obscures the history and significance of the objects found, is encouraged. Finally, for the moral and intellectual interest of the country of origin exclusiveness is not necessary, because there are in all these countries a supply of antiquities amply sufficient to meet the needs of the country and at the same time to supply a good representation of its art in lands outside.

It is very hard to get this truth into the minds of administrators who have little knowledge of archaeology; and therefore I would ask the members of this Society to use all their influence to spread the light, and to make it a matter of common knowledge. Museum officials and excavators who preach this doctrine are apt to be suspect, and to be regarded as plunderers who would cloak their nefarious designs under a specious veil. It is those whose motives are recognisably disinterested who can best convince the suspicious; and when they have, as members of this Society have, sufficient knowledge of the facts to support their doctrine by concrete instances, their testimony will carry weight, and may eventually discredit the error which is so full of danger to archaeology and civilization.

Another error which should be ruled out at the start is the delusion that a Law of Antiquities works best by terrorism. It is a matter of common knowledge that in the past, both in Egypt and in Mesopotamia, the law has tried to work by penalties and prohibitions. One would be glad to think that this procedure was wholly extinct now. Some penalties no doubt there must be; but they should be kept in the background. The consequences of terrorism are wholly bad. If a native realises that the possession of an antiquity may lead him into trouble unless he conforms to a procedure which he does not understand and which may be inconvenient to follow, he will either hide what he has found or destroy it. If he preserves it, he will expect a higher price for it to compensate him for the risk. Either way, science suffers.

It is for this reason that the first of the principles laid down in the Annex to article 42 of the Treaty of Sèvres runs as follows: 'The law for the protection of antiquities shall proceed by encouragement rather than by threat ...' and this is amplified by the provision that 'any person who, having discovered an antiquity, reports the same to an official of the competent Department, shall be rewarded according to the value of the discovery.' If this provision (to which it is legitimate to add the warning that 'any person who maliciously or negligently destroys or damages an antiquity shall be liable to a penalty') can be carried into effect and become generally known, the interests of the native population will be enlisted on the side of the preservation and notification of antiquities, and we may hope that the sad tragedies which have been recorded in the past will not be repeated.

The first principle of a Law of Antiquities therefore is to secure the preservation and notification of objects found. The second is to encourage the finding of them by scientific methods. And the third is to secure that they be so disposed of as to satisfy the needs alike of the country of origin and of the advancement of knowledge in general. The securing of these two latter principles depends on the regulations which may be made to govern the distribution of the results of excavation. This is a somewhat delicate matter, but it is of vital importance that a clear understanding should be arrived at with regard to it by those who are responsible for the areas in the Near and Middle East which are now under civilised administration.

What is needed is to reconcile two conflicting interests. It is desirable that
excavation by competent archaeologists should be encouraged; and it is right that the country of origin should have first consideration in the disposal of the objects discovered. If the excavator is allowed to take everything, the country is demoted of the relics of its past history; and if the country of origin is too grasping, foreign archaeologists and societies will not dig, except in those rare instances where the honour and glory of discovery and publication are likely to be sufficient compensation for their labour and expenditure.

The Treaty of Sèvres does not undertake to lay down any very precise ruling. It says merely that "the proceeds of excavation may be divided between the excavator and the competent Department in a proportion fixed by that Department. If division seems impossible for scientific reasons, the excavator shall receive a fair indemnity for a part of the find." The main principles are, however, indicated: the right of the excavator to a part of the proceeds; the right of the Department representing the country of origin to determine what objects must be retained for the local museum; and the right of the excavator to be compensated if the needs of the local museum leave him too small a residue.

In Egypt, for many years past, the working understanding has been that the proceeds of excavation should, so far as possible, be divided equally between the excavator and the Cairo Museum, the latter having the power to claim objects of special importance for its collections, but being expected to see that the excavator nevertheless receives an approximate half of the value of the total finds. This understanding has worked satisfactorily on the whole, so far as so rough-and-ready a rule can; and I think it indicates a correct apportionment between the two interests concerned. The museum is secured in the possession of the objects most needed by it; and the excavator receives a sufficient share of the results of his labour and expense to make it worth his while to undertake the work. Any apportionment which departs widely from this proportion is likely to defeat its own object; for if the excavator does not receive enough to induce him to dig, excavation will not take place (except surreptitiously, by the natives) and the museum consequently will not benefit, while the cause of science will suffer. I therefore regard with some apprehension the draft ordinance of antiquities for Palestine, which enacted that the local museum should first take all that it required, and then that the residue should be divided equally between the museum and the excavator. Unless the museum was very moderate in its initial claim, the excavator would be likely to come off very indifferently under this regulation. The ordinance has been the subject of discussion, and I hope it will be modified so as to admit of an approximate half-and-half division, while preserving the right of the museum to first choice.

The Palestine ordinance is of special importance, because it is the first to be drawn up for the territories recently liberated from Turkish rule, and is likely to serve as a model for the others. It is therefore satisfactory that it has been based upon, and in most respects conforms with, the recommendations of the Archaeological Joint Committee. The Committee, after consultation with the Director of Antiquities at Jerusalem, has suggested certain modifications in details, and there is reason to hope that they will be accepted. We trust that similar regulations will be enacted by our French friends in Syria. With regard to Asia Minor, it is impossible to speak with precision in the present indeterminate position of affairs. It may, however, be presumed that part of it will remain under Turkish administration, and possibly part under that of the Greeks. We are, I think, entitled to hope that the area which may be placed under Greek administration will be treated on the same principles as the areas which come by mandate under British or French control. The doctrine of exclusive ownership, which Greece is entitled to apply to the territory which belongs to it in full ownership, can hardly be claimed as applicable to territories of which it is, in effect if not in name, the mandatory.

This brings me to the last principle to which it seems necessary to call attention in connexion with the administration of antiquities. It is embodied in the final words of Article 421 of the Treaty of Sèvres:
The Turkish Government undertakes to ensure the execution of this law on a basis of perfect equality between all nations.

In matters of archaeology, international jealousies should be ruled out. The civilisations of the ancient world are the common heritage of the modern nations. The fact that a European nation is administering a portion of Asia or Africa does not give it the right to exclude members of other nations from all share in the work of exploration or in the products of such exploration; and if any nation were to claim such exclusive rights in the territories under its control, that should be a sufficient reason for refusing to allow it the privilege of working in the areas controlled by other nations. In Asia Minor, in Syria, in Palestine, in Mesopotamia, in Persia, in Egypt, there should be a fair field and no favour, and similar Laws of Antiquities should regulate exploration and excavation in each of them. So far as I have had communications with the representatives of the other nations concerned, I believe that this principle would be accepted by them; but it is important that it should be laid down clearly at the outset, and put into force without reserves or qualifications. We in this country, who have control in areas so important as Palestine and Mesopotamia, have the opportunity of setting a good example, and I trust and believe we shall make use of it. The only ground on which the exclusion of the representatives of any country could be justified would be if archaeological exploration were made a cloak for political designs; and this is only a particular case of the general principle that archaeology must not be made the cat's-paw of politics. It has been so sometimes in the past. Let us do what we can to guard against it in the future.

I have taken the opportunity given to me to-day to deal with principles of international archaeology which concern all civilised nations. I would conclude with a corollary which concerns ourselves alone. Our duty is not ended when we have thrown open the gates for international activities in the areas committed to our charge. It is likewise our duty to be foremost in undertaking such activities ourselves. It would be a shame to us if we permit other nations to do all the work in countries such as Palestine and Egypt and Mesopotamia, or if we failed to do our share in the further exploration of Greek lands. The times are difficult for all work which needs money, and our Government does not take the same view as other European Governments of the value to a nation of such contributions to knowledge and civilisation. All the more is it the duty of societies such as our own, on which falls the representation of our country in these spheres of activity, to take up the burden courageously, and to lose no opportunity of bringing home to others the greatness of the need, and the high privilege of assisting to enlarge the heritage of the past, and to increase the intellectual wealth of the human race.

After a question from Mr. N. H. Baynes on the archaeological position in Rhodes the proceedings terminated.
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### INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT. From JANUARY 1, 1929, to DECEMBER 31, 1929.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expenditure</th>
<th>£</th>
<th>s.</th>
<th>d.</th>
<th>Income</th>
<th>£</th>
<th>s.</th>
<th>d.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>To Rent</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>By Members' Subscriptions</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salaries</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Arrears</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Librarian and Secretary</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1929</td>
<td>443</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assistant Treasurer</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Arrears</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Librarian</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Members' Entrance Fees</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Typist, &amp;c.</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Libraries' Subscriptions</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insurance</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1929</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous Expenses</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Arrears</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stationery</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Life Compositions brought into Revenue Account</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Postage</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Dividends on Investments</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sundry Printing, Rules, List of Members, Notices, &amp;c.</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Interest on Deposit Account</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heating, Lighting, and Cleaning Library Premises</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Contributed towards Rent by British School at Athens and British School at Rome for use of Society's room</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grants</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Rent of room occupied by the Royal Archaeological Institute</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British School at Athens</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Rent received from Lady Roberts' Field Glass Fund</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rome</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Contributed by the Society for Promotion of Roman Studies</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balance from Library Account</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Rent</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balance from &quot;Journal of Hellenic Studies&quot; Account</td>
<td>319</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Use of Library</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Depreciation of Stocks of publications</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Donation from Greek Government</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>2150</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Sale of Aristophanes' Codex Vetus</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sale of &quot;Excavations at Phylakopi&quot;</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Balance from Lantern Slides and Photographs Account</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Balance to War Emergency Fund</td>
<td>284</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**WAR EMERGENCY FUND**

| To Balance from Income and Expenditure Account | £ | s. | d. | By Balance brought forward | £ | s. | d. |
| Balance | 254 | 3 | 1 | | 751 | 19 | 0 |

Received during year (for list of contributions see p. xii) | 184 | 4 | 0

| £933 | 3 | 0 | | £933 | 3 | 0 |
### BALANCE SHEET. DECEMBER 31, 1920.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Liabilities</th>
<th>£. s. d.</th>
<th>Assets</th>
<th>£. s. d.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To Debts Payable</td>
<td>680 47 11½</td>
<td>By Cash in Hand—Bank</td>
<td>1088 4 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subscriptions paid in advance</td>
<td>47 16 9</td>
<td>Assistant Treasurer</td>
<td>39 7 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Endowment Fund</td>
<td>799 8 0</td>
<td>Petty Cash</td>
<td>47 19 5½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(includes legacy of £300 from the late Canon Adam Farrar and £200 from the late Rev. H. F. Towner)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1150 1 10½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emergency Fund (Library Fixtures and Furniture)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Received</td>
<td>394 18 9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Life Compositions and Donations</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total at Jan. 1, 1920</td>
<td>1878 9 0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Received during year</td>
<td>393 15 9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2272 4 9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less carried to Income and Expenditure Account—Member deceased</td>
<td>10 10 0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surplus Balance at Jan. 1, 1920</td>
<td>5 0 7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Add Balance from War Emergency Fund</td>
<td>648 14 11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surplus Balance at December 31, 1920</td>
<td>653 15 6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Examined and found correct.**

(Signed) C. F. CLAY.

W. E. F. MACMILLAN.
INCREASED SUBSCRIPTIONS

As a result of the information communicated last year the following members have increased their annual subscriptions.

Abercromby, Lord, McKenzie, Rev. H. W.
Anastasiou, P., Macmillan, George A.
Barge, Mrs. M., Mavrogordato, J. J.
Baring, Thos., Milling, Mrs. A. van
Beck, Horace G., Minet, Miss Julia
Bell, Edward, Orpen, Rev. T. H.
Berry, James, Petrocchino, D. P.
Bevan, E. R., Richter, Miss Gisela
Cookson, C., Robinson, W. S.
Corning, Prof. H. K., Rotton, Sir J. F.
Courtauld, Miss S. R., Seager, R. B.
Dickson, A. G. M., Seibohm, High
Dobie, M. R., Seligmann, Prof. C. G.
Eumorfopoulos, N., Shawan, Alexander; M.A., LL.D.
Fleming-Jenkins, Mrs., Tarn, W. W.
Ford, P. J., Ure, Prof. P. N.
Gidney, A. R., Vellenoweth, Miss
Greene, H. W., Viato, Michael P.
Hogarth, Miss M. T., Walston, Sir Charles
Kipling, Mrs., Ward, W. Henry
Lamb, Miss W., Wood, J. R.
Laurin, G. E., Woodhouse, Prof. W. J.
Lindell, Miss Alice, Woodward, A., M.
Lloyd, Miss M. E. H., Wynne-Pinch, Miss Helen
MacIver, D. Randall, Wyse, W.

DONATIONS

The following have sent donations to help the Society through the financial crisis caused by the War.

1920

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>£</th>
<th>s.</th>
<th>d.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anderson, James</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baker-Penny, Miss</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barr, Mark</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Booth, His Hon. Judge</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buckler, Miss L. R.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buckler, W. H.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buren, Mrs. Van</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cator, Richard, M.D.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chitty, Rev. G. F.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Courtauld, Miss S. R.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cripps, Reginald</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Davies, John</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Esdaile, Mrs. A.</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eumorfopoulos, N.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hazridaki, Dr. J.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following additions have been made to the permanent Endowment Fund.

1920

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>£</th>
<th>s.</th>
<th>d.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Berry, James</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lamb, Miss W.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Council consider this permanent Endowment Fund of the greatest importance to the Society, and would welcome further donations to it.
EIGHTEENTH LIST OF
BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS
ADDED TO THE
LIBRARY OF THE SOCIETY
SINCE THE PUBLICATION OF THE CATALOGUE.
1920—1921

With this list are incorporated books belonging to the Society for the
Promotion of Roman Studies. These are distinguished by b.s.

NOTE.—The supply of the original Catalogues (1903) is now exhaus-
ted, but copies may be had on loan. The accession lists can
still be purchased on application.

Adai. See Liturgy of Adai and Mari.

Adams (L. E. W.) A study in the commerce of Latium [Smith.
Coll. Class, Stud. 2.]


Aeschylus. The Oresteia. Agamemnon, Choephor, Eumenides;
the Greek text as arranged for performance at Cambridge
with an English verse translation by R. C. Trevelyan.

Aldenhoven (C.) Gesammelte Aufsätze herausgegeben von Dr.
A. Lindner.
9¾ × 6¾. Leipsic. N.D.

Allbutt (T. C.) Greek Medicine in Rome.
9 × 5½. 1921.

Allen (T. W.) The Homeric catalogue of ships edited with a com-
mentary.

Allison (R.) Translations into English verse mainly from the Greek
anthology.
7 × 5½. 1921.

Alt (A.) Griechische Inschriften der Palaestina Tertia. See Denk-
maalschutz Kommandos.

From vol. 45 (1911).
Numismatic Notes and Monographs. From No. 1 (1920).

b.s.—the property of the Roman Society,

Antiquaries, Society of.  A short account of some particulars concerning Domeday Book.

Apelt (O.)  *Translator.*  See Diogenes Laertius.


Aurelius (M.)  *Μέθοδον Ἀναστασίας Αντικρατώρων τῶν ἐκ των ἱστορίας θητῶν.*  5½ × 33.  Glasgow. 1744.

Avramow (V.)  *La voix de Trajan dans le Danube jusqu’aux Philippopoli.* (In Bulgarian, with French précis.)  10¼ × 7½.  Sophia. 1915.


Bachmann (W.)  *Petra.*  See Denkmalschutz Kommandos.


Bent (J. T.)  See Hakluyt Society.


[Plate = the property of the Roman Society.]


Blackman (A. M.) Les temples immergés de la Nubie. Temple of Bigeh. See Cairo, Supplementary Publications.


Boissonade (J. F.) Editor. See Poetae Graeci gnomici.


Braunlich, A. F. The Indicative Indirect question in Latin. 9 1/2 x 6 1/2. Chicago. 1920.


Brooke (D.) See Athens, Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum.


Burns (C. Delisle). Greek ideals, a study of social life. 2nd ed. 7 1/4 x 5 1/4. 1919.

Butler (H. E.) Translators. See Quintilian.

Bywater, I. See Jackson, W. W.


B. R. is the property of the Roman Society.

Cartault (A.) Editor and translator. See Persius.

Casson (S.) See Athen Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum.


Chapot (V.) See Cagnat (R.).


Constantinople. Publicationen der Kaiserlich Osmanischen Museen.
I. Zwei babylonische antiken aus Nippur. By E. Unger.
II. Reliefstele Adadniriris III aus Saha't und Semirama. By E. Unger.
III. Die Stele des Bel-Harran-Beli-Ussur, ein Denkmal des Zeit Salmanassars IV. By E. Unger.
IV. Die beiden 'Sasanidischen' Drachenreliefs (Grundlagen zur Selidschikischen Skulptur). By H. Glück.


Corell (J.) See Halkyry Society.

Croiset (M.) Editor and translator. See Plato.


Dallam (T.) See Halkyry Society.

Delehaye (H.) Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum graecorum Monasterii S. Salvatoris nunc Bibliothecas Universitatis Messanensis.

Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum graecorum bibliothecae D. Marci Venetiarum.

Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum graecorum bibliothecae comitis de Leicester Holkhamiae in Anglia.

Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum graecorum regni monasterii Scorialensis.

[Extracted from the Analecta Bollandiana.]


Delehaye (H.) Synaxarium ecleesiae Constantinopolitanae et codice Sirmundiano. [Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum 1902, Nov.]

14 1/2 x 11. Brussels. 1902.

Denkmalschutz-Kommandos, Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen des deutsch-türkischen

a. o. = the property of the Roman Society.
2. Die griechischen Inschriften der Palastina Tertia westlich der Araba. By A. Alt.


Dodd (P. W.) and Woodward (A. M.) Excavations at Slack, 1913-1915. [Yorkshire Arch. Journ., 26.] 9½ x 6¼. N. D.


Doerpfeld, (W.) Sechs Briebe über Leukas-Ithaka. 9 x 6¼. 1905-11.


Ebersolt (J.) Sanctuaires de Byzance. 10 x 6½. Paris. 1921.


a.a. = the property of the Roman Society.


Ernot (A.) Editor and translator. See Lucretius.


Forster (E. S.) Translator. See Aristotle.

Foucher (A.) See India, Arch. Survey of.

Fowler (H. N.) Translator. See Plato.

Frazer (J. G.) Ancient stories of a great flood. [Huxley Mem., Lecture, 1918.] 11 × 7½. 1917.

Frazer (J. G.) Studies in Greek scenery, legend and history. 7½ × 4½. 1919.


Gagkos (M.) See Ioannides (S.).

Gauthier (H.) Les temples immergés de la Nubie. Temple of Kalachah. See Cairo, Supplementary Publications.

Gerkan (A. von) See Milet.

Glueck (H.) See Constantinople, Publicationen der Kaiserlich Osmanischen Museen.

Godley, (A. D.) Translator. See Herodotus.

Gomme (A. W.) Mr. Wells as historian: an inquiry into those parts of Mr. H. G. Wells' Outlines of History which deal with Greece and Rome. 9 × 5½. Glasgow. 1921.


R.E. = the property of the Roman Society.
Griffith (F. L.) Illahun, Kahun and Gurob, 1889-90. 
Kahun, Gurob and Hawara. 
Tell el Amarna. See Egypt Exploration Society.

Gudeman (A.) Translator. See Aristotle.

Gummere (R. M.) Translator. See Seneca.

H. B. See Inse.

Hadzsits (G. D.) Going to church in ancient Rome. [Univ. of Pennsylvania Faculty Lectures, 7.]

9 x 6. Pennsylvania. 1921.

Hahn (J. G. v.) Reise von Belgrad nach Salonik.

10 x 6. Vienna. 1868.

Haines (C. R.) Editor and translator. See Fronto.

Haklbyt Society. Early voyages and travels in the Levant.
The diary of Master Thomas Dallam, 1599-1600. 
Extracts from the diary of Dr. John Covell, 1670-1679. 
Edited by J. T. Bent. 9 x 6. 1893.

Halliday (W. R.) Memorial note on F. W. Hasluck. [Folk-Lore, 31 (4).]

8½ x 5¼. 1920.

Hambridge (J.) Dynamic Symmetry: the Greek vase. 

Hamilton (J. A.) The Church of Kaisariani in Attica. [Trans. of Scottish Arch. Soc.]

11¼ x 8¼. Aberdeen. 1916.

Hargreaves (H.) See India, Arch. Survey of.

Harrison (J. E.) Epilegomena to the study of Greek religion.

8½ x 5¼. Cambridge. 1921.

Heath (T. L.) Greek Mathematics and Science. [Leeds meeting of Class. As., etc.] 

8¼ x 5½. Cambridge. 1921.


9 x 5¼. Munich. 1920.

Heitland (W. E.) Agricola. A study of agriculture and rustic life in the Graeco-Roman world from the point of view of labour. 

10 x 6¼. Cambridge. 1921.

Id. Another copy.


6¼ x 4½. London. 1921.


5½ x 3½. Leipsic. 1844.

Hicks (E. L.) Illahun, Kahun and Gurob, 1889-90. See Egypt Exploration Society.


Hippolytus. Philosophumena. See Origen.

Hoffmann (W.) Das literarische Porträt Alexanders des Großen im griechischen und römischen Altertum.

9 x 6. Leipsic. 1907.


7 x 4½. Cambridge. 1921.

notated: the property of the Roman Society.
Homer. The Homeric catalogue of ships. See Allen (T. W.).


Ince. An account of the statues, busts, bas-reliefs, cinerary urns, and other ancient marble, and paintings, at Ince. Collected by H. B. 10½ x 8. Liverpool. 1893.


Ioannides (S.) and Gagkos (M.) Σωματική Νομοθεσία. 8½ x 5½. Samos. 1875.

Irvin (J.) Catalogue of a fine old collection of impressions of engraved gems. 8½ x 5¼. N. D.

Isaaes (W. H.) See Paul, second epistle to the Corinthians.


Jaeger (V.) Editor. See Gregorii Nysseni libri.


(2) The struggle with Persia.  
7 1/4 × 5. London. 1921.


Johnston (G. H.) Corfu. [The Queen, June 14th, 1919.] (Single sheet.)  
16 × 10 1/2. 1919.

Jouguet (P.) See Lille, Papyrus grecs.

Journal of Hellenic Studies, Supplementary Publications.


Jowett (B.) Translator. See Aristotle.


Keith (A. B.) Professor Ridgeway’s theory of the origin of the Indian drama. 8 1/4 × 5 1/4. N. D.

Kenyon (F. G.) Editor. See Aristotle.

Ker (W. C. A.) Translator. See Martial.


Klio. Supplementary publications.


10. Senatores Romani qui furent inde a Vespasiano usque ad Traiani exitum. By B. Stech. 11 1/4 × 7 1/2. Leipsic. 1912.


Legge F. Translator. See Origen.

Leopold (E. F.) Editor. See Tertullian.


Lloyd (W. A.) Address delivered to the Anglo-Hellenic League in the Central Hall, Liverpool, Jan. 8th, 1920. 7 1/2 × 5 1/2. 1930.

Loewy (E.) MS. classified catalogue of collection of coins in Rome. 11 × 9. 1903.


Ludovici (A. M.) Man's descent from the gods, or the complete case against prohibition. 9 × 6. 1921.


Macedonia. A handbook of Macedonia and surrounding territories. [N.I.D. Naval Staff, Admiralty.] 7 × 5 1/2. 1921.

Mahaffy (J.) Illahun, Kahun and Gurob, 1889-90. See Egypt Exploration Society.


Mari. See Liturgy of Adai and Mari.


Mazon (P.) Editor and translator. See Aeschylus.


Médida (J. R.) El anfiteatro Romano de Merida. 9 1/2 × 6 1/2. Madrid. 1919.

a.a. = the property of the Roman Society.

Mendel (G.) See Constantinople, Musées impériaux Ottomans.


Milliet (Recueil) Textes grecs et latins relatifs à l'histoire de la peinture antique, publiés, traduits et commentés par A. Reinach. 10 6 1/2. Paris. 1921.

Mirone (S.) Mirone d'Eleture. 91 2/3 64 4/5. Catania. 1921.


Munier (H.) Manuscrits Coptes. See Cairo, Catalogue général.


Navarre (O.) Editor and translator. See Theosophus.

Newberry (P. E.) Kahun, Gurob and Hawara. See Egypt Exploration Society.


Olympia. Le Musée d’Olympie; Catalogue illustré. By C. Conrouxiotis. 7 8 5. Athens. 1909.

[Origen] Philopompus, or the refutation of all the heresies formerly attributed to Origen but now to Hippolytus. Trans. by F. Legge. 2 vols. 73 2/3 5. London and New York. 1921.


Papadopoulos, G. I. Συμβολή στή λήπιντα γύρω από το θαύμα και τη γνώση ενός παραπληρής αρχαϊκής μονάδος. 9 2/3 6. Athens. 1890.

* See the property of the Roman Society.


Perrin (B.)  *Translator.* See Plutarch.


Pettingal (J.)  *See Antiquaries, Society of.*

Phokylides.  See Poets Graeci gnomici.


Poseidonios.  See Reinhardt.


Price (A. C.)  *Editor.* See Homer.

Priene.  See Berlin, Royal Museums.

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<td>B1678</td>
<td>&quot; Smith’s Vase.' of Buck Red ware (Jarmin Coll.).</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>B1637</td>
<td>Red ware flagons, modelled on bronze examples.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>B1622</td>
<td>Burial group, No. 29, c. A.D. 30 (Joslin Coll.).</td>
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<tr>
<td>B1626</td>
<td>&quot; 1st century A.D. (Joslin Coll.).</td>
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<td>B1685</td>
<td>&quot; (Taylor Coll.).</td>
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<td>B1689</td>
<td>&quot; (Jarmin Coll.).</td>
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<tr>
<td>B1677</td>
<td>&quot; c. 30-100 A.D. (Joslin Coll.).</td>
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<td>&quot; c. 30-100 A.D. (Taylor Coll.).</td>
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<td>B1664</td>
<td>&quot; c. 110-120 A.D.</td>
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<tr>
<td>B1667</td>
<td>&quot; 2nd century A.D. (General Coll.).</td>
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<tr>
<td>B1601</td>
<td>&quot; (Joslin Coll.).</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
PAINTING AND MOSAIC.

C 27 Naples Mus., Frosco: Tragic actors: lady and attendant.

G 308 Darmstadt, mosaic of sea god from Viesboul.

G 634 Kreuznach, mosaic of gladiators fighting.

COINS.

CITIES


C 341 R. Cnidus, unearthen of Caria, Rhodes (Num. Chron., 1919, pp. 11 and 12).


C 402 R. Cos, 360-300 B.C.

C 331 R. Croton, Nola, Metapontum (Num. Chron., 1919, pl. 1, 2-3).

C 321 Cydonia, Phaenara, Polyphonium. R.

C 323 and Sybrita. R.


C 333 R. Leontini, Gela, Segesta (Num. Chron., 1919, pp. 4-5).

C 404 Lykia: Khagi.

C 331 R. Metapontum (head of Hercules), Nola, Croton (Num. Chron., 1919, pl. 1, 2-3).

C 331 R. Nola, Metapontum (head of Hercules), Croton (Num. Chron., 1919, pl. 1, 2-3).

C 324 Phaeus (R. Roding Hercules).

C 325 R. Veii (Nem.).

C 330 R. and E. Talos and his dog.


C 321 R. Phaenea, Cydonia, Polyphonium.

C 321 R. Polyphonium, Cydonia, Phaenea.


C 321 R. Sybrita and Cydonia.


DYNASTIES.


ix

C 401 Antiochus I. B. Three portrait heads showing the king young, middle-aged, and old.
C 329 Antiochus IX of Syria (Num. Chron., 1910, pl. x, xi).
C 328 " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " 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**MISCELLANEA.**

4836 St. Paul's cathedral, W. front.
4837 The old Divinity Schools, Oxford.
SETS OF SLIDES FOR LECTURES.

When the main Catalogue was published in 1913 there were included, to meet the demand for more elementary lectures, summary selected lists of slides which could be ordered by quoting the name or number of the set. These sets were:

I. History.  V. Pompeii.  IX. Greek Vases.
II. Athens.  VI. Prehistoric Age.  X. Greek Coins.
III. Olympia.  VII. Greek Sculpture.  XI. The Ancient Theatre.

The success of the experiment has been such that it has been decided to add the following sets:

SET XIII.

DAILY LIFE.

(Second Set)

PUBLIC LIFE, BUILDINGS, ETC.

2483 Assos, a Greek agora, restored.
29191 Pompeii, the market-place.
3119 Temple of Olympos at Agrigentum.
7434 Unfinished temple at Segesta.
7193 Theatre at Pergamum.
1991 Athens.
3632 Segesta, restored.

ATHLETICS

4693 Stadium at Delphi.
4692 " " Athens.
3942 " " Athens entering the arena to take part in the pentathlon. (Vase painting.)
3 27 Boxing. (Vase painting.)
3044 A youthful discobolus. (Vase painting.)

HOME LIFE.

9699 The bath-room. (Vase painting.)
8235 Earthenware water-carrier.
2296 Sketch on a vase showing how the above was used.
2091 Brushes and combs.
2090 Scissors and knives.
B 627 Visit to a butcher’s shop. (Relief.)

SCHOOL.

977 Interior of a Greek school; a reading lesson. (Vase painting.)
9384 A music lesson. (Vase painting.)
2173 Spelling exercise: multiplication table, etc., from originals.

RECREATIONS.

799 A game of knuckle-bones. (Fresco.)
5999 An intimate conversation. (Terra-cotta group.)
691 A game of pickaback. (Terra-cotta.)
5 A lady dancing. (Vase painting.)
9023 The game of kottabos. (Vase painting.)

20977 Spelling exercise, enlarged drawing of.
2174 Multiplication exercise, enlarged drawing of.

B 609 Kitchen utensils.
R114 Cups, ewers, etc.
2191 Household wares.
A 29 An early Greek cook at work: coloured statuette from Bosotia.
6048 Greek coins.
7074 Greek seal.

C 14 The birlinga. (Vase painting)
C 28 A baby’s chair and rattle. (Vase painting.)
2092 Earthenware and rag dolls.
6673 Toys from a bride’s grave.

1112 A boy mourner at a tomb. (Vase painting.)
1111 Grave relief: a girl with her doll.
SET XIV.

ARCHITECTURE.

1030. The pyramids of Giza.
1868. Jain temple, Mount Abu.
1221. Unfinished Greek temple at Segesta.

Introductory (for comparison).

7916. Sketch map of the Egyptian area.

TEMPLE BUILDING AND COLUMNAR ARCHITECTURE.

Doric.

3718. Archaeic temple at Corinth.
7919. Athens, the Acropolis, plan, restoration.
2656. " " " restored.
3656. " " " from N.W.
3638. " " " restored.
3814. " " " N.E. angle.
7907. The Tesserae, colonnade.
3182. Pausan, temple of Poseidon.

7184. Olympia, temple of Zeus, restored.

3843. Olympic pediment, restored.

A. 31. Coloured decoration in Doric.

Ionian.

7606. Erechtheum, N. porch.
5949. Temple of Nike Apteros.
5233. Temple at Aetna, Asia Minor.
4588. Ionic capital at Eleusis.

3940. Erechtheum, N. Porch, decoration.
1024. " " " detail of.
7129. " Porch of the Maidens.

Corinthian.

6538. Acanthus growth.
1957. Capital from Epidaurus.
982. Olympicium at Athens.
4567. " fallen capital.

4599. Olympicium, fallen capital, continued.
5721. Balbus, hexagonal temple.
5799. " details of decoration.
5751. " "

Roman Modifications.

B. 473. The Pantheon, exterior view.

B. 473. The Pantheon, interior.

Renaissance Adaptations.


4837. The old Trinity Schools.

ANCIENT ARCHITECTURE OTHER THAN TEMPLE BUILDING.

1189. The walls of Argos Thira.
5910. The Forum at Pompeii.
1254. Theatre of Epidaurus.
1936. " " " nearer view.
4893. Stadium at Delphi.
5904. Coliseum, distant view.

B. 53. The Pont du Gard.
B. 523. " " " nearer view.
B. 904. Arch of Constantine.
B. 904. Column of Aurelius.
8268. The Mausoleum, restored.
B. 661. Roman bath at Bath.
SET XV.

GREEK PAPYRI.

(1) INTRODUCTORY: GREEK WRITING OTHER THAN THAT ON PAPYRI

1378 Pedestal (marble) of a lost statue by Bryaxis. Athens, Nat. Mus.
2233 Helmet (bronze) dedicated by Prince Hissar of Syracuse at Olympia.
6040 Slab (bronze) recording a treaty for 100 years between Elsa and Herak. R.M.
1833 Fragments (terra-cotta) with painted inscriptions in the Corinthian alphabet.
16 Inscription on a vase imitating the style of the painter Douris.
1302 Inscription (mosaic) from Delos in honour of Apollo Kynthis.
527 A Greek fortune-teller's signboard from Egypt.

(2) WRITING MATERIALS, ETC.

122 Specimens of wooden and wax tablets, an ostrakon, pens, stylus, etc.
2173 Sheet with spelling exercises: tablets with multiplication table and reading lesson.
2066 Larger views of these. For details see R.M. Guide to Greek and Roman Life Exhibition.
5797 School scene: music and reading lessons. (Vase painting by Douris.)
6938 The writing master. (Vase painting.)

tative materials, ETC.

(3) THE PAPYRUS ROLL.

124 A group of papyrus plants at Kew Gardens.
120 Sample of prepared papyrus (end column of the Persae of Timotheus).
121 Papyrus roll, opened, and sealed: sealed letters.
117 Roman sarcophagi, with group of figures holding books closed and open.
116 Egyptian authors with their books. (Relief.)
118 Attic tombstone: a boy reading.
123 Roman sarcophagi: a reader in his library.

(4) PAPYRI FOUND BY EXCAVATION.

126 Sketch map of Egypt showing where the papyri were discovered.
2342 Dr. R. P. Grendell directing the excavation of papyri in the desert at Oxyrhynchus.
103 Baschylides (1st cent. a.d.).
101 Xenophanes, anon. (3rd cent. B.C.).
113 Euripides: lost play, the Orestes (2nd cent. B.C.).
135 Herodas: a page of the Herodas.
111 Herodotus and Homer: fragments [1st and 2nd cents. a.d.].
103 Homer, Iliad II, 778-829 (2nd cent. a.d.).
103 Iliad, minuscule on vellum, a.d. 1431.
193 Odysseus, anon. commentary on Theocritus (2nd cent. a.D.).
110 Timotheus, Persae: portion showing author's name.

127 A letter from one Nearchus describing his travels up the Nile.
177 Id., the printed text.
112 A soldier's letter from the Egyptian front.
162 Id., free translation (H. L. J.).
109 Gospel in minuscule (9th or 10th cent. a.d.).

106 Part of one of the newly recovered "Sayings of Jesus" from Oxyrhynchus.
ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

4521 Coins of Philip II., father of Alexander; Olympian Zeus and Macedonian cavalry.
743 Head of Demosthenes.
5018 Coin of Thebes (inscribed Epameinondas).
848 Bust of Aristotle.
8496 Votive of the Great King.

7101 Sketch map illustrating the Eastern campaigns of Alexander.
5901 Troy, the walls.
5599 " the great ramp.
3702 Ephesus, sculpted pillar from the great temple of Artemis; the return of Abantes.
6434 " head of Hermes from the above.
6435 " head of Thasos.
673 " the theatre.
1390 Halicarnassus: the medieaval castle.
8208 " the mausoleum.
3090 " mausoleum.
3299 " chariot from the mausoleum.
2007 Acron Karsihan (Nico polis).
2983 Clinian gate.
1085 Battle of Issus; mausoleum from Persepolis.
1085 Id., detail, figure of Darius.
59143 " Alexander.
1061 Damascus.
1062 Among the cedars of Lebanon.
1072 Shepherds at Gaza.
1045 Gisa, during inundation.
7118 Scene in the desert.
5789 Euphrates, bridge near Kalhita.
5732 " at Khaffat.
6284 Babylon; gate of Ishtar: frieze in moulded brick.
6295 Id., detail.
5277 Susa, procession of archers; frieze in eucratistic brick.
1047 Persepolis, Palace of Darius: gateway.
1051 " Royal tomb.
1053 " Propylææ of Xerxes.
1064 The Khryses Pass.
7108 View in the Hindu Kosh mountains.
7106 Kashmir, view on the Canal of Sack Waters.
7102 Amritsar, the Golden Temple of the Sikhs.
1061 Mount Abu, Jain temple, interior.
1063 Balfour, Indian temple.
1042 Coin of Antimachus, Baktria with Greek inscription.
1039 Coin of Ptolemy L. Soter.
8497 Coins of Solomon I.

7207 Alexander, the Louvre bier, profile.
3707 " the R.M. bust, full face.
7124 " hunting: sarcophagus from Sidon.
1067 " " head of the king.
4678 " coin of Lysimachus, with idealised head of Alexander.
ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE TRAVELS OF ST. PAUL.

8471 General map.
3018 Attaleia (Adalia), the city wall.
7473  detail of the arch of Hadrian.
3710 Antioch; statue of the city of Antioch by Eutychides; her foot rests on the river god Orontes.
5453 Assos; restoration of market-place.
8943 Athens, Acropolis, from Peay.
6501 * nearer View; restored.
4451 * Aereopagus and Theseum from Acropolis.
5710 Corinth, early temple of Aphaera; and Acro-Corinthum.
4491 * view from Acro-Corinthus towards Peloponnesus.
7724 Cnidus, the ancient mole.
1402 Sir C. Newton removing the Lion of Cnidus.
1802 Cyprus, Famagusta (near ancient Salamis).
1061 Damassus, view in the town.
3100 Ephesus; general view seawards.
2499 * the theatre; view of the stage.
7373 * angle of the Temple of Artemis; restored.
3702 * sculptured pillar base; the resurrection of Alcestis.
3614 Ephesus; coin, the statue of Artemis in her temple.
2399 Iconium, monastery near.
4408 Jerusalem, from Mount of Olives.
1062 Lebanon, the cedar of.
3700 Myra, cliff of rock-cut tombs.
3759 * theatre.
2400 Neapolis (Kavala), aqueduct.
2542 * near, a forest village.
9005 Rome, the Forum; view across the house of the Vestals.
29042 * the Arch of Titus; slab showing the mausoleum.
2944 * the Colosseum, exterior.
2450 * interior.
90023 * bridge on the Appian Way.
2917 Salona, the E. walls.
2376 * interior of S. Domitii.
7052 * S. Sophia, exterior.
2382 * mausoleum inside.
2932 * restored.
87145 Sidon, coins showing the mausoleum of the stone of Antioch in its sacred carriage.
7128 * sarcophagus of Sidon; detail showing Alexander hunting.
5410 Syracuse, coins of Queen Damares showing the nymph Arethusa and a victor's chariot.

9107 Restoration of the great altar at Pergamon (possibly the "throne of Satan where they dwell") dedicated by King Eumenes after his victories over the Galatians, Galatai or Ganks.
3711 The dying Paul.
1307 * head of. Part of a similar dedication by King Attalus of Pergamon.

1445
1446
1072
1447

97403 Augustus, upper portion of a statue found at Prima Porta, Rome.
9279 Tiberius, portrait head on a coin.
97415 Nero, marble head of (Termus Mus., Rome).
SETS OF SLIDES ISSUED COMPLETE WITH LECTURES

With a view to the further popularisation of Classical Studies these have been added the following sets which are issued with printed lectures specially written for the purpose by recognised authorities.

Set XVIII. Pompeii. By A. W. Van Buren.
Set XIX. Horace. By G. H. Hallam.
Set XX. The Roman Campagna. By T. Ashby.

Other sets in preparation are: The Palatine and Forum, by Dr. Ashby; The Beginnings of Rome and Sicily, by Prof. H. E. Butcher; The Via Appia, by Mr. R. Gardner; Roman Portraiture and Roman Sculpture, by Mrs. S. Arthur Strong; Roman Britain, by Dr. Martinus Wheeler.

The Societies are greatly indebted to Mr. G. H. Hallam both for the idea of the new sets and for practical help given in their compilation.
NOTICE TO CONTRIBUTORS.

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

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

(1) All Greek proper names should be transliterated into the Latin alphabet according to the practice of educated Romans of the Augustan age. Thus e should be represented by c, the vowels and diphthongs u, ai, ou, oy, ae, oe, and ue respectively, final -os and -ov by -us and -um, and -pos by -or.

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

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

Names which have acquired a definite English form, such as Corinth, Athens, should of course not be otherwise represented. It is hardly necessary to point out that forms like Hercules, Mercury, Minerva, should not be used for Heracles, Hermes, and Athena.
(2) Although names of the gods should be transliterated in the same way as other proper names, names of personifications and epithets such as Nike, Homonoia, Hyakinthos, should fall under § 4.

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

(4) In the case of Greek words other than proper names, used as names of personifications or technical terms, the Greek form should be transliterated letter for letter, k being used for κ, v for υ, but ι and α being substituted for ν and οι, which are misleading in English, e.g., Nike, hyperomenos, diadumenos, rhyton.

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

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

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

Quotations from Ancient and Modern Authorities.

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

Six, Jahrh. xviii. 1903, p. 34.

or—

Six, Protogenes (Jahrh. xviii. 1903), p. 34.

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

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

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

A.-E.M. = Archäologisch-epigraphische Mittheilungen.
Am. d. l. = Annali dell' Instituto.
Arch. Anz. = Archäologischer Anzeiger (Beilblatt zum Archivbuch).
Baumeister = Baumeister, Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums.
B.M. Bronzes = British Museum Catalogue of Bronzes.
B.M. C. = British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins.
B.M. Ins. = Greek inscriptions in the British Museum.
B.M. Vasa = British Museum Catalogue of Vases, 1893, etc.
B.S.A. = Annual of the British School at Athens.
Bull. d. I. = Bulletinino dell' Instituto.
C.I.G. = Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum.
C.L.L. = Corpus Inscriptionum Latinae.
Cl. Rev. = Classical Review.
D.S. = Darmstädter Archäologie, Dictionnaire des Antiquités.
'Ep. 'Aig. = 'Epistole 'Aiginae 1.
G.D.I. = Gomme, Sammlung der Griechischen Dialekt-Inscriften.
Gerh. A. F. = Gerhard, Amerissene Vasenbilder.
G.G.A. = Göttinische Gelehrte Anzeigen.
I.G. = Inscriptiones Graecae.1
Jahrh. = Jahresthefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts.
Le Bas-Wadd. = Le Bas-Waddington, Voyage Archéologique.
Michel = Michel, Recueil d'Inscriptions grecques.
Mon. d. I. = Monumenti dell' Instituto.
Müller-Wies = Müller-Wieser, Denkmäler der alten Kunst.

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

II. = actatis quasi est inter Eucl. ann. et Augusti tempora.
III. = actattia Romanæ.
IV. = Argolidis.
V. = Megaridis et Bocotiae.
VI. = Graecarum Septentrionalis.
XII. = insul. Maris Augusti praeter Debem.
XIV. = Italiae et Siciliae.
Transliteration of Inscriptions.

Square brackets to indicate additions, i.e. a lacuna filled by conjectura.
Curved brackets to indicate alterations, i.e. (1) the resolution of an abbreviation or symbol; (2) letters misrepresented by the engraver; (3) letters wrongly omitted by the engraver; (4) mistakes of the copyist.
Angular brackets to indicate omissions, i.e. to enclose superfluous letters appearing on the original.
Dots to represent an unfilled lacuna when the exact number of missing letters is known.
Dashes for the same purpose, when the number of missing letters is not known.
Uncertain letters should have dots under them.
Where the original has iota subscript, it should be reproduced in that form; otherwise it should be supplied as subscript.
The aspirate, if it appears in the original, should be represented by a special sign *.

Quotations from MSS. and Literary Texts.
The same conventions should be employed for this purpose as for inscriptions, with the following important exceptions:
Curved brackets to indicate only the resolution of an abbreviation or symbol.
Double square brackets to enclose superfluous letters appearing on the original.
Angular brackets to enclose letters supplying an omission in the original.

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

CROMER GREEK PRIZE

Wishing to maintain and encourage the study of Greek, particularly among the young, in the national interest, the late Lord Cromer founded an Annual Prize, to be administered by the British Academy, for the best Essay on any subject connected with the language, history, art, literature, or philosophy of Ancient Greece.

The Prize, which is ordinarily a sum of £10, is awarded annually in March, under the following Rules:

1. Competition is open to all British subjects of either sex who will be under twenty-six years of age on 31 December preceding the award.

2. Any such person desirous of competing must send in to the Secretary of the British Academy on or before 1 June of the year preceding the award the title of the subject proposed by him or her. The Academy may approve (with or without modification) or disapprove the subject; their decision will be intimated to the competitor as soon as possible.

3. Preference will be given, in approval of subjects proposed, to those which deal with aspects of the Greek genius and civilization of large and permanent significance over those which are of a minute or highly technical character.

4. Any Essay already published, or already in competition for another prize of the same nature, will be inadmissible. A candidate to whom the Prize has been awarded will not be eligible to compete for it again. But an Essay which has not received the Prize may be submitted again (with or without alteration) in a future year so long as the writer remains eligible under Rule 1.

5. Essays of which the subject has been approved must be sent in to the Secretary of the Academy on or before 31 December. They must be typed (or, if the author prefers, printed), and should have a note attached stating the main sources of information used.

6. It is recommended that the Essays should not exceed 20,000 words, exclusive of notes. Notes should not run to an excessive length.

7. The author of the Essay to which the Prize is awarded will be expected to publish it (within a reasonable time and after any necessary revision), either separately, or in the Journals or Transactions of a Society approved by the Academy, or among the Transactions of the Academy.

The Secretary of the Academy will supply on application, to any person qualified and desirous to compete, a list of some typical subjects, for general guidance only, and without any suggestion that one or another of these subjects should be chosen, or that preference will be given to them over any other subject of a suitable nature.

Communications should be addressed to 'The Secretary of the British Academy, Burlington House, Piccadilly, London, W.'
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