THE JOURNAL OF
HELENIC STUDIES
CONTENTS

BEAZLEY (J. D.) ... The Castle Ashby Apollodoros ... 69
BUCKLER (W. H.) ... Frescoes at Galata, Cyprus ... 105
FARNELL (L. R.) ... The paradox of the *Prometheus Vinctus* ... 40
GOMME (A. W.) ... A forgotten factor of Greek naval strategy ... 16
KOUROUNES (P.) ... The Athens Modern-Greek lexicon ... 1
LORIMER (H. L.) ... Pulvis et umbra ... 161
MILNE (J. G.) ... Colonel T. M. Crowder's travel journals ... 9
MYRES (J. L.) ... The Amathus bowl ... 25
PAYNE (H. G. G.) ... Archaeology in Greece, 1932-1933 ... 266
RICHTER (G. M. A.) ... The Greek kouroi in the Metropolitan Museum of Art ... 51
RODENWALDT (G.) ... Sarcophagi from Xanthos ... 181
TARN (W. W.) ... Two notes on Ptolemaic history—
   I, The lineage of Ptolemy I ... 37
   II, The duration of the Ptolemaic dynasty ... 61
TOD (M. N.) ... An unpublished epigram in Oxford ... 34
      ... The progress of Greek epigraphy, 1931-1932 ... 214
WADE-GERY (H. T.) ... Classical epigrams and epitaphs ... 71
Notes: Box (H.) ... An Epidaurian *stemma* ... 112

DAWKINS (R. M.) ... Letter-writing in verse ... 111
      ... The massacres of Chios ... 111
HINKS (R. P.) ... A portrait of Ptolemy III Euergetes ... 300
LAWSON (J. C.) ... The *Agamemnon* of Aeschylus ... 112
LDAY (E.) ... Again the temples of Ephesus ... 112
MYRES (J. L.) ... The chronological plan of the *Iliad* : a correction ... 115
PRYCE (F. N.) ... The Gauls at Delphi ... 114
THOMSON (G.) ... Aeschylus, *Prometheus Bound*, 370 ... 300

Notices of Books ... 118, 301
Indexes ... 339

LIST OF PLATES

I. British Museum: silver bowl from Amathus.
II. do. do., detail.
III. do. do., detail.
IV. New York: marble statue of kouros.
V. do. do.
VI. Fragments of a cup by Apollodoros: Castle Ashby and Villa Giulia.
VII. Galata, Cyprus: frescoes over the north door.
VIII. do. frescoes at the east end of the south wall.
IX. do. frescoes on the west wall.
X. British Museum: Attic sarcophagus from Xanthos: boys playing games.
XI. do. do. battle, and griffons.
CONTENTS

XII. Leningrad: Attic sarcophagus: battle scenes.
XIII. British Museum: columnar sarcophagus from Xanthos.
XIV. do. sarcophagus with hunting scenes from Xanthos.
XV. Rome: lids of sarcophagi.
XVI. Athens: plastic vase from the Agora.
XVII. do. terracotta sphinx from the Kerameikos.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE TEXT

Colonel T. M. Crowder's Travel Journals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fig.</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>S. Sophia, Andavida</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>River Halys; Chok Guz Kinpir</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Mytilene, Northern Harbour</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Surp Garabed</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Hekimkhan</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Chlemutzi</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Amathus bowl

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fig.</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Dardel's drawing</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Part of the outer surface</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Silver bowl from the Regulini-Galassi tomb</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Carved ivory from Samaria: Ra and infant Horus</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An unpublished epigram in Oxford

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fig.</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Tombstone in Oxford</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Facsimile of inscription</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Castle Ashby Apollodoros

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fig.</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>From a cup in the Vatican</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Classical epigrams and epitaphs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fig.</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>The Poteidaia epitaph, B.M. Inscr. xxxvii</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Inscribed base from Samos</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>From a Nolan Amphora, B.M. E 299</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>The inscription of the Delphic Charioteer</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Frescoes at Galata, Cyprus

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fig.</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Exterior of the church</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Inscribed fresco over the north door</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>West end of north wall</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Gauls at Delphi

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fig.</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Etruscan urn in the British Museum</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fig.</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Plan of the mausoleum</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Erotes-sarcophagus in Athens</td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Back of the Erotes-sarcophagus</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Front of the Erotes-sarcophagus</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Fragment of a battle-sarcophagus, B.M. 2329</td>
<td>189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Lid of the battle-sarcophagus</td>
<td>191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>do. do.</td>
<td>191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Battle-sarcophagus from Petalidi in Athens</td>
<td>193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Hunting-sarcophagus in Adalia</td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Detail of the Hunting-Sarcophagus</td>
<td>198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Child’s sarcophagus in the Vatican</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>do. do.</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Sarcophagus and lid from Sardis in Smyrna</td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Fragment from Iznik</td>
<td>205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Fragment from Lydae</td>
<td>205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Bronze plaque in the Louvre</td>
<td>207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>From a knife-hilt found at Seleucia</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Archaeology in Greece, 1932-1933

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fig.</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Athens, Roman agora: marble head</td>
<td>267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Athens, Kerameikos: view of the excavations</td>
<td>270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>do. do. plan of tombs</td>
<td>270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>do. do. vases</td>
<td>271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>do. do. grave stele</td>
<td>273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>do. do. marble horseman</td>
<td>275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Perachora: the site, looking east</td>
<td>278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>do. do. looking west</td>
<td>279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Ithaca: vase signed by Kalikleas</td>
<td>282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Mytilene: apsidal building</td>
<td>285</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>do. buccero cup</td>
<td>287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Samos: foundations of early altars</td>
<td>287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>do. terracotta head</td>
<td>287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>do. do.</td>
<td>289</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>do. Laconian bronze</td>
<td>289</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Knossos: details of two bronze reliefs</td>
<td>291</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>do. alabastron</td>
<td>293</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>do. Geometric lid</td>
<td>295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>do. bronze ring</td>
<td>295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Cyprus: Neolithic vase</td>
<td>297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Troy VI: stone pillars</td>
<td>297</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## A portrait of Ptolemy III Euergetes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fig.</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Head in the British Museum</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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MEETINGS

OF THE SESSION, 1932–33

The Session began with an extra meeting held on Tuesday, October 18th, 1932, in the Rooms of the British Academy by kind invitation. At this meeting Monsieur Claude F.-A. Schaeffer of Strasbourg, Director of the Archaeological Expedition to Ras Shamra, gave an account of his excavations at this site. M. Schaeffer showed first the numerous finds from the Necropolis of Minet-el-Beida. He recognized, in the great beehive tombs filled with objects from Cyprus, Rhodes and Mycenaean Greece, the resting-places of important personages probably of Greek, or Cyprio-Greek or Cretan-Greek origin. This colonisation of the Ras-Shamra region by Greeks in the fourteenth century B.C. is confirmed by a legend reported by Malalas according to which a mythical king named Kasos, of Mycenaean origin and having family connexions with Cyprus, had brought Aegean and Cypriot colonists to the Syrian coast. The Necropolis was also a cult-place where curious rites designed to assure the fertility of the earth for beasts and men were performed. There were special constructions for the reception of offerings and for magical practices, the mechanism of which has been revealed by a cuneiform tablet found in the library of Ras Shamra. In the second part of his communication M. Schaeffer showed the principal discoveries which he has made in the temples and in the library of Ras Shamra, where important monuments dating from the first half of the second millennium B.C. have been brought to light. The now famous library has furnished diplomatic documents and real epic poems of particular interest, being written in a hitherto unknown cuneiform script and disclosing the most ancient known alphabet. Several of the texts discovered at Ras Shamra seem to record episodes mentioned later in the Bible. The Library contains documents written in at least eight different languages. The city of Ras Shamra seems to have been strongly attacked and partly destroyed in the invasions of the 'People of the Sea' at the beginning of the twelfth century. Its commerce, based entirely on the importation of copper from Cyprus, was endangered by the use of iron instead of bronze during the twelfth century, and the city with its port fell into oblivion. After observations by Sir Arthur Evans the meeting terminated with a vote of thanks to M. Schaeffer moved by the President.

The normal inaugural meeting of the Session was held on November 22nd, 1932, when Sir Arthur Evans (Ex-President) delivered a communication on 'The continued influence of Minoan Knossos on Mainland Greece and the East Mediterranean basin after the fall of the Palace and the survival of its latest script at Thebes, Tiryns and Mycenae.'

With regard to the general influence that Crete continued to exercise after the fall of the historic Palace, reference was made to a paper communicated by Sir Arthur to the recent International Congress in London. So far as the East Mediterranean coast-lands were concerned, the attention of the Society itself had been called to a remarkable corroboration of this influence due to the epoch-making discoveries of Professor Schaeffer at Ras Shamra. The 'Royal Tombs' indeed, excavated above the neighbouring harbour of Minet-el-Beida, proved to have a special significance even beyond that claimed for them by their explorer. Not only was their structure of the same general character as that of the 'Royal Tomb' at Isopata near Knossos, but the openings in the walls there made in connexion with libation pits gave the actual key to a feature hitherto unexplained in the Cretan structure. It has further been disclosed that in more than one case there is evidence of an upper sanctuary above the sepulchral chamber, like the 'Temple Tomb' at Knossos. The character of the finds leads us to infer that to a date considerably later than 1400 B.C. scions of the House of Minos were actually reigning in this important outpost on the Syrian coast.

But the particular discovery to which Sir Arthur wished to call attention on this occasion was a reference to the still more important Cretan
outposts in Mainland Greece. The recent excavations of Professor A. D. Keranopoulos in the Cadmeia of Thebes had brought to light a cellar of the later Palace containing a series of clay vessels—probably for wine—with painted inscriptions. These dated, as the ceramic style indicated, from an epoch answering to the earlier phase of L.M. III. in Crete, and belonging, therefore, to a date subsequent to the final destruction of the Palace at Knossos as we know it. By the kindness of the Greek authorities special facilities were given Sir Arthur for examining and copying these, and their publication, of which it was now possible to give a forecast, had been reserved for him by the Greek Archaeological Society. As a result of this examination he had been led to the far-reaching conclusion that the character of the script answered in an overwhelming degree to that current during the latest palatial phase of Knossos and there represented by over 1400 inscribed clay tablets.

So great was the conformity that in four inscriptions containing from 10 to 13 characters every single sign was practically identical with types in use in the "House of Minos" in the immediately preceding period. The arrangement was the same. The usual number of signs in a group varied as at Knossos from two to five, and single characters also appear alone with an ideographic value. The sign groups are divided from one another by lines or dashes in the same manner. Although in this case, moreover, the inscriptions served a special purpose—the labelling of wine vessels—not covered by those of the Knossian tablets, out of about 60 characters forming the later Palace sigmata and gathered from some 1450 clay documents no less than 40 occurred among the 28 inscriptions represented by the Theban Group. Nine are either new or unidentified; a slight proportion considering the difference in the object of the inscriptions, and the geographical and, to some extent, the chronological gap.

Of capital importance was the fact that in this relatively small series of examples a summary comparison with those on a very limited number of the tablets showed not only numerous collocations of similar signs but identical groups. A great inscription, found at Knossos in 1902, containing lists of names marked by the "man" sign carried these comparisons a step further. In two cases the Theban pots bore the same personal names. They had here the proof not only of the identity of the characters used but of the language spoken in the fourteenth century B.C. at Cadmean Thebes, with that of Minoan Crete, which in the Island itself could be carried back through the earlier related forms of the native script to the third millennium before our era.

Thanks to the courtesy of the German excavators he had been able to compare some shorter and more fragmentary inscriptions on similar vases found at Tiryns together with a few examples from Mycenae and to establish the fact that they belonged to a system of writing identical with that of the Boeotian centre. Here, too, there occurred a Knossian personal name.

It might now, therefore, be regarded as proven that in 'Mycenaean' Greece of the fourteenth century B.C., the urban population spoke the language implanted by conquerors from Minoan Crete—a language which, if personal and local names are to count for anything, fits on to that of the old Carian race on the Anatolian side. This. indeed, does not exclude the presumption that in the outlying districts and among what were then subject elements a language or languages of a more European type may have been spoken.

Dr. Conway took part in the subsequent discussion and moved a vote of thanks to Sir Arthur Evans for his paper.

The second General Meeting was held on 3 Tuesday, February 7th, 1939.

At this meeting Mr. George Macmillan (Hon. Treasurer) spoke of the loss which the Society had sustained by the death of the Rev. Professor A. H. Sayce, Vice-President, and gave particulars of the share which Professor Sayce had taken in the foundation of the Society.

The provision made for the family of the late Mr. F. W. Wise (Assistant-Librarian) was explained by Mr. Penoyre.

Mr. W. H. Buckler presented a communication on 'Some dated Byzantine Frescoes in Cyprus.' Historians of painting who mention Cyprus might well call it "Newfoundland," for Cyprus contained many pictures five hundred to eight hundred years old which, being hitherto unknown, were in a sense completely new. The object of this paper was to call attention to that paradox. Why Cypriot painters had so long remained "unglorious" was difficult to understand. He would at least try to show, by a few examples of their work, how good it was in quality and how much of it still survived. They had left on the walls of Cypriot churches many monuments valuable for the study of Byzantine painting from the twelfth to the sixteenth century, and the value of this material consisted not only in its variety and good preservation, but in the fact that at least seven specimens were precisely dated. Professor Iorga, the
Roumanian statesman, had said: 'One of the main lausus of our artistic knowledge in the Byzantine field is that the monuments can be dated only with wide approximation.' Hence the welcome given to the recent discoveries of frescoes painted in 1164 at Nerez in Macedonia and of those dated 1250 at Boiana in Bulgaria. A like welcome awaited the frescoes of Cyprus as soon as their fame should have spread. To England the first news of these treasures was brought last year by the Ven. Harold Buxton, Archdeacon of Cyprus—now Bishop of Gibraltar—who in a paper read before the Society of Antiquaries drew attention to the frescoes of Asinou. In order to display, so far as possible in one hour, the richness of the collection contained in the Cyprus churches, it seemed best not to describe fully any single building, but to shew a few mural paintings from each of eight different ones. Beginning with the later examples and working backward to the rarer and more ancient, the order of the frescoes shown on the screen was as follows: sixteenth-century specimens from two churches at Galata, dated 1510 and 1502; fifteenth-century: several from that of Pedoulas dated 1476; fourteenth century: two from that of St. Demetrios at Dali, dated 1316, and two from the monastic church of Antiphonitissa; thirteenth century: several from the church of Moutoulas, dated 1272, and from the ruined portion of the monastery of St. Chrysostom; twelfth century: seventeen from the Panagia Phorbiotissa church at Asinou, the oldest dated 1106, and several later, one being of 1342. None of these could have been thus recorded but for the topographic information kindly given by the Inspector of Antiquities, Captain Rupert Gunnis, and the skilled photography of the brothers Mangoian of Nicosia.

The President tendered the thanks of the Society to Mr. Buckler for his paper. It was understood that at least some of the frescoes shewn will appear in the Journal with an article by the author. (See J.H.S., 1933, p. 105.)

4 At the third General Meeting, held on May 2nd, Dr. L. R. Farnell, Vice-President, read a paper on 'The Paradox of the Prometheus Vinctus.' The thanks of the Society for this communication (which will appear in the Journal) were tendered to Dr. Farnell by the President. (See J.H.S., 1933, p. 40.)

5 At the Annual General Meeting held June 27th, 1933, at 5 p.m. the President took the chair. The Secretary in presenting the report regretted the absence of Mr. Macmillan and its cause. The Council were sending a letter of sympathy in his illness to Mr. Macmillan in which no doubt the general body of members would wish to be associated.

The President then formally moved the adoption of the report and accounts (since circulated). This motion was seconded by Dame Emily Penrose, put to the Meeting and carried unanimously. Sir Phillip Macdonnell then moved the following resolutions for the re-election or election of Vice-Presidents, officers and Members of the Council—(1) That Dr. A. W. Pickard-Cambridge be elected a Vice-President, and that Miss J. R. Bacon, Miss Joan Evans, Mr. H. C. Oakley and Mr. E. S. G. Robinson be elected as members of the Council.—(2) That the following be re-elected as members of the Council:—The Vice-Presidents of the Society and the following Members retiring by rotation: Mr. A. A. Blakeley, Lady Evans, Miss C. M. Knight, Miss E. Price, Mr. F. N. Pryce, Mr. M. S. Thompson and Mr. A. J. B. Wace. The motion was seconded by Mr. R. W. Hutchinson and carried unanimously.

Prof. Ure moved a vote of thanks to the Society’s auditors, Mr. C. F. Clay and Mr. W. E. F. Macmillan. This was seconded by Mr. Purdon and carried unanimously. The President then delivered his annual Presidential address.

He chose for his subject the present condition of the Study of the Greek Language, and in especial the present activity in the production of lexicons. Two important undertakings of this sort are in progress: the first is obviously the new edition of Liddell and Scott, now more than half published. The other is the great lexicon of contemporary Greek now being compiled at Athens, of which it is hoped to issue the first fascicle next year. Of this publication an account has been given in the last number of the Journal of the Society, written especially for it by Professor Koukoules, at that time at the head of the Scriptorium. In accordance with the ideals of modern scholarship, each of these lexicons confines itself to a definite period. Liddell and Scott, of which the earlier editions stayed down but with some incompleteness well into the Byzantine age, now limits itself to authors earlier than 600 A.D. But for this period the material is much augmented by the incorporation of words and usages from papyri and inscriptions, the number of which has naturally in recent years been much increased. Similarly the new dictionary at Athens goes no earlier than the year 1800 A.D., but for this period it comprises an immense amount of material gathered by various scholars from the contemporary spoken dialects; the value of this for the study of Greek, it may be said, from the Hellenistic age downwards can hardly be
over-estimated. This point has been admirably illustrated by Prof. Koukoules in the paper mentioned above. But what is to be done for the Greek of the intermediate period of 1200 years from 600 to 1800 A.D.? Similar lexicons with time limits are obviously required, and preparations are being made in this country for a lexicon of Patristic Greek which will follow immediately on the new Liddell and Scott, and in Athens for a new dictionary of Byzantine or mediaeval Greek. Slips for this are already being accumulated in a special mediaeval Archive at Athens. The time limits of this work are not, it seems, definitely fixed, but it will in any case cover the whole Byzantine period and probably also the years between the fall of Constantinople and the formation of the present Greek State. It will, in fact, supersede the dictionary of Sophocles and the admirable Glossarium of Du Cange. To this last scholar the speaker paid a warm tribute and passed on to speak of the members and honorary members lost by death during the past session. He spoke especially of Mr. Herbert Green, whose labours in Greek Lexicography have been specially acknowledged in the preface of the new Liddell and Scott. He concluded his remarks by saying something of the Athens of to-day as a centre of Greek Studies. Not only have we there for linguistic students the treasures of the scriptorium of the lexicon generously placed at the disposal of students, but also the library of a late member of the Society, Dr. John Gennadius, makes Athens more than ever the only possible centre for research into the recent history of Greece. Dr. Gennadius was at the very beginning of the Society a member, a Vice-President and then an honorary member, and the last number of the Journal contained a notice of his career by Dr. George Macmillan and an interesting account of the library which now bears his name written by Dr. William Miller. Other distinguished members of the Society deceased within the last year were mentioned, and a welcome was extended to the new honorary members. In the course of his remarks on the Athens lexicon the speaker gave some account of the remarkable career of one of these new honorary members, Prof. George Hatzidakis. He began life as a village boy in Crete, escaped to Athens at the time of the great rising of 1866, found his way to Germany as a student, made himself, it may be said, the founder of the scientific study of modern Greek, and finally was the prime mover in the scheme for the present lexicon, which is being made in the main by scholars who owe their training to his teaching and example.

A vote of thanks to the President for this address was carried by acclamation.
**Balance Sheet, December 31, 1932.**

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<th>Liabilities</th>
<th>£</th>
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<th>d.</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To Debts Payable</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>11</td>
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<td>Subscriptions paid in advance</td>
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<td>19</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
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<td>12</td>
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<td>Life Compositions and Donations</td>
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<tr>
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<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Received during year</td>
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<td>15</td>
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<tr>
<td>**</td>
<td>2314</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<tr>
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<td>s.</td>
<td>d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By Cash in Hand—Bank</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3¾</td>
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<tr>
<td>Assistant Treasurer</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>Petty Cash</td>
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<tr>
<td>Debts Receivable</td>
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<td>3¾</td>
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<tr>
<td>Investments</td>
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<td>Library Premises Account—Balance brought forward, Jan. 1, 1932</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Add Expenses incurred during year</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Less</strong> proportion carried to Income and Expenditure Account</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
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<td>Valuation of Stocks of Publications</td>
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<td>Photographic Department</td>
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<tr>
<td>Paper in hand for printing Journal</td>
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<tr>
<td>Balance, Deficiency at January 1, 1932</td>
<td>381</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Add Balance from Income and Expenditure Account</td>
<td>260</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9¼</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Balance, Deficiency at December 31, 1932</strong></td>
<td>641</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10¼</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Examinied and found correct.

(Signed) C. F. CLAY.

W. E. F. MACMILLAN.
## Income and Expenditure Account

**From January 1, 1932, to December 31, 1932.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expenditure</th>
<th>£  s. d.</th>
<th>£  s. d.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To Rent</td>
<td>405 5 0</td>
<td>117 0 5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rates</td>
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<td>Library Premises Account — Proportion transferred from Balance Sheet</td>
<td>23 0 0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Salaries</td>
<td>720 10 6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Insurance</td>
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<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous Expenses</td>
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<tr>
<td>Stationery</td>
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<tr>
<td>Postage</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sundry Printing, Rules, List of Members, Notices, &amp;c.</td>
<td>81 3 10</td>
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<tr>
<td>Heating, Lighting, and Cleaning Library Premises, &amp;c.</td>
<td>348 0 3½</td>
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<tr>
<td>Interest on Overdraft</td>
<td>37 14 0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Grants</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>British School at Athens</td>
<td>100 0 0</td>
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<tr>
<td>at Rome</td>
<td>100 0 0</td>
<td>110 10 9</td>
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<tr>
<td>Balance from Library Account</td>
<td>119 6 1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Balance from 'Journal of Hellenic Studies' Account</td>
<td>864 1 4</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Total Expenditure</strong></td>
<td><strong>£3104 13 6</strong></td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income</th>
<th>£  s. d.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>By Members' Subscriptions—</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrears</td>
<td>32 11 0</td>
<td>1139 10 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td></td>
<td>1172 7 0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Members' Entrance Fees</td>
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<tr>
<td>Student Associates' Subscriptions</td>
<td>79 7 0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Libraries' Subscriptions—</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Arrears</td>
<td>0 0 0</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>320 2 8</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dividends on Investments</td>
<td>142 18 7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contributed towards Rent by British School at Athens and British School at Rome for use of Society's room</td>
<td>20 0 0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Contributed by the Society for Promotion of Roman Studies</td>
<td>272 0 0</td>
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<td>Rent from London Association of Accountants, Ltd.</td>
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<td>Sale of 'Excavations at Phylakopi'</td>
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<td>Sale of 'Ante Oculos'</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous Receipts</td>
<td>7 3 0</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donations towards Society's expenses for year</td>
<td>53 17 0</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balance from Lantern Slides and Photographs Account</td>
<td>55 2 8</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deficit</td>
<td>260 1 9½</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Total Income</strong></td>
<td><strong>£3104 13 6</strong></td>
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**Dr. 'JOURNAL OF HELLENIC STUDIES' ACCOUNT. From January 1, 1932, to December 31, 1932.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>£  s.  d.</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To Printing and Paper, Vol. LII</td>
<td>653 16 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Plates</td>
<td>61 7 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Drawing and Engraving</td>
<td>72 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Editing and Reviews</td>
<td>101 14 0</td>
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<td>&quot; Packing, Addressing, and Carriage to Members</td>
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**LANTERN SLIDES AND PHOTOGRAPHS ACCOUNT. From January 1, 1932, to December 31, 1932.**

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<td>To Slides and Photographs for Sale</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot; Photographs for Reference Collection</td>
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<td>&quot; Balance to Income and Expenditure Account</td>
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<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
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**LIBRARY ACCOUNT. From January 1, 1932, to December 31, 1932.**

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<td>To Purchases</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot; Binding</td>
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<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>£132 1 4</strong></td>
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**CARNEGIE UNITED KINGDOM TRUST**

*Grant to the Joint Library of the Hellenic and Roman Societies*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
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**THE SANCTUARY OF ARTEMIS ORTHIA AT SPARTA.** From January 1, 1932, to December 31, 1932.

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<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>£  s.  d.</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>To Balance at January 1, 1932</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>£  s.  d.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>By Sales, including back Vols. Per Macmillan &amp; Co., Ltd.</td>
<td>142 11 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Hellenic Society</td>
<td>17 7 0</td>
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SUPPLEMENT NO. X.

TO THE

SUBJECT CATALOGUE* OF THE JOINT LIBRARY

APPARATUS, HISTORY OF STUDIES, ETC.

Periodicals.

Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales pour 1932-1933. [Université libre de Bruxelles.] From i (1932-3).


L'Antiquité Classique. From vol. i (1932).

Athenaeum. vols. i-x (to complete series).


Kilo: Supplementary Publications.


* The Catalogue (published 1924) is sold to members at the reduced price of 75. 6d. (by post 8s. 6d.).

This and other supplements are sold at 6d. each.

Address: The Assistant Librarian, Hellenic and Roman Societies, 50 Bedford Square, W.C.1.


Roma: Rivista di studi e di vita romana. From vol. i (1923). 9\(\frac{1}{3}\) × 7\(\frac{1}{4}\) in. Rome. In Progress.

Studi Etruschi. Index to vols. i-v. 10\(\frac{1}{2}\) × 7\(\frac{1}{2}\) in. Florence. 1932.

Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums. Supplementary Publications.


Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte: Romanistische Abteilung. Generalregister 1-50. von E. Sachsers. 8\(\frac{1}{4}\) × 5\(\frac{1}{4}\) in. pp. xii + 555. Weimar. 1932.

In honorum works, collected essays, etc.


Id. Another copy.

Poland (F.) Festschrift zu Franz Polands fünfundsiebzigsten Geburtstag. [Phil. Wochenschrift. No. 35/36, 1932.] 10\(\frac{1}{4}\) × 7\(\frac{1}{4}\) in. pp. viii + 148. Leipsig. 1932.


Glover (T. R.) Greek Byways. 8\(\frac{1}{4}\) × 6\(\frac{1}{4}\) in. pp. viii + 320. Cambridge. 1932.

Methods, History of Study, etc.

Gercke (A.) und Norden (E.) Einleitung in die Altertumswissen-

Dekinson (G. Lowes) The contribution of ancient Greece to modern life. 6\(\frac{1}{2}\) × 4\(\frac{1}{2}\) in. pp. 32. 1932.

Dobson (J. F.) Ancient education and its meaning to us. 7\(\frac{1}{4}\) × 5 in. pp. v + 205. 1932.

Id. Another copy.

Peyre (H.) Bibliographie critique de l’Hellenisme en France de 1843 à 1870. 9\(\frac{1}{4}\) × 6\(\frac{1}{4}\) in. pp. 290. New Haven. 1932.

Cleland (H. F.) The crime of archaeology—a study of weathering. [The Scientific Monthly, xxxv.] 10 × 6\(\frac{1}{4}\) in. pp. 5. 1932.


Valencia. La labor del servicio de investigación prehistórica y su museo en el pasado año 1931. 8 1/4 x 6 in. pp. 35. Valencia. 1932.

Biographies.

Gibbon (E.) Young (G. M.) Gibbon. 7 1/2 x 5 1/2 in. pp. 182. 1932.


LITERATURE

Greek Authors.


— Croissant (J.) Aristote et les mystères. 10 x 6 1/2 in. pp. 218. Liège. 1932.


Comenius (Anna) Alexias. Ed. A. Reifferscheid. 2 vols. 6 1/2 x 4 1/2 in. pp. xxviii + 300 (av. per vol.). Leipsic. 1884.


— Nilsson (M. P.) Homer and Mycenae. 9 x 5 1/2 in. pp. xii + 283. 1933.


Latin Authors.


   64 x 44 in. pp. xix + 664. 1933.

Cyprian. Thasci Caecili Cypriani de habitu virginum. Translated with Commentary by A. E. Keenan.

69 x 44 in. pp. xvi + 95. Cambridge. 1932.


9 x 54 in. pp. cviii + 300 (av. per vol.). Leipsic. 1904-5.


Martianus. BUCKLAND (W. W.) Marcian. [Studi in onore di Salvatore Riccobono, i.]

   — KURELMEYER (C. M.) The economy of actors in Plautus.
   94 x 62 in. pp. 104; 20 diagrams. Austria. 1932.
   — NORWOOD (G.) Plautus and Terence.
   74 x 5 in. pp. vii + 212. 1932.

Id. Another copy.


Sallust. CESAREO (E.) Sallustio.


Braginton (M. V.) The supernatural in Seneca’s tragedies. 9 × 6 in. pp. 98. Menasha, Wis. 1933.


Id. Another copy.


Pfeiffer (E.) Virgil’s Bucolica: Untersuchungen zum Formproblem. 9¼ × 6½ in. pp. 120. Stuttgart. 1933.


Language.


Id. Another copy.


Wyllie (T. H. S.) Gaisford Prize for Greek Verse, 1933. [Goethe’s Faust, “Prologue in Heaven.”]

Wells (A. F.) Gaisford Prize for Greek Prose, 1933. [From Boswell’s Johnson.]

PHILOSOPHY


Tarrant (D.) Early Greek Ideas of the Soul: Homer to Anaxagoras. [Trans. Soc. for promoting the study of religions.]

Taylor (A. E.) Socrates.
7½ x 5¼ in. pp. 182. 1932.


Cornford (F. M.) Before and after Socrates.

Shorey (P.) What Plato said.

Bowra (C. M.) The Conception of the Soul from Plato to the Neo-Platonists. [Trans. Soc. for promoting the study of religions.]

Bidez (J.) La cité du monde et la cité du soleil chez les Stoïciens.

Felkin (F. W.) A wordbook of metaphysics.

Schneidewin (W.) Metaphysik der Sitten.
9 x 6 in. pp. 32. Paderborn. 1933.

HISTORY

General.

Rose (J. H.) The Mediterranean in the ancient world.
7½ x 5¼ in. pp. xi + 184. Cambridge. 1933.

Id. Another copy.

Burr (V.) Nostrum Mare: Ursprung und Geschichte des Mittelmeeres und seiner Teilmeere im Altertum.
9½ x 6½ in. pp. x + 141. Stuttgart. 1932.

Burton (H. E.) The discovery of the ancient world.

Rostovtzeff (M. I.) Out of the past of Greece and Rome.

Glotz (G.) Editor. Histoire ancienne.
Deuxième partie: Histoire grecque.
ii. La Grèce au Ve siècle. Par G. Glotz et R. Cohen.

Troisième partie: Histoire romaine,
ii. 133–144 avant J. C. fasc. 3. Par G. Bloch et J.

Gomme (A. W.) The population of Athens in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.

Id. Another copy.

François (E.) Alcibiades el proceso de los Hermes. 9 x 6 in. pp. 30. Buenos Aires. 1931.


Roman.


Matheson (P. E.) A skeleton outline of Roman History down to 180 B.C. 6 1/4 x 4 1/2 in. pp. vi + 192. 1928.


Fraccaro (P.) La malaria e la storia degli antichi popoli classic. [Atene e Roma, xxii.] 9 1/4 x 6 1/2 in. pp. 32. Florence. 1919.


Vegt (J.)  Die römische Republik.  9 × 5 1/2 in.  pp. x + 350.  Freiburg.  1932.

Fraccaro (P.)  La tradizione storica sulla rivoluzione gracciana.  Fasc. i.  9 1/4 × 6 1/2 in.  pp. 188.  Cità di Castello.  1914.

Fraccaro (P.)  Oratori ed orazioni dell' età gracciana.  9 × 5 1/2 in.  pp. 227.  Pavia.  1933.


Fraccaro (P.)  Catoniana.  [Studi storici per l'antichità classica, i, ii, 3.]  8 1/4 × 5 1/4 in.  pp. 45.  Pisa.  1910.


Fraccaro (P.)  Le fonti per il consolato di M. Porcio Catone.  [Studi storici per l'antichità classica, iii, 2, 3.]  8 1/4 × 5 1/4 in.  pp. 74.  Pisa.  1910.


Fraccaro (P.)  I processi degli Scipioni.  9 × 6 in.  pp. 198.  Pisa.  1911.


Mackinnon (A. G.) The Rome of the early Church. 81/2 × 51/2 in. pp. 239. 1933.


Byzantine.


Runeiman (S.) Byzantine civilisation. 81/2 × 51/2 in. pp. 320. 1933.

Id. Another copy.

Bury (J. B.) The life of St. Patrick and his place in history. 9 × 51/2 in. pp. xv + 404. 1905.


MODERN GREEK


Argenti (P. P.) Ed. The Massacres of Chios, described in contemporary diplomatic reports. 9 × 6 in. pp. xxxiv + 242. 3 plates. 1932.


Kiaaras (M.) Διορθώσις εἰς τὸν ΣΤΑΒΗΝ ΤΟΥ ΚΡΗΤΙΚΟΥ ΒΕΑΡΙΟΥ Ζώου ["Επιτραπείς τῷ ηπειρίῳ βυζαντινών ύπολογίων,]. 91/2 × 61/2 in. pp. 11. Athens. 1932.


Vlasto (P.) Greek bilingualism and some parallel cases. 71/2 × 51/2 in. pp. 67. Athens. 1933.
TOPOGRAPHY, EXCAVATION, LOCAL HISTORY, ETC.

Maps.

**Roman Empire.** International map of the Roman Empire. Scale 1 : 1,000,000. From i (1930).

— Piccolo atlante dell’ impero romano con testo storico e illustrazioni in calcografia. By P. Fraccaro.


Germany. Archäologische Karte der Rheinprovinz. Scale 1 : 100,000. From i (1932).

The East.

Rostovtzeff (M.) Caravan Cities.


Id. Another copy.


Tel Umar. WATERMAN (L.) Preliminary Report upon the excavations at Tel Umar, Iraq, conducted by the University of Michigan and the Toledo Museum of Art. 10 3/4 x 7 3/4 in. pp. vi + 62. Ann Arbor. 1931.

Semple (E. C.) The geography of the Mediterranean region. 9 x 5 3/4 in. pp. x + 738. 1 plate + 14 figs. 1932.

Gardner (E. A.) Greece and the Aegean; with a preface by Sir Rennell Rodd and a chapter on Constantinople by S. Casson. 7 1/2 x 5 1/2 in. pp. 246. 1933.

Id. Another copy.
Asia Minor.


Ephesus. Forschungen in, veröffentlicht vom österreichischen archäologischen Institute. Band IV, Heft i. 16 × 12 in. 111 + 106. 4 plates + 96 figs. Vienna. 1933.


Constantinople.


Creta and Islands.


Egypt.


Kitto (H. D. F.) In the mountains of Greece. 7 ⅛ × 5 ⅛ in. pp. x + 150. 1933.


Italy.


Girgenti. ORSI (P.) La Necropoli di S. Angelo Muxaro (Agrip- 
gento) e cosa si dice di nuovo nella quistione sicula. 
[Atti d. R. Accad. li Scienze, Lettere e Belle Arti di 
Palermo, vol. xvii, fasc. iii, 1932-x.] 
12½ \times 8\frac{1}{4} \text{ in. pp. 14. Palermo. 1932.}

France.
Bayet (A.) Histoire de la morale en France. 2 vols. 1. La 
moralë des Gaulois. 2. La morale paëtene à l’époque 
Gallo-Romaine. 
8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2} \text{ in. pp. xi + 440 (av. per vol.). Paris.} 
1930, 31.
Degl'attigny (L.) Inventaire archéologique de la Seine inférieure. 
Periode gallo-romaine. 
9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2} \text{ in. pp. xxx + 241. Évreux. 1931.}
Degl'attigny (L.) Documents et notes archéologiques. 3\text{e fascicule.} 
10 \times 6\frac{3}{4} \text{ in. pp. 48. Rouen. 1933.}

Spain.
Alcaniz. PARIS (P.) Fouilles dans la région d’Alcaniz. 
9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4} \text{ in. pp. 116. Bordeaux. 1926.}
Belo. PARIS (P.) Fouilles de Belo (Bolonia, province de Cadix), 
1917-1921. i. La ville et ses dépendances. 
9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4} \text{ in. pp. 190. Bordeaux. 1923.}
Setenlilla. BONSOR (G.-E.) and THOUVENOT (R.) Nécropole ibéri- 
que de Setefilla (Lora del Rio, Sevilla): fouilles de 
1926-1927. 
9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4} \text{ in. pp. 60. Bordeaux. 1928.}

Germany.
Stein (E.) Die kaiserlichen Beamten und Truppenkörper im 
römischen Deutschland unter dem Prinzipat, 
9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4} \text{ in. pp. xiii + 301. Vienna. 1932.}

[Iburg.] Knöke (F.) Der römische Tumulus auf dem Schlaucht- 
feldes des Teutoburger Waldes. 
8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2} \text{ in. pp. 42. Berlin. 1927.}
Kelst-Müngersdorf. FREMERSDORF (F.) Der römische Gutshof 
KölN-MünGersdorf. [Römisch-germanische Forschungen 
6:] 12\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{1}{4} \text{ in. pp. iv + 138. Berlin. 1933-}
Text and Plates. 
14 \times 11 \text{ in. pp. x + 296. Berlin. 1932.}
Praunheim. Riese (A.) Das römische Gräberfeld bei Praunheim: 
die Ausgrabungen des Winters 1901-1902. [Mitt. über 
röm. Funde in Heidelberg, iv.] 
12\frac{3}{4} \times 9\frac{1}{2} \text{ in. pp. 36. Frankfurt a.M. 1907.}
Württemberg. Paret (O.) Die Römer in Württemberg. 3. Die 
Siedlungen. (2 parts.) 
9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{3}{4} \text{ in. pp. xvi + 419. Stuttgart. 1932.}

Aquincum (Hungary). Kuzsinszky (B.) Budapest Réges- 
géi, xi. Das grosse römische Töpferviertel in Aquincum bei 
Budapest. 
10\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{4} \text{ in. pp. 423. Budapest. 1932.}
Nijmegen (Holland). Vermeulen (W.) Een romeinsch Gräveld 
on den Hunnerberg te Nijmegen. 
9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{3}{4} \text{ in. pp. xiv + 274. Amsterdam. 1932.}
Collingwood (R. G.) and Taylor (M. V.)
Roman Britain in 1921 and 1922. [JRS. xi, p. 200–244]

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<td>[JRS. xii, p. 240–287]</td>
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<td>1926</td>
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<td>1927</td>
<td>[JRS. xix, p. 180–218]</td>
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<td>1928</td>
<td>[JRS. xx, p. 215–250]</td>
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<td>[JRS. xxi, p. 198–229]</td>
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<td>1931</td>
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Fox (C.) The personality of Britain: its influence on inhabitant and invader in prehistoric and early historic times. 10 x 8 in. pp. 84. Cardiff. 1932.


--- Explorations in the Roman Fort at Ambleside (fourth year, 1920) and at other sites on the Tenth Iter. [Cumberland Trans. xxi.] 9 x 5¾ in. pp. 42. Kendal. 1921.


Brough-under-Stainmore. Collingwood (R. G.) Objects from Brough-under-Stainmore in the Craven Museum, Skipton. [Cumberland Trans. xxxi.]


8½ × 5¼ in. pp. 12, 1 plan. [Dumfries?] 1926.


Castle How. Collingwood (R. G.) Castle How, Peel Wyke. [Cumberland Trans. xxiv.]


9½ × 6 in. pp. [12], 7 figs. 1924.

Cumberland Coast. Collingwood (R. G.) Roman signal-stations on the Cumberland coast. [Cumberland Trans. xxix.]


Cumberland. Collingwood (R. G.) The last years of Roman Cumberland. [Cumberland Trans. xxiv.]


Hardknott. Collingwood (R. G.) Hardknott Castle and the Tenth Antonine Itinerary. [Archaeologia, lxxi.]


— Hardknott Castle. [Cumberland Trans. xxviii.]


High Moor House. Collingwood (R. G.) Roman altars at High Moor House and Hale Church. [Cumberland Trans. xxviii.]


Kendal. Collingwood (R. G.) The Roman fort at Watercrook, Kendal. [Cumberland Trans. xxx.]


Roman Wall.

— A system of numerical references to the parts of Hadrian's wall and the structures along its line. [Cumberland Trans. xxx.] 9½ × 5¼ in. pp. 8. Kendal. 1930.


ANTIQUITIES

Legal and Constitutional.


Economic.


Miscellaneous.


Id. Another copy.


Id. Another copy.


RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, ETC.


Lewis (C. B.) Classical mythology and Arthurian romance. 9 × 5¼ in. pp. xvii + 332. 1932.


Caltr.


Mithras. Hare (W. L.) Mithra, the saviour-god. [Transactions of the Society for promoting the study of religions.] 9¼ × 6 in. pp. 16. 1932.

ART

General.

Lethaby (W. R.) More Greek Studies. [The Builder, 1929.]
   i. New restorations of the Mausoleum.
   ii. The Mausoleum Sculpture.
   iii & iv. The Nereid Monument and Lycian Art.
   v & vi. The Tomb of Atreus and Minoan Art.
   vii. The Croesus Temple at Ephesus.
   viii. The Hellenistic Temple at Ephesus.
   ix. Apollo's Temple at Bassae.
   x. The Ionic order.


Fairbanks (A.) Greek Art: the Basis of later European art.
   7 1/4 x 5 in. pp. 134. 1933.

Roes (A.) Greek Geometric Art: its symbolism and its origin.
   9 1/4 x 6 1/4 in. pp. 138. 1933.

Essen (C. C. Van) Boog en Gewelf in de italische Bouwkunst.
   [Bull. van de Antieke Beschaving, vii, 2, 1932.]
   11 1/4 x 8 1/2 in. pp. 10.

Essen (C. C. Van) Het onstaan van de continueerende vertelwijze in de antieke kunst van Italië. [Mededelingen van het Nederlandse historisch instituut te Rome, Tweede reeks, ii, 1932.]
   9 x 6 in. pp. 19.

Sculpture, etc.

Brunn-Bruckmann. Denkmäler griechischer und römischer Skulptur.
   This collection now comprises the following:
   Plates 1-750. 25 x 19 in.
   Index to plates 1-500. By P. Arndt.
   10 x 7 in. pp. xiv + 73. Munich. 1897.
   Text and index to plates 501-750. By P. Arndt and others.
   Subject index of the whole collection (on cards).

Reinach (S.) Répertoire de la statuaire grecque et romaine. v and vi (3 vols.).
   7 1/4 x 5 1/4 in. pp. 300 (av. per vol.). Paris. 1924-1930.

Beazley (J. D.) and Ashmole (B.) Greek sculpture and painting to the end of the Hellenistic period.
   8 1/2 x 6 1/2 in. pp. xvii + 107. Cambridge. 1932.

Casson (S.) The technique of early Greek sculpture.

Demangel (R.) La frise jonique.

Blinkenberg (C.) Knidia: Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Praxitellischen Aphrodite.
   11 1/4 x 8 1/2 in. pp. 232. Copenhagen. 1933.

Stier (H. E.) Aus der Welt des Pergamonaltars.


Laumonier (A.) Catalogue de terres cuites du musée archéologique de Madrid. 10 x 6 1/2 in. xi + 253. Bordeaux. 1921.


Vases.


Painting and Mosaics.


COINS


Sylloge nummorum graecorum. Vol. II. The Lloyd Collection. Parts i-ii. Etruria to Thuriurium. 15½ x 11½ in. pp. 16 + 16 plates. 1933.

Seltman (C.) Greek Coins. 9 x 5½ in. pp. xix + 311. 1933.


INSCRIPTIONS

Cairo. Ostraca hiératiques. 3e fasc. By M. J. Černý, 14 x 9,5 in. pp. 43. Cairo. 1933.


Amundsen (L.) Ostraca osloënsia: Greek ostraca in Norwegian collections. 9,5 x 6,5 in. pp. 88. Oslo. 1933.

Friedrich (J.) Kleinasiatische Sprachdenkmäler. 8 x 5 in. pp. viii + 158 (76 figs.). Berlin. 1932.


Muthmann (A.) and Harje (M.) Griechische Steinschriften als Ausdruck lebendigen Geistes. 9 x 6,5 in. pp. 79. Freiburg im Breisgau. 1933.


Rostovtzeff (M.) Seleucid Babylonia: Bullae and seals of clay with Greek inscriptions. 9,5 x 6 in. pp. 114; 11 plates. New Haven. 1931.


PAPYRI AND MSS.


—— Guéraud (O.)  'Evroçs. Requêtes et plaintes adressées au roi d'Égypte au iii s. siècle avant J.C. 2e fasc. [Publications de la Société royale égyptienne de papyrologie. Texte et documents, i.]


NINETEENTH LIST OF
ACCESSIONS TO THE CATALOGUE OF SLIDES

MAPS, VIEWS, EXCAVATIONS, ETC.

Maps.
65732 Map to illustrate empires absorbed by Persian Empire (Robinson, Hist. of Greece, p. 97).
65730 Map of the campaign of Marathon (JHS. 1932, p. 13).
65729 Map of Palestine.
86973 Map of Italy (Havell, Republican Rome, pl. 1).
84909 Map of the plain of Ostia (Carcopino, Ostia, map at end).

The Middle East.
65390 Khorsabad, Palace of Sargon; orifice of drain (ca. 26 feet high).
65747 Persepolis, Apadana stairway, N. wing.
65733 " " during excavation.
65738 " S. end.
65740 " reliefs of tribute-bearers.
65748 Tripylon stairway.
65739 " smaller stairway, showing reliefs.
65737 " reliefs of tribute-bearers.

Syria.
65701 Baalbek, Temple of Helios: S. side.
65703 Jerusalem, Church of the Holy Sepulchre: the façade.
65704 " " the entrance.
65705 " E. wall and distant view of Dome of the Rock.
65706 " Dome of the Rock.
65707 " nearer view.
65708 " interior.
65709 " S.E. angle of wall and tomb of Absalom.
65710 " Zion gate.
65711 " pool of Bethesda.
65712 " Solomon's stables.
65713 Lebanon, terraces on the mountain.

Asia Minor.
65443 Priene, Agora, N. Hall (phot copy) from E.
65444 " Ecclesiasterion: N.W. angle from S.E.
65406 " theatre: W. parados and part of auditorium from E.
65744 Ras Shamra, vaulting of tomb.

Crete and Islands.
65229 Cnossos, temple tomb: restored pavilion from upper columnar sanctuary. (Cf. JHS. 1931, p. 427.)
65478 Malia, stairway from S.
65482 " " table for offerings.
65469 Tyllius, capped pillars and corridor from W.
65500 " stone bath and raised water channel leading to cistern.
65534 Rhodes, Ialysus: 4th century fountain.
65557 Thera, temenos of Artemidorus: relief portrait of Artemidorus and relief of dolphin.

Greece.
65307 Delphi, stoa of the Athenians.
65559 " Marmaria: sanctuary of Athina Pronaia, treasuries from W.
65360 Sunium, general view of the temple.
65572 Mantinea, the wall looking W. from the Orchomenos Gate to Mt. Maenalus. (Cf. Fougeres, Mantinie, pl. 8, gate marked 'Orchomenos B'.)
65579 " Melangria-Argos gate from S., showing towers. (Cf. Fougeres, Mantinie, gate marked 'D'.)
Italy.

Capri, the citadel of Tiberius.
restored view.

Misenum, the cape.

Pontina marshes, unclaimed.
reclamation in progress.

Sicily.

Etna from Taormina.
nearer view.

Selinus, propylon and temenos of Demeter Malophoros looking S.W.
negaron of Demeter from S.W.

Acropolis: N. wall, view looking S, through gate.
temple A: W. front from N.W.
temple C: entrance to cellas from N.E.
temple G: N. pieron. On right, temple D; S.E. angle of altar.
temple E: fallen column at N.W. angle, from N.E.
temple F: W. front from S.W.
temple G: blocks grooved for lifting ropes.

Syracuse, air view of Ortygia.

Gaul.

Avignon, the citadel, cathedral and palace of the Popes.
the cathedral and palace.
St. Honorat (Iles des Lérins), dojon.

interior.

Roman Britain.

For comparison with the wall of Hadrian: the great wall of Peru from the air.

EARLY ANTIQUITIES

Minoan.

Cnossos, "Procession Fresco" (Evans, Palace, ii (2), supp. pl. xxvii).

Oriental.

Khafaje, bronze stand, in form of a nude bearded man.

Plaque with scenes of royal ceremonial; the lower left corner supplied by a fragment from Ur.

Minet-es-Beida. Potcelain head.

Ras Shamra, polychrome cup in form of female head.

head of a woman in polychrome porcelain.

silver figures of a 'divine couple.'

pithos.

cylinder seal impressions.

Ur, limestone head.

Steatite bowl with frieze of bulls and ears of corn: ca. 2200 B.C.

Egyptian.

Tutankamen's tomb, flexible gold pectoral in form of the Nakhebet vulture.

Diadem of gold, turquoise and lapis lazuli.

pecoral inlaid with gold and semi precious stones.

Cyprus.

Votive terracotta chariot from A. Irini.

Sardinia.

Bronze statuette of an archer. Teti.
Bronze statuette of a priestess [?] Bonorva.

Prehistoric Drawings.

La Bastide (Pyrenees), cave drawing; a cave lion.

Fezzan (Tripoli) rock drawing; a giraaffe's head.
elephant and two giraffes.

restored drawing.
SCULPTURE

6379 Thasos, archaic chariot group - relief on jamb of town gate.
6381 " Nereid, from the agora at Athens.
6497 " Slab from Ara Pacis, Aeneas sacrificing to Penates (Studniczka, " Ara Pacis, pl. 5, fig. 8).
6709 " Frieze of temple of Venus Genetrix, Rome: cupids.
6709 " " " two cupids.
6370 " Relief, children playing at ball: woodcut (Baumeister, " Denk. fig. 228).
6706 " Relief: a covered carriage. Maria Saal (near Klagenfurt).

6100 Agrippina: portrait statue found at Pompeii, Minneapolis.

4606 ‘Spinario,’ Terme Mus.
6384 Bronze female head from the agora at Athens.
6385 " " " " profile.

VASES, ETC.

6333 The Trojan horse. R.F. Acyballos from Cervetri (Jahrbuch, 1892, pl. 3).

R.F. Vases.

6341 Achilles departing for Troy (Baumeister, " Denk. fig. 8).
6340 Amphiarraos, Euphylle and Alexander (Arch. Zeit. 1888, pl. 15).
6359 Darius in council before the Greek expedition (Rostowzew, History, i, pl. 66 (t)).
6343 Leda and the egg. Krater, Vienna (Baumeister, " Denk. fig. 706).
6370 Barbarian archer (Robinson, " History of Greece, pl. xiii).
6362 Cock fighting (Panofka, " Manner, pl. xiii, 1).
6371 The game of knides (Arch. Zeit. 1879, pl. 5).
6369 Girl with whipping top. White grounded cup by Heggibalus (Mon. Phot, 29, pl. 2).
6368 Terracotta top. B.M. (JHS, 1929, p. 219, fig. 2).
6367 Attic "Yo-Yo" decorated with pictures of Pelus and Theba, Hercules and Nereus.
6371 Photo of small boy playing with "Yo-Yo." (The extended hand suggests a motive for the Hermes of Cythera.)


PAINTING AND MOSAIC

6488 Pompeian fresco, Aeneas and Dido.
6373 Cupids playing with rope and sticks. Outline drawing. Herculaneum (Roux, " Pompeii, etc., ii, pl. 87).
6365 The game of "tirsaetov (jumping on greased wine skin). Mosaic in Berlin (Arch. Zeit. 1847, pl. 5, i).

6366 Iris appears to Turnus (Codex Romanus).
6361 Scene from Virgil’s Eclipses (Codex Romanus).
6319 Virgin, portrait (Codex Romanus).

6337-40 Byzantine frescoes in Church at Asion (Cyprus).

COINS

9573 Metapontum R (N.G. 1918, pl. 6, i & ii).


METALWORK

C5197 Archaic relief on tripod in Loeb collection. Pecules and Themis—Hercules and lion—
Apollo and Tityos (Lamb, Bronze, pl. 56).

C5231 Bronze cup: 2 views. (a) winged bull; (b) hunter. Luristan.

C5232 5th cent. gold elkhorn armlet (Treasure of Ouxa, 1926, pl. 1).

C5734 Gold and silver winged ibex, forming the handle of a vase. 3rd cent. B.C. (Souvenir of
Exhib. of Persian Art, p. 89).

C5366 Gold fish from Vetterfield, decorated with animals in relief. Scythian-Ionian art
(Turne, Goldfund von VetterfiId, pl. 1).

C5391 Gold comb from Solokha: Scythians in conflict. ca. 500 B.C. (Lawrence, Later Gk.
Sculplure, pl. 156).

C5749 Bronze Hellenistic helmet with battle scars. Reggio Museum.

C5693 Bronze mirror case from Corinth. Genius of Cock fights. Outline drawing (Rev.
Arch. 1868, pl. xiii).

C4683 Boecarinale Treasure: cup of Augustus (Mus. Pict, V, pl. 31, top).

C4684 reverse of preceding (Mus. Pict, V, pl. 31, bottom).

B7206 Gold funerary wreath from Monteforte d'Arcevia. Ancona Mus.

C5995 Neck and breast ornament, ca. 2d B.C. 600, from Egypt. (Cl. ornaments worn in Mosaic
of Justinian at Ravenna.)

MUSIC

C5354 Byzantine hymn: Atheniensis (68), round notation.

C5355 " " " Cryptesia E.A. II, second hand, late round notation.

C5366 " " " Codex Thoeophanes, 18th Century: probably from Asia Minor.

C5397 Greek folk song: printed in the modern notation.

MISCELLANEA

C5378 Ostraca of Themistocles, Aristides, and Hipparchus. From the Agora, Athens.

C5364 Fassae, from the Tomba del Littore (Randall MacIver, Villanovan, fig. 39).

C5693 The wooden horse of Troy: after Tiepolo.

C573 A Greek shepherd carrying lamb.
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THE ATHENS MODERN-GREEK LEXICON

PAPYRI, ostraka, inscriptions and printed texts, some ancient, some mediaeval, and some subsequent to the Fall of Constantinople, bring to light almost daily a multitude of hitherto unknown words; words which complete or enrich our knowledge of the language, history, life, and civilisation of the Greeks throughout the ages. The discovery of a single word indeed may throw light upon much that was unknown or doubtful, and provide a key for a wide range of connected problems. Of the importance of collecting these words there can therefore be no doubt. Many scholars have from time to time set their hands to this work; sometimes, like S. Koumanoudis and Van Herwerden, by publishing supplementary dictionaries, sometimes by appending glossaries to their editions of texts. Stuart-Jones and Mackenzie's new edition of Liddell and Scott records new words, to the obvious advantage of those who consult it.

For the study of Greek life and literature in their entirety our lexicographical aids are very unequal. For the Classical, Hellenistic and Roman periods they are of great value, but for the Middle Ages we still have to use Du Cange's Glossarium mediae et infamiae Graecitatis, which is to be accurate hardly a lexicon in the sense in which we use the word, or else the Lexicon of E. A. Sophocles, which is not only too brief, but also unfortunately deals with no words later than the year 1100. For the period after the Fall of Constantinople we have, to mention the more important, the help of Du Cange and of Meursius, the Thesaurus of Vlakhos the Cretan, the trilingual glossary, Latin, Romaic and Greek, of Simon Portius, and the Tesoro of Somavera. But none of these fully answers to the demands of modern research. Nor can the brief dictionaries of Modern Greek, from Skarlatos Byzantios' Lexicon of present-day Greek downwards, be called adequate.

In the course of centuries the life of a people is exposed to influences from many directions, and of these the language is the faithful reflexion. Words too become so much altered in meaning as not infrequently to veer right round to precisely the opposite of their earlier signification. Compare, for example, the ancient ἔγερω, which means ἀνασα, with its corresponding modern form γέρω, which means κλίνω. The student of later and mediaeval texts will have no difficulty in following me here. I need do no more than remind my readers of these six words, κρίνω, κρίνεις, ἀπόλογος, δικάζω, παραγωγή, κόλπος. Of these, the first has now come to mean ὁμιλεῖ, the second βέβαιος, the third is now a synonym of ἀπειλεῖ, ἀπεικονίζει, the fourth of λέγει, the fifth of εὐχαριστεῖς, ἀπάλεως, and the last again may be used in the sense of λέγω.

If we wish for a complete picture of the language, life and civilisation of the Greeks, we must examine as a continuous whole, κατὰ συνέχειαν, that marvellous creation, the Greek language, marking the points at which
any change of meaning is to be observed and inquiring into the circumstances of such changes. Here solid conclusions can be reached only by tracing the history of each separate word, and most valuable services will be rendered by a lexicon so constructed as to make this possible.

This was the idea of George Hatzidakis, when in 1908 he was successful in getting a decree passed for the compiling and publication of an Historical Lexicon of the Greek Language, a lexicon which should expose the phonetic, formal and semantic development of every Greek word from its first appearance to the reign of King George I. This idea was no doubt sound, but to carry it into execution demanded (1) an adequate number of competent scholars, and, what was more difficult to find, (2) sums of money sufficient for a task which would occupy many years.

The scholars who took the initiative in this work, in spite of their enthusiasm and indefatigable activity, were very soon convinced that so wide a task could not be satisfactorily carried out within any reasonable time with the annual grant of 10,000 drachmae which the Ministry of Education and Ecclesiastical Affairs was able to make from the Dorides bequest. They arrived at the following conclusions. The ancient Greek material, registered and collected in lexicons and their addenda, was in no danger of being lost. Almost the same thing might be said, mutatis mutandis, of the material of the mediaeval language. But they found that the material of the language of modern times is subject from day to day to change and loss owing to the increase of schools and the greater facilities of communication. Words, which thirty years ago were still to be heard in various parts of Greece and are closely connected with the whole linguistic tradition of the country, have been passing into the oblivion naturally involved by the disappearance of the objects which they denoted, and by the general change in the manner of life. The use of local dialects, too, little by little becomes restricted. It would therefore be to the purpose to divide the Lexicon into three substantial parts: (1) of Ancient and Hellenistic Greek; (2) of the Greek of the Middle Ages and the period after the Fall of Constantinople; (3) of Contemporary Greek, the upper limit of which might be set at the year 1800.

It was with these ideas that the collection and arrangement of material began in the year 1909, under editors then appointed: Emmanouel Pezopoulos and Athanasios Boutouras, assisted by a few students. Under the same system the late Petros Papageorgiou was appointed subsequently as Director, and I. Loulakis and myself as his colleagues. In pursuance of our common task I had occasion to study the method followed in the lexicon of the idioms of Bavaria and Austria, and on this I wrote a detailed memorandum.

From the point of view of scholarship the year 1912 was a favourable one. The Sixteenth International Congress of Orientalists was being held at Athens, and in this way many foreign specialists had an opportunity of visiting the scriptorium of the Lexicon and of appreciating its value. They
thought fit to appoint a Commission to call upon the then Prime Minister, Mr. Venizelos, and to represent to him the necessity that the Greek Government should take the Lexicon under its protection; and this suggestion was, in fact, taken into consideration.

The material which the editors had at their disposal fell into the following classes:

1. The MSS. which had been got together from the year 1892 onwards, first by the Syllogos Koræas, and later by the Linguistic Society of Athens: this material comes for the most part from the Kingdom of Greece.

2. The MSS. which accrued as a result of the linguistic competitions organised by the Literary Society of Constantinople. These MSS. are of very great value, as they give us material gathered in Greek places blotted out in consequence of the Asia Minor disaster of 1922. Such of the inhabitants of these places as survive are now scattered in various parts of the Greek State.

3. Material extracted from printed glossaries and other books.

4. Of the more important books mention may be made of R. M. Dawkins' *Modern Greek in Asia Minor*, M. Deffner's *Tsakonian Dictionary* and G. Rohlf's *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der unteritalienischen Gräzität*.

5. Material which the editors have collected and verified locally. Such missions have already been sent to the Cyclades, to Crete, to Euboia, to Aitolia, to the region of Corinth, to Athos, to Chalcidice, to the Pelion villages, to Lemnos, to Samothrace, to Western Thrace, that is, the district of Souphli and Didymoteikhos.

Unfortunately the value of much of this material is seriously diminished by the lack of the necessary preliminary studies. Its phonetic and semantic imperfections in especial compelled the editors to verify such points, either by special missions or by correspondence. It was fortunate in these circumstances that the editors were men from the provinces, and had themselves written special studies of several of the dialects of the contemporary language, and were thus in a position to detect inaccuracies and to supply the necessary corrections. In this work they were frequently assisted by the willing information of local scholars, schoolmasters, priests, doctors, lawyers, ladies and others.

Working in this way the editors produced an extremely rich collection of material from a very great number of Greek-speaking districts, ranging from Epeiros, Northern Macedonia and Thrace in the north, to Crete, Lycia and Cyprus in the south, and from Pontos and Cappadocia in the east, to Calabria in the west. But neither in Modern Greek nor in any other living language is it ever possible to say that the whole corpus of linguistic material has been collected. New books are published: the competitions instituted by the Linguistic Society of Athens on a plan worked out by the staff of the Lexicon bring in fresh MSS.: a rich increase of material is derived from the tens of thousands of refugees from the recent disaster in Asia Minor now concentrated in Old Greece. And to include this last is a pressing necessity, because the refugees, and especially those from Pontos and Cappadocia, by mixing with the inhabitants of Old Greece, are bound to lose, or at the very least to modify, certain elements
in their dialects: elements of great importance for our researches, since they include many features of the ancient and still more of the mediaeval types of the language. All this has been a cause of delay, because the staff has been anxious to include in the Lexicon all this mass of fresh material.

A limit has, however, been set to the process of collection, and two years ago the printing of the first volume was begun. This volume will consist of sixty sheets in quarto, that is to say of 480 pages, and will contain the words up to ω. The printing of this volume has now reached the fortieth sheet, and the whole will in a year from now be in circulation. It will contain in the form of a preface a brief history of the Lexicon and the necessary tables of abbreviations. At the beginning of the second volume, which will complete the letter α, there will be a Grammar of Modern Greek.

The Lexicon, the full title of which is Λεξικόν τῆς νέας Ἑλληνικῆς γλώσσης, τῆς τέ κοινῶς ὁμιλουμένης καὶ τῶν ιδιωμάτων, gives an account of all the words of the contemporary language—of newly-formed words it includes only those that have passed into common use, such as ἀεροπλάνο, ὑποβρυχίον—with the evidence for their first appearance and the cause and period of their phonetic or semantic changes. It will, that is to say, give in brief the history of each separate word.

Each entry consists of three parts. The first gives the various local types of the word as it is used at present. The second gives its history, whether it is ancient, or mediaeval, or modern, or a foreign loan-word; its changes of form and meaning are explained with bibliographical references. The third gives the meanings arranged locally with the necessary examples of its use set down in chronological order. Since many contemporary constructions and phrases are found in somewhat the same form in ancient and mediaeval writers, the ancient parallels have been added wherever possible, and we thus obtain a series of linguistic correspondences which exhibit an identity of thought and expression in a striking manner. Lastly, for literary as well as for scientific reasons, the synonyms and opposites of each word are given. The following example may be given to show the working out of the above principles.


Ἐκ τοῦ μεταγ. ἐπιτ. ἠκβατίζει γενομένου ἠγατζάς καὶ περαιτέρω ἠβγατός κατ' ἀκτινομάθειαν γραμμάτων καθ' ἢ ἐγαλλώ ἐγάλλω- ἐγαλλώ-γαλλώ. Ἡπ. Ἐλατηρ. ἐν Ἐπιστ. Ἐπιστ. Παντ. 6 (1909/10) 92 κε' ὁ τόπος ἠβγατίζω δὴ παρὰ Σωιλέκι. Γραιφαὶ καὶ Στίχοι στ. 127 (Θ. Βαγινάς κ.ά.) ὁ μονακτὸς ὁ λαξιστὴς πιστεύει εἰ ἠβγατίζω. Ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ἠβγατίζω τὸ ἡμερήσια κατ' ἐπιθέσιον τοῦ ὁς πρὸς μιὰ συμ. συνο. ἦμπτατιζων.

(Α) Ἀστ. (1) Αδάναμου, πληθύνομαι, συνήθος ἐπὶ προσφάν καὶ; Τὸ μὲ τὸ κακὸ ἠβγατίζει πολὺ ἢ τὸ βρασμόν. Τὸ φιλεῖ ἠβγατίζει. Ἀλαξί- τεε τὸ φαντα ἔμμε άνθρωπον. Ἐν τῷ θρώνι τὸ κακὸ ἠβγατίζει Λακων. κ.ά. Τὸ φαντα ἠβγατίζει σήμερα Φιλιππού. Μὴ τὸ λαξι αὐτοῖς ἢ
Πάροιμο. Το καλό άλογο αργατάτει συνεχώς τον τύχη (οτι ο άνθρωπος δεις την ικανότητά του ευδοκιμία) Λακων. || Ἀσμ.

Πολλοί ἦταν τ' ἀναστάτων, τούτ ο νόημα το ήξερεί. Τού εἶναι τ' άργατία.

Πεπλωτόν. (Ἄγυ.) (β) Προσφέρω περισσότερα, ὑπερτιμώ, πλεονεκτώ, ἐν πλεονεκροσμῷ ντ. Β.Εὔβ. Ἰπτ. Θσ. Θράκ. Κρήτ. Λυκ. (Ἀγός.). Σαιμ. κ. α.; 'Ἄργατία καὶ τὸ πήρε Θράκ. Σ. ζυγ. πολὺ θοις άργατία γι' Σαμ. Σαλ. ἀπαντ. β. Κατάλ. "(2) Ἐπιστροφῶ, τελείωνο, ἀποπερατώνοι τι 'Ἀνδρ. Ζάκ. Θηρ. Κύδων, Νάξ. "(Ἀμφανθ. κ. α.) Σεφ. Χίος κ. α.; "Ἀνάλλα πίεσει τόν πλοῦτι καὶ ἄκους ν' ἄργατίσουμεν! (πρὸ τῆς ανάπτυξης τῆς ἡμέρας ἡ διακρίνει τὴν πλῆθος καὶ ἀκούει δὲν ἐφευρέσατοι;) 'Ἀπορ. Ἐργατίσατε τόν δυνάμεις αὐτόθε. Θα τ' ἄργατίσουμεν σήμερον τοὺς (οὓς ἂν ἀποπερατώσωμεν τὴν συγκομιδὴν τῶν σώκων) "Ἀνδρ. Ἡπταυτὸς μας ν' ἀποκράτη καὶ ἄργατίσατε (ἔγγυον δ' ἱππόσω πόρος) οὐκ ἂν τοῦ τελείωσάμενοι." Σεφ. "Εἰς, ἄργατία, κ' ἰπεραμένει Θηρ. Ἐργατίσατε ἐπεξεργασάμενοι δηλ. τὴν ἐργασίαν μας Χίος Κολώνα ὡς ἄργατίσης μάλα μάνα (αὐτίκα νὰ ἔλθῃ ταχέως τυποσύμμεσιν ή μὴ ἀποπερατώσας ἐργασίας τοῦ) αὐτόθ. Ἀγαθές τ' ἐρμής (ἐπιταλαβᾶς νὰ ἔλθητε) Ἀνδρ. Πρ. ἄργατίαν.
It also gives the true meaning of certain words that have either been wrongly explained or of uncertain significance.

We may now give a few of the more interesting words to be contained in the Lexicon, marking with an asterisk those which, although not handed down to us as such, are nevertheless to be regarded as part of the ancient language.

* σομαλιῶν (in the form γαλέωνa, Skopolos) = dålōn.
* ἀντερματιζομαι = I shake with cold.
* ἄνθρωπος = I give my daughter to a man (Pontos). This meaning of the word is not recorded in any text.
* ἀντισταλίγω (Imbros) = ἄνθρωπος (in the form ἄντηγος, Ainos).
* ἀντετίγων (in the form ἄντηγων, Ainos).
The common word is δραμα, drachma. In general use are the adj. ἄντηγος and the subst. ἄντηγης = ἵστορατία.
* ἀπόκτιστος (in the Mani form ἀπωτύπτος) = a man who steps out late. Only the verb ἀπωτυπτέαω is generally preserved.
* ἀποστίγων (in the Leukas form ποσίγω) = the staff left after corn has been sixed. The verb ἀποστίγω is generally preserved.
* ἀποκαρακίζω (Mani) = στέλλω εἰς κόρακας.
* ἀρτέβολος (in the Megiste form ἀρτέβολος) = the wooden shovel used to insert loaves into the oven.
* ἀστακόσπηρον (in the Selyvria form 'στακακόσπηρον) = not to catch lobsters.
* ἀφωνισία (Paros) = quickly.
* βούστροφος, τό (Khimarra, Palaia Arta) = a στέρνα of land. Lykophrōn, 1.438, has βούστροφος (γη).
* διαλανίδρισις (in the form διαδρίσιμα from Viano in Crete) = διαλοῦ. Only διαλοῦ has hitherto been known.
* δίφυς (in the Cypriot form διάφυς) = anything used as a counterweight to a burden.
* διαπόρος (in the Syme form διαπόροι) = narrow passage.
* δικλατός (Trebizond) = ὁ ὑπόλος, ὁ διαγόρος τῆς γνώμης.
* διλαβία (Rhodope) = tongs. In mediaeval glossaries the neuter form διλαβίον alone is found, and from Sphakia in Crete we have ἄλαβε.
* δίχα, and in Pontos ἄγα, = without.
* διώξος (Pontos) = with child. Generally preserved only with the meaning of two opinions, διήνωμος, διστάτος.
* ἡγακοῦς, τό (in the Samothrace form ἡγακαῖον) = ὁ ἡγακάριος πόδος. Only ἡγακάριος is generally preserved.
* ἤκαστηλίσσω (in the Siphnos form ἤκαστηλίσσω) = μένω ἄκαστεμος.
* δέσπολα (in the form έπελε in Mani and έπελος in Naxos) = from of old, τελεχεῖν.

* ἱματοκτόνος, τό (in the Kephallenia form ἱματοκτόνος) = star.
* ἱματική (Rhodes) = Early in the morning.
* ἱμαντίζω (in the Syme form ἱμαντίζω) = I remove the husk from corn, ἱμαντίζω τῶν ὕμαι τοῦ σιτοῦ.
* ἱππόδρομος (in the Epeiros form ἱππόδρομος) = the run a man takes before jumping. Until now only the adj. ἱππόδρομος = ἱπποδρομός has been recorded.
* ἰσομολόγος (in the Chlian form ἰσομολόγος) = the bee which leads the swarm.
* ἴσος (in the Pontic form from άμισος) = rope for tying animals.
* ἵσταμενος (in the Cypriot form σάρος) = counterpoise, for which the usual word is νάρα. The adj. ἵσταμενος = ἵστορατία is already known.
* καλλίβατον (Syme). A euphemism for a place difficult to pass over, δύσβατος τόπος.
* καρποθήκη (Syme) = place in which to store fruit.
* καταβάτας (Chalcidice) = winnowing fork, ἄφας. The word has hitherto been known only as meaning a man who gathers fruit.
* καταμάγγεια (Pontos) = the cloth used for weaving out an oven and clearing it from ashes. Hitherto only καταμάγγειο (with τo and not with e) has been recorded; the verb is καταμάγεω.
* κλαδοῦχος (Mani) = he who prunes.
* κομφύσω (in the Kythnos form κομφύσω) = I blame, μισοῦμαι.
* κοντατόραμα (in the Mani form κοντατόραμα) = at a late hour of the night.
* ὀρεινόκοκτης (Sphakia in Crete) = place where birds roost.
* προσκόριος (in the Cyprus form προσκόριος) = ox, whose horns are bent forwards.
* πρόσβαλλον (Cyprus) = the steel used to whet the edge of blunted agricultural tools.
* In this sense only προσβάλλω has hitherto been recorded.
* προσκόριον (in the Cypriot form προσκόριον) = the weapon's belt of leather or cloth.
* σφικά (Rhodes) = sheafs of fish in risers.
* συμπολη (in the Syme form συμπολη) = basket in which figs, ἐκτος, etc., are placed when they are gathered.
The material in the Lexicon will show that in many cases the information given us by mediaeval lexicographers and writers has been rejected or corrected quite erroneously, the words under suspicion having been, as is now shown, preserved in many parts of Greece. Of this the following words may be taken as examples:

Themistios ( Or. 2. 40 b) reports the adjective ἄνυπλήστος, with the meaning ἀπλήστος. When we find ἄνυπλησιος (= ἄνυπλήστος) in use in Euboeia with this same meaning ἀπλήστος, we see how wrong the Theaurus is in correcting the word in Themistios to ἄνυπλήστος.

In Hesychius we read ἄβυσσην τοῦ... ὑπερβάλλει, and in Suidas ἄβυσσην τοῦ... ὑπερβάλλει, ὑμέν, καὶ ὁ κατακόρω. The correctness of the tradition is shown by the fact that to-day the ὑπερβάλλει means ἄβυσσης. In the Peloponnese, for example, we hear such a phrase as: 'Ἀν θλῖθος ἄργα, σοῦ βρέκει τῷ ἄβυσσῃ, that is, in plenty.

The Theaurus suspects the word ἄνεργες, used in the Oneirokritika of Artemidoros (2. 28), and the new edition of Liddell and Scott explains the word by ἄνεργες, idleness, unemploymet, adding that it is a v.i. for ἀνεργεία. The passage in Artemidoros runs thus: ὦ ἐφι καὶ ὑπερτερεῖ καὶ ἄγκη καὶ ἄργηνις... ἐνθυμίαν καὶ ἄργηνις καὶ παραχρή καὶ ἀνεργείας ἀνεργείας αἱ ἀναταξίας. οἷως οἰκεῖ καὶ ἀνεργείας, and this is the meaning which should be given to the word in lexicons. The word is in Karpathos used actually to describe the confusion that there is in a hive of bees when the queen has been lost.

Hesychius has the entry μάγγωνα: φαρμακά [δίκτυο] γομήτα, but the word γόμα is not found in our lexicons, and Schmidt wrongly corrected it to γομέτα. But in the Peloponnese, in Krini and in Epeiros, μάγγωνα means loud cries (γομήτα) or noisy quarrels, and in Epeiros μαγγανή means I shout. Γόμα is therefore a right to a place in our lexicons.

So too the word στήριον is wrongly rejected. In Hesychius we read στήριον- ἱπο- Σελενος. The editor Schmidt proposed, but with some hesitation, the reading μητετηθέν- βασκαντος, and the Theaurus marked the word as οβεςειαν. But at the present day at Kissamos in Crete στήρι is the name of a very big kind of hawk. Hesychius is therefore correct and we should read the passage, στήριον (ἡ στήριον)- ἱπο- Σελενος.

Hesychius also gives ταρος, ταχύ, and the word ταρος- ταχός should be in our lexicons. There is no necessity to follow Schmidt in correcting το ταρος to (ὁ)ταρον, because we now know that in Crete and at Lasta in Gortynia ταρος is at present used of wind in the meaning of ταχος.8

The modern Greeks have necessarily a closer connexion with the Byzantine than with the ancient Greek world. The number of Byzantine words still preserved is, in fact, very great, and the help afforded by the full resources of Modern Greek to the understanding of Byzantine words, hitherto quite unexplained or explained quite wrongly, can hardly be overrated.3 In editing this Modern Greek Lexicon one becomes aware at every step of the use of Modern Greek for understanding the Byzantine, and conversely how much a knowledge of the Byzantine helps the study of the contemporary language. The root meaning of many modern words is to be discovered only from their Byzantine use, and Byzantine Greek alone provides the clue to many modern phonetic, formal, and semantic problems. Each of the two lexicons, the Modern and the Byzantine, forms a most necessary complement to the other.

7 See also the notes on these corrections contributed by B. Phavia, S. Deinakis and myself to Αθηνα, ΙΧΧΧΙΙΠ, p. 67, and to the Αθηναγορακον Ἀρχον, ΙΙ, pp. 95, 96, 148.
8 Of this the reader will find many examples in the paper Παρατηρήσεις καὶ δημάρχατι ἢν το Συλλαβάς γλυκοφόρος τοῦ Du Cange, which I published in Αθηνα, XLIΠ, pp. 34-55.
For these reasons the Greeks are anxious to see a complete lexicon of the Byzantine texts, to answer to the requirements of modern scholarship. The feeling in this matter expressed so excellently at the Second International Byzantine Congress, held at Belgrade, by the distinguished linguistic scholar Paul Kretschmer, was therefore regarded as very timely. His proposal was that the Academies should collaborate in producing such a lexicon, above all in alliance with the Russian Academy, in connexion with which the late Theodore Uspenski and the Russian Byzantinologists had already made certain preliminary studies with a view to a fresh edition of the Greek Glossary of Du Cange. This opportune and very well argued proposal met with the universal approval of the members, and the philological section appointed a committee of five to discuss the project: these were Paul Kretschmer, the late August Heisenberg, Hubert Pernot, Eugen Darko, and myself. The deliberations took a favourable course, and the Academy of Athens was persuaded to take the initiative in the publication of a complete lexicon of the Byzantine period. This resolution was announced in a speech on the subject by George Hatzidakis at a full meeting of the Third International Byzantine Congress, held at Athens. But at the last moment those who were responsible hesitated to proceed, in view of the impossibility of coping scientifically with so heavy a task; the undertaking was thus postponed. But for all that the Academy of Athens, by way of taking a first preliminary step, resolved to publish a lexicon of proper names, both of persons and of places, occurring in books and documents from the Fall of Constantinople to the year 1800. They further resolved to collect from these same sources the linguistic material that will contribute towards the future construction of a lexicon. The Academy also founded about two years ago a special Archive for this purpose, with its scriptorium in the Academy building, in which the Lexicon of the Modern Greek Language is also housed. My readers, and especially those concerned with the study and publication of mediaeval texts, can imagine how detrimental this postponement has been to our researches. At a time when Byzantine studies are being widely prosecuted and fresh texts constantly coming to light, the publication of a complete Byzantine lexicon is a pressing necessity. But in any case the Academy of Athens, by its undertaking in 1926 the supervision and publication of a Lexicon of Modern Greek, and by establishing two years ago this mediaeval Archive, two tasks both to the credit of scholarship in Greece, will undoubtedly render great services to students of Greek letters, and give a fresh impulse to Byzantine and Modern Greek studies.

Phaidon Koukoules.²

² This article has been written expressly for the Journal of Hellenic Studies by Professor Phaidon Koukoules, now Professor of the Study of Byzantine Private and Public Life in the University of Athens, and until a year ago the Editor-in-Chief of the Lexicon. For the translation I alone am responsible.
—R. M. Dawkins.
COLONEL T. M. CROWDER'S TRAVEL JOURNALS

All members of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, about half a century ago, were acquainted with a row of little brown volumes which stood in the Bursar's study: they contained the records of his travels in most parts of Europe and the Near East, and anyone who thought of going abroad to those regions or was interested in their geography naturally betook himself to the Fellows' Buildings with any problems that presented themselves. Then the appropriate volume was brought out, and it was rarely that information was not forthcoming: wherefore the collection was known in College as the Book of Jasher.

Colonel Crowder was Bursar of Corpus from 1874 to 1892, and after his death in the latter year his journals were presented to the College by his nephew, Sir Matthew Dodsworth. They are now in the strong-room among the College MSS., and there is so much valuable information contained in them that it seems desirable to place their existence on record and to give some idea of their scope and character. Their shelf-numbers are C 6. 4–7, A 6. 1–22: twenty-two journeys in all are described, but only eight of these were in Hellenic lands, and attention will be confined to these eight.

The first journey was in 1853: starting from Paris on Jan. 22, Col. Crowder made his way down through Italy and crossed from Naples to Palermo: he spent a month in Sicily, visiting Alcamo, Trapani, Marsala, Castel Vetrano, Sciacca, Girgenti, Palma, Terranova, Caltagirone, Lentini, Syracuse, Catania, Nicolosi, Giardini, and Messina: thence he went by way of Malta and Syra to Athens, which he reached on April 9. From April 14 to May 9 he toured the Morea: on May 14 he left Athens again and travelled through Thessaly, leaving Volo for Salonica on May 25: four days were spent in Chalcidike and eight in Athos: then he crossed Thessaly and Epirus to Corfu, and made his way back to Athens through Boeotia: finally quitting Athens on July 13, he went to Constantinople and spent about six weeks there before returning home through Austria.

In the next year, 1854, he went to Egypt in November and up the Nile to the Second Cataract, returning to Cairo and then travelling by Suez, Mt. Sinai, Akaba, and Petra to Jerusalem: he traversed Palestine to Damascus and Baalbek, and spent the summer of 1855 in a cottage on the Lebanon: after a visit to Palmyra he took steamer from
Beyrouth to Constantinople, went up to the Crimea, and returned through Constantinople, Athens, and Corfu.

The next trip was a briefer one: he arrived at Constantinople on July 12, 1861, and visited Brusa, Olympus, the Dardanelles, Mount Ida, Gallipoli, Cavalla, Athos, Salonica, Monastir, Ochrida, Argyrocastro, Butrinto, and Corfu, which he left on Oct. 9.

In 1865 his route took him through Macedonia in the opposite direction: leaving Trieste on July 11, he went down the Dalmatian coast to Cattaro and crossed by Cetinje, Scodra, Prisrend, Uskub, and the Vardar valley to Salonica, and then saw Olympus, Ossa, and Pelion on his way to Volo and Athens.

His first visit to the Greek islands was in 1874: he reached Athens on March 12, and five days later took boat for Syra, Delos, and Tenos: then he had eight days in Crete, and called at several islands on his way back to Syra and Piraeus, whence he went home through Corinth, Patras, and Brindisi.

In 1879 he went further afield, to Armenia: starting from Samsun he made his way by Ladik, Asias, Boghazkoi, and Yuzgat to Kaisarieh: thence he went through Sivas and Kharpur to Bitlis, and by Van and Erzerum to Trebizond.

He renewed his acquaintance with the Peloponnesus in 1882, when he left Athens on Sept. 31, and went through Corinth and Argos to Sparta: then from Kalamata he travelled north through Karytena and Pyrgos to Patras. On this journey he paid special attention to mediaeval remains.

His last journey in Greek lands was in 1886, when he crossed at the end of March from Athens to Mytilene and visited Ionia: his route included Chios, Smyrna, Ephesus, Samos, and Patmos, and the last ten days were spent in Rhodes.

All the later journeys were made in company with the Rev. H. F. Tozer, and to some extent the material in Col. Crowder's diaries has already been published in Mr. Tozer's books. But the fellow-travellers looked at things from different points of view, and it is interesting to compare their accounts and to see how one supplements the other. A few excerpts from the journals will give the best idea of their general nature.


Fri: 29. These hovels [i.e. the huts on Delos] are built partly of old materials with contracting doorways in the Ionic or Egyptian style, and without appears the detached drum of a column like an altar. There are no doors, and within chaff and rotten straw scattered over the ground hold fleas plentifully.

Excepting in the dip hard by us, the island is very rugged and bestrewn with granite. There is much lentisk amongst these rocks and many beautiful wild flowers, particularly anemones of various colours, and in size much larger than ours. Mt. Cycnthus rising about at an even distance between N. and S. of the island, it is upon its W. slope and in the N. half of the isle that such remains of antiquity as exist are to be found. There are literally few stones standing one upon the other excepting in the theatre, which is clearly visible upon the slope just mentioned, and where in some parts of the N. wall as many as 14 horizontal courses remain, although they are by no means regular and the ends of the blocks are often cut diagonally instead of perpendicularly. The interior arrangement of the seats is visible although very ruinous, and below the proscenium appear vaults. This and the public buildings generally
upon the island were of Parian marble, which with all due allowance for human destructive agency does not appear to stand weather as well as the stone of Pentelicus.

[A 6. 14; p. 102. July 29th, 1879.]

Fig. 2.


6.0 Thurs: 14. We effected an earlier start than usual, and entered upon scenery of a far superior character to the bare uplands we have lately traversed, our day's march being mostly through a wild vale with considerable bush vegetation. The course pursued was generally E. of S.E., and, after rising a slight ridge on leaving the village, we descended at once to a valley watered by a winding stream named Yelani Su, or the snake-water. From this we turned away up the left bank of a tributary torrent, with much shaly
brown iron-stone in the cliffs and slopes, and then descended gradually upon a small river flowing from the N. It was a picturesque open spot with enclosing heights, and the river we crossed by a large-arched bridge where we found increasing vegetation.

The stream-bed was full of willow and tamarisk, and this abundance of tamarisk-bushes and briars on the mountain slopes formed a most pleasing relief for our parched eyes as we followed the course of this same brook during the rest of the day. The water finds its way to the Murad below the junction of the two arms, but as will be seen we left its course for higher ground at Hekimkhan. The village of Hassan Djelebi lay out of our way to the left, and accordingly turning from the track that led thither in a S.E. direction we followed the stream and telegraph wire southwards into a narrow gorge. With many bends the vale gradually led us into the original S.E. line, the water of the stream thin but very clear, the rocks dark and shaly and sometimes conglomerate, although the general character of the district is limestone. We were anxiously looking out for a khan or a spring, but no such luxury as gushing water was to be found amidst these igneous-looking cliffs. We passed a halted caravan on a patch of pasture near the river-side, wild independent wanderers who reminded me much of Arabs, their spears fixed in the ground, themselves reposing or sauntering near their grazing horses. Not far beyond we were compelled to halt by the cravings of hunger, and beside the stream beneath the shade of overhanging willow-bushes we rested on a somewhat moist bank (3910 ft.) and again found the pocket filter useful when slaking our thirst from an open running rivulet. In these wild and little inhabited regions it is difficult to obtain definite names for localities. Our host at Hekimkhan called the stream that we were following Chirzeh and the valley Karagasik.

In the afternoon the rocks became extremely picturesque, varied by hillocks of many colours. The foliage also slightly increased and we skirted gardens of herbs, the result of irrigation. The course was a little more S. and we met with many striking features. At one time on the left side of the valley we crossed a huge shoulder of cliff by a rugged track gazing down on the main stream immediately below us and to our left over a picturesque depression with a tributary crossed by a distant bridge. Again we skirted the foot of a small Lurlei-like precipice rising sheer from the river-side. At length near what appeared to be the mouth of the vale there appeared a detached mass of rock, and here we ascended E. gradually on to a ridge intervening between the valley and our night's quarters. Below us to the left there lay a very verdant dip with many gardens and much irrigation.

As we advanced over the high ground S.E. there suddenly opened out before us the considerable village of Hekimkhan, with intervening grey arid undulations, and built upon the slope of a dazzling bare ridge at the foot of a hill of striking pyramidal form.
A few minutes were spent in a hasty sketch of this fine position, and then jogging onwards I caught up our party just settling down in a house a little aside from the main village.

[Kaliani to Muria Khan. September 1882. A 6. 18, p. 245.]

Fri: 22. Upon resuming our march this morning we found ourselves high up on the left slopes of the deep wide vale of the Ruplia, as the Ladon now is called, an expanse green with much Indian
corn, the view northwards bounded by the dark uninteresting mass of Erymanthus, the modern Olenos. In the opposite direction, however, beyond the Alpheius towards Andritzena, the outline of the mountains was more broken and picturesque. Our course along the slopes N.W. by a good path led through many well-grown oaks as we gradually descended towards and then converged with the river (450), where upon a wide sandy and shingly bed we found in two streams a greater bulk of water than we had yet seen in the Morea. There was much plane bush, and here in the hot low regions we again meet with the usual foliage, agnus-castus and olives. Having crossed by a ford we halted a little above the bank beneath a magnificent plane overshadowing an excellent fountain. Our ride continued by an ascent into the forest intervening between the Rupha and the Doana, the latter the ancient Erymanthus known by one and the same name as the lofty mountain whence it derives its source. These are the principal tributaries of the Alpheius, and the Rupha contributes such a copious stream that in modern days its name has been conferred upon the river of Olympia from the confluence of its waters to the sea. In the forest on which now we entered we found some of the finest vegetation in Greece, principally ilex, the ordinary oak, and much heath. The scenery much reminded us of Euboea. After descending to the Doana, we crossed the river-bed, some quarter of a mile wide, extending between the steep wooded banks and also varied by much small plane and heath. Again mounting into the forest we rode beneath the shade of many vivid green pines with the same leafage as the isthmian but far more lofty. There was an abundance of murmuring streamlets before we emerged out on to a mere heather level where the forest as in North America had been destroyed by fire. So past the village of Lykoures, where the scene was enlivened by a number of very dirty dragoons halting for refreshment, and now we soon obtained our first view of the main Alpheius stream winding away in the distance to the W. in a picturesque tortuous course. Through a mud-built poverty-stricken village we descended to the river bank (250), but here no oleanders gladdened our eyes. The Alpheius valley, after all, excepting for its associations with Olympia is not very admirable. It is too damp, close, and malarious, the friable soil of clay, the river bed too big for its stream, the neighbourhood an expanse of irrigated Indian corn, and the gentle verdant enclosing hills not specially attractive. We stopped for the night at the Khan of Muria, some distance from the right bank and upon a slight elevation, where we had an airy and not uncomfortable lodging, the large upper storey being open to front and rear and very clean.

As may be seen from the second of these extracts, Colonel Crowder made sketches of the country through which he passed, and many of the sketches are in the journals, adding considerably to their interest and
value. But the written account in itself is vivid, and as the record of the experiences of a keen observer is worth study by anyone who desires to know what the Hellenic lands were like in the second half of the last century.

J. G. Milne.

Fig. 6.
A FORGOTTEN FACTOR OF GREEK NAVAL STRATEGY

It is a common-place of most scholars, followed enthusiastically by writers of text-books, that Greek sailors did not like the sea; they went from island to island, or crept along the coast. Rarely did they leave the sight of land, and then only the most venturesome; and they did not sail by night. I don’t know that I have seen it stated in so many words, but it is implied that the close relations between Miletus and Sybaris were maintained by voyages across the Aegean to Corinth (e.g.: ‘Corinth becomes the centre of exchange with Italy: it pays better to break cargo at the isthmus than to sail round the stormy coasts of the Peloponnese’¹), thence (but in Milesian or foreign ships?) through the gulf, up the north-west coast to Corcyra, hurriedly and anxiously across to Otranto, then, following every curve of the coast, past Tarentum and Metapontum, to their goal. If goods must go further, as so many did to Etruria, they took another isthmus-route overland to Lauis or Scidrus, thence along the coast again, even as far as Massalia and Emporiae. I was correcting an examination paper the other day in which candidates were asked to mark trade-routes on a map: some of them marked a route from Piraicus to Cyrene via Rhodes, Phaselis, the Syrian coasts and Egypt, and another via Corinth and the coast route to Sicily, to Selinus, Carthage, and the Syrtes; the sea-route from Athens to the Hellespont was shewn as by the Euripus, the Thessalian coast, every curve of the Chalcidic peninsula, and the coast of Thrace. I did not know whether to deduct marks; for this is certainly what they are taught. Yet it clearly does not give the whole picture of Greek marine commerce. If it did, Corinth, Sicyon and Corcyra would soon have had a monopoly of trade with the west; but in fact Chalceis and Eretria, Miletus, Samos, Phocaea, later Athens and Rhodes, did as much; and it is certain that they were none of them dependent on Corinth for the privilege. Moreover, further west, Massalia was founded, not by Cumae or Velia or Syracuse, as would be expected on the isthmus-theory, but from Phocaea; and trade was maintained by the Straits of Messene and Corsica. Samos traded direct with Spain; and, we may be sure, their vessels did not hug the coast of Africa, dependent on the good-will of the Carthaginians. If we look at recorded cases, we can see that trading vessels sailed direct from Egypt to Rhodes and Athens, and from Sicily to Athens:² on the former voyage vessels did not necessarily put in at Rhodes between

¹ Rostovtzeff, History of the Ancient World, I, p. 201.
² Thucydides regarded the isthmus as a land-bridge between North Greece and the Peloponnese, as we do, not between two seas; see ηλισ τοι το αλλο τα άλλο τα ήν ήν τοι ουδεν ουδεν τοι φοινοι ουδεν, τοι Πελοποννησια, δια τοι ένθαντα, ηλισ τοι τοι τοι ένθαντα, ηλισ τοι τοι ουδεν ουδεν, τοι 
³ Dem. LVI, XXXII.
A FORGOTTEN FACTOR OF GREEK NAVAL STRATEGY

Egypt and Piraeus; and in the Zenothemis case we read that a voyage was begun direct from Syracuse to Piraeus, and when two or three days out at sea, at night-time, the ship sank (scuttled, it was alleged), and the crew managed to reach Cephallenia in the λευκός. When Herodotus gives the length and breadth of the Euxine, though inaccurately, the correct inference is that the Greeks sailed, when necessary, direct from Byzantium or Sinope to Tauris, from Odessus to Phasis; and by night as well as by day. We can be certain that Milesian vessels did in fact sail to Sybaris round the stormy south coast of the Peloponnese, and across the Ionian sea; that Corinth and Athens traded direct with Etruria, not via Sybaris, and that Phocaean vessels were to be seen in Massalia, and Massaliots in the East.

On the other hand, the Athenian fleet on its way to Syracuse did sail first to Corcyra and hugged the shores of Italy; the fleet to Egypt touched at Cyprus and perhaps at Phaselis, as well as at Rhodes; and the fighting in Phoenicia (Erechtheid inscription) may have been in the course of sailing along the coast towards Egypt. What was the reason for this variety in practice? It was due to a radical difference between warships and merchantmen; and when this has been analysed we shall be in a position to understand as well one of the chief factors in Greek naval strategy. The merchantman was built to carry heavy loads, and went under sail. Its crew were comparatively few in number, we do not know how many for any class of ship, and in addition to the crew there were usually the cargo-owner, the master and owner of the ship, and the ship's captain, with, presumably, their personal servants. In a ship under sail, carrying heavy cargo, it was easy to carry as well food and water for all persons on board for many days. A journey from Athens, Miletus or Rhodes to S. Italy and Sicily, without a break for revictualling, was possible enough; or from Athens and Rhodes to Egypt, Cyrene to Gytheum or Piraeus, Byzantium to Phasis; sailing both night and day. Contrast the conditions of the trireme: it was propelled by oars. Men (especially, if you like, free men) cannot row more than a few hours continuously, nor more than a certain number in every twenty-four, in ordinary circumstances (a forced journey, like that of the ship that took the second decree to Mytilene, gives the extreme of endurance). Secondly, the trireme, unlike the galleys of Roman and later times, was built for speed, as lightly as possible and to carry as few passengers as possible; the development of naval tactics by Athens in the fifth century increased this tendency: there were forty 'passengers' plus the officers in the Chian ships at Lade; in the later

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* Dem. LVI. 9.
* Dem. XXXII. 5-8. The agreement cited in XXXV. 10-12 is for a voyage from Piraeus to Menidle or Scione and the Bosphorus, thence by the west coast to Berytusines, and a return direct to Piraeus.
* IV. 86.
* Thuc. II. 97 also shows that night voyaging was common. But it is unnecessary to multiply instances; the fact that some knowledge of the stars was necessary for the skilled seaman is sufficient proof. It is only necessary to stress the fact. And J.H.S.—VOL. LIII.

that trailing by sea in winter was avoided if possible was due, not so much to the fear of bad weather, as to the difficulty of sailing on cloudy nights, and even cloudy days, with no stars or sun as guide, and no compass.
* All of these 'passengers' and the crew could, in case of shipwreck, take to the ship's one λευκός (Dem. XXXII). Ordinary passengers, however, sometimes had little chance of safety: Dem. XXXIV. 10, when thirty were drowned, the master and the crew saved.

C
Athenian vessels only ten and the officers, and the ships were even lighter built. But the whole number of persons on board was round about 200; for so many it was impossible to carry more than at most a day or two’s supply of food \(^8\) and, especially, of water (rowing in the Mediterranean summer is thirsty work, however abstemious the Greeks were); it was at all times desirable to carry as little deadweight as possible. There was not normally room for sleeping on board (contrast Thuc. III. 49. 3), perhaps no means of cooking for the whole crew. All this meant that on an ordinary journey the trireme would not travel for more than twelve hours a day at most, and must if possible put in to land once every twenty-four hours to renew its supply of food and water (of the latter, at least), to give the rowers proper rest and sleep, and to cook a meal.\(^9\) That is why the triremes, unlike the merchantmen, hugged the coast. Troopships and horse-transports suffered from similar limitations. Even when, as on the Syracusan expedition, special ships with a corn-supply and bakers accompanied the fleet (Thuc. VI. 44. 1), a landing would be necessary for the baking if the food was to be consumed en route; actually it was intended as an emergency supply once the armament reached Sicily.

This involved yet another condition in war-time, that the shore, into which they were compelled so frequently to put, should be friendly or benevolently neutral, or at least not occupied by the enemy. Consider Thucydides’ description of the voyage to Sicily, remembering that the larger the armament the greater the difficulty of finding food: the whole armament is collected and reviewed at allied Corecyra, and divided into three divisions, ἵνα μὴ ἠμώνες ἀπορώσαι ὑδάτων καὶ λιμένων καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐν ταῖς καταγωγαῖς, πρὸς τὲ τὰλα ἐκυκρόµενοι... ἀδικολ. They sailed across to C. Otranto, then along the Italian coast, τῶν μὲν πόλεων οὗ ἐξευδέλεον αὐτοῦς ἄγοράς οὐδὲ ἀπείτε, ὑδάτι δὲ καὶ ὕδρον, Τάραντος δὲ καὶ Λακράντιοι οὐδὲ τούτοις, ἐσοὶ ἀφύκων ἑπὶ Ρήγην τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀκορώτηριον, καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἥδη ἠθροῖσοντο, καὶ ἔξω τῆς πόλεως, ὡς αὐτοῦς ἦσοι οὐκ ἐθάντο, στρατόπεδον τὸ κατασκευάζοντο ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερῷ, οὗ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἄγοράν παρέδοχον, καὶ τὰς νοῦς ἀνέλυσαντες ἤγιορσαν. Such were the difficulties of a naval expedition abroad: they were able in places to land for water (the prime necessity) and to anchor for rest; some cities would not allow even this; the most friendly allowed them to land and set up a camp, and from there to buy food; an ally would have offered entry into the town as well with all the facilities for lodging and purchase. Similarly, Apollodorus son of Pasion doubtless exaggerated the dangers and discomforts that he had so patriotically undergone; but he correctly describes the conditions of naval warfare, when he says that, the shore being hostile, his ship could not put in for the evening meal, and his men went supperless and sleepless the whole night.\(^{10}\)

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\(^8\) Three days’ supply just before a battle was taken in by the Corinthians: Thuc. I. 48. 1.

\(^9\) See in particular Xen. Hell. VI. 2. 27–30; Iphicrates’ expedition round the Peloponnesian; keeping in mind that Xenophon was a landman.

For the importance of the water-supply for all ships, see Stadiumus Maris Graci (Geogr. Gr. Min. I. 427 ff.), which gives directions where water was to be found; Plut. Quaest. Gr. 34; and Athen. V. 208A; all quoted by Cary and Warmington, Ancient Explorers, 6–8.

\(^{10}\) Dem. L. (i., Polyb.), 22.
That is to say, a Greek fleet had an extremely narrow range of action; it must be within easy reach, a few hours’ journey, of a suitable friendly shore—a shore that is, that has not only an abundance of food and water, especially the latter, but on which a regular encampment can be made, where men can land, cook, sleep, and embark again at any time. A fleet is, of course, always to some extent tied to its base; no fleet, however strong at sea, can live long without the land; it must be able from time to time to renew supplies of food and, now, fuel, and to do repairs; but in the days of the great sailing-ships and in modern times, a fleet can be at sea for days and cover great distances, pursuing or avoiding the enemy. A Greek fleet of triremes had every day, so to speak, to have a base of some kind within easy reach. On a distant expedition, it was almost more dependent on a friendly shore than an army on a friendly country: land troops can more easily forage for themselves; the only advantage to the fleet being that it could, within limits, choose its own place for landing. The trireme, in fact, was not built for the open sea. It was built for speed, therefore as lightly as possible, but for speed in manœuvre, in actual battle, not for voyaging; for tactics, that is, not for strategy. Hence, for a battle, even tackle was left on shore, as at Plenmyrion and Aegospotami. Conditions of supply making it anyhow impossible for the ships to be long away from shore, the naval architects concentrated all their skill in building light vessels that could be easily handled in battle, but were unfit, comparatively, for the open sea. Rowing is in any case not a reasonable method of travel by sea. Tarn is right in saying a trireme was more like ‘a glorified racing eight’ than a ship;11 and racing eights are not built for voyages.

This characteristic of the trireme, the unsuitability of its build for the sea, and its dependence on the land for almost daily supplies, has been noted by scholars who have given special attention to the subject, by Tarn12 and Köster,13 for example, though their accounts have not received sufficient recognition from historians; and the latter has shown the distinction between the Greek merchant vessel and the trireme noted above.14 But the proper application of the principle to Greek naval strategy has, as far as I know, been missed. Take first the Persian War. The Greeks gave up the idea of holding the pass of Tempe, we are told, because it could be turned: certainly an insufficient excuse for the retreat. The Greek army, in full force, could have held all the passes, certainly long enough to have secured the loyalty of Thessaly. But for the navy conditions were different. It must be there if it was to prevent the Persian fleet sailing south and capturing passes in the rear of the Greek army; but there was scarcely a

11 Hellenistic Military and Naval Developments, 1939, p. 124.
13 Das Antike Seewesen, Berlin, 1923, and in Kromayer u. Veith, Historien u. Kriegsfuehrung, Munich, 1928 (in Muller’s Handbuch). Indeed both Koester and Tarn somewhat exaggerate the unseaworthiness of the trireme, its helplessness in bad weather, for example. We seldom hear of Athenian fleets destroyed by storm; after Arginusae the undamaged vessels survived well enough.
14 Sestanov, pp. 186–7. He also (p. 143) has much of interest about Greek sailing, pointing out, as is unfortunately still necessary, that it is not true that they could only sail with a following wind. See also p. 81, on the Homeric sailor.
tenable position for it. Between the mouth of the Peneus and C. Sepias (or whatever was the S.E. point of Magnesia), the whole line of the eastern shore of Ossa, Pelion and Magnesia is inhospitable to ships, exposed to the N.E. winds, and offering no landing anywhere for a large number of men, and though well supplied with water, very ill supplied with food; the land round the mouth of the Peneus itself offers a sandy shore and easy landing and room for encampment, but there was no town there, and supplies would have had to come through Tempe; Persian land troops, coming down by the E. coast, E. and then S. of Olympus, would have cut off the fleet from its supplies and from contact with the army, even without forcing the pass of Tempe. If we add to this the tactical position, that the Greek fleet would have been compelled to engage the enemy in the open waters, where their slower speed and inferior numbers would have exposed them to the greatest disadvantage, and that, in the event of defeat, they had no retreat but to their base at the Peneus mouth, and would have been entirely cut off, we can see why the Greek commanders chose rather to lose Thessaly than risk the whole cause with so little prospect of victory, and when defeat would have been decisive.

At Artemium the whole position was superior: tactically, because they could fight in more enclosed waters, and strategically, because Euboea formed a good base, and the N. coast good landing ground, and they could, in case of need, retreat down the Atalanta channel to Chalcis or further, provided that the shores were friendly. It is said often enough that after the fall of Thermopylae the fleet retreated as well because to remain N. of Euboea was useless; but this is only half the truth: it retreated because its position would have become untenable. With Xerxes in possession of the coast of Opuntian Locris, and then of Chalcis and Euboea, the fleet at Artemium was as much cut off from its base as if it had been a land force; or, at least, it would have been compelled to sail out eastwards, towards the open sea and across the Persian front, and then down the barren east coast of Euboea. The fleet must be near its base; with the Persians occupying on land first Locris, then Boeotia and Attica, it was forced back to Salamis or the Isthmus. Similarly on the Persian side: it is wrong to argue with, for example, Wace, that Aphetae cannot have been within the Gulf of Pagasae or at its entrance, because 'if the Persians could enter the Gulf, they would have passed the Greeks at Artemium and have outflanked Leonidas at Thermopylae.' They could not do that unless

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15 The Greek fleet might, as a matter of fact, have been stationed at Artemium with the army in Thessaly, if it could have been sure of holding the enemy fleet; for the latter could do nothing between Tempe and the Gulf of Pagasae to hamper the Greek army. But in the event of defeat, the army would have been lost.

16 Although all good writers since Grote have recognised the technical superiority of the Persian ships, it is too often forgotten, and needs emphasising once more. The position at Artemium, and still more at Salamis, was the same as in the concluding battles of the Syracusan expedition: the better ships and seamen were at a disadvantage in narrow waters.

17 Köster, Sestier, p. 211, and in Kromayer-Verdi, p. 167, rightly calls the Greek position unhaltbar after the fall of Thermopylae, but without explaining why. Kromayer (ibid., p. 149) followed the usual view in calling it gegenstandlos, as did Grote (iv. p. 170). Köster, Sestier, p. 140, touches on strategy as affected by the build of the trireme, but misses the main point.

18 'Topography of Pelion, etc.,' JHS. 1906, p. 146.
at the same time they had secured the shore behind Themistocles and Leonidas, as later they might have landed at Argos to turn the position at the Isthmus, if Argos was really friendly. Otherwise they might have as easily outflanked the Greeks by sailing down the east coast of Euboea. But the Persian army and fleet moved together even more for the sake of the latter than the former.

I am not supposing that this explains all the difficulties in the story of the Artemision-Thermopylae fighting. These consist in the action of the Phocians, and the fact that a Spartan king was sent to guard the passes with a considerable, yet manifestly inadequate, force. There are two passes by which Central Greece can be reached from the Spercheios valley, the one by Thermopylae and Elatea, the other in a southerly direction (as the railway and a road in modern times) towards Doris and the western end of the Phocian plain, and thence by Amphissa to Delphi. This latter route appears to have been of quite secondary importance, in both Greek and Roman times (note that, if Herodotus is right, the Phocian defence against Thessalian inroads is at Thermopylae); but it must have been known, and in all probability the 'flight' of the Phocians before Hydarnes was nothing more than a retreat of outposts and a concentration to defend it, under the mistaken impression that it was here that the Persian turning movement was to be attempted. By the time the enemy was through Thermopylae and on the road to Elatea the Phocians were cut off from their allies and surrendered. But the numbers at Thermopylae, considerable but insufficient, are unexplained. It may be that a bad blunder was committed, and it was thought the force would be sufficient. It may be, as Kromayer supposes, that the Greeks never intended anything but a delaying action (as they had intended at Tempe too), to hold the Persians while the defence at the Isthmus was completed, and that everything except the cutting-off of Leonidas and some of his troops went according to plan.  

It may be that the boundless optimism and energy of Themistocles had persuaded them that a decisive victory could be obtained at sea, if Thermopylae were held for but a short time, and therefore the whole fleet was put into action, though only small land-forces. But it seems more probable that Herodotus' account is near the truth, that the mistake was due to dissension among the allies, some being for action at Thermopylae, others for the Isthmus. We are familiar enough with instances, at all periods of history, of disputes within governments as to whether an expedition shall be sent—some vehemently in favour, others as strongly against, with the result that a
compromise is reached and the expedition starts, but an inadequate one. (Just as, I imagine, after fierce debate among the directors of our railway companies, it was decided that fresh bread should be served in restaurant-cars, provided that there be not enough of it.) Even so, it is difficult to understand the absence of any Athenian force at Thermopylae. A large proportion of their men were at sea, much larger than in any subsequent campaign; but not all of them; and no one can accuse them of lack of enthusiasm. Perhaps Themistocles persuaded his countrymen to concentrate all their energies on the fleet, and would not risk his land-forces on so inadequately-found an expedition as that to Thermopylae.

However that may be, Xerxes occupied Phocis, Boeotia, Attica. Then, and not till then, when the coast was in friendly hands, could the Persian fleet sail round and be ready to engage the Greeks at Salamis; without Phaleron as a new base they would have been helpless. Once there the question was, whose food-supply would last the longer? The large Persian host, in a foreign country, with an immense line of communications, now in a land not rich in foodstuffs and probably in part denuded of what it had, must have been in difficulties. But how much more serious the position of the Greeks! The whole allied fleet within the straits of Salamis, the Athenian land-forces and large numbers of refugee non-combatants on the island, and all dependent, once the enemy chose to block the entrances to the bay, on the food-supply of a barren island and what the Athenians had managed to bring with them from Attica. It must have been only a matter of days before they would have been compelled to surrender, or make their way out into the open sea where the Persians would have all the advantage in the fighting. No wonder the majority of the allied commanders were for retreat to the Isthmus; no wonder they urged against Themistocles the soldier’s plea that military considerations were being sacrificed to political (not that political considerations were to be ignored: the Athenian and Aeginetan sailors might have suffered in morale if their families were in the hands of the enemy). Themistocles was risking everything for the sake of the tactical advantage of the straits. Artemisium had persuaded him that the Greeks could win if they fought in those narrow waters, and only so; but the advantage was of no value if the Persians refused to attack. By giving false information, he induced them first to divide their forces, then to enter the straits. Why they did so, whether from over-confidence, or because the difficulties of supply were much more serious than we are told, because they could not wait for the Greeks either to surrender or attack, we shall never know. The event justified Themistocles. But it was a desperate gamble; and we can only be astonished at the man who, by his insistence and energy, the force of his personality, could impose his will on his colleagues, when all the military arguments but one were against him.

To get back to my immediate subject, the limitations of the trireme, its dependence on nearby land, and the consequences of this. We can see more clearly how important for Athens in the Peloponnesian War was the

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22 A. W. GOMME

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29 Herodotus had heard something of this: VIII. 68. 7.
neutrality or friendship of Argos, and the possession of Cythera and Pylos: an expedition round the Peloponnese, communication with Naupactus, became comparatively easy. We can see why, to support the attack on Pylos, the Spartans landed troops on Sphacteria, ἀφομοιοὶ μὲν ἑκκύκλησι τὸν τῆλευτα σφῖτοι ποιῶνται: without the island the Athenians had no good base, Zacynthus being much too far off for triremes; and we know what difficulties, even after their complete victory over the Spartan fleet, the Athenians experienced in the blockade through having no friendly shore near at hand. We can understand too why neither Demosthenes’ colleagues nor the Spartan authorities at first attached any great importance to the capture of Pylos: it was a difficult place for the Athenians to hold, when it had to be supplied by sea. (Contrast our position at Gibraltar, connected with England by sailing-ships or steamships.) Similarly, Sicily, even if the expedition had succeeded, could scarcely have been held by Athens: not only because Athens had not enough soldiers nor administrators (especially the latter), but because the line of communications was too long; with a fleet of sailing vessels this would have been no difficulty, but the range of action of the trireme was too limited—not only was its voyage from Athens to Sicily much longer, but it was dependent on the peoples of the coast. And we can understand why Greek fleets found it impossible to maintain an effective blockade, even when in command of the sea, why Peloponnesian squadrons were able to escape the vigilance of a superior Athenian fleet, why it was so difficult to keep the sea clear of pirates: triremes could not keep continuously at sea long enough for police work. The remarkable thing is that Athens succeeded as well as she did, both in ‘keeping her allies in hand’ and in suppressing piracy.

A word as to the Greek attitude to the sea and sea-adventure. Even Köster, a sympathetic writer, who does justice to their actual achievements in navigation, agrees with the majority that the Greeks had no real love for the sea, were not true seamen, had no naval heroes; seamanship was not praised in their songs. It may be so; I would not assert this view to be wrong. But it is worth while uttering a word of warning: fragmentary remains of a literature and an art can so easily mislead. Read the story of the storm at sea in Amelia (bk. iii, c. 4), in which ‘the sailors were going to hoist out the boat and save themselves, leaving the soldiers to their fate; as soon as it was brought alongside, the master himself, notwithstanding all his love for her, quitted his ship, and leapt into the boat,’ and ‘every man present attempted to follow his example’; of the two officers one

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81 Cl. Xen. Hell. VI. 2. 37-39, cited above, n. 9. 82 Köster (in Kromayer-Weihe, pp. 196-7) notes the necessity of a near-by base in foreign expeditions, and quotes the case of Demetrius Poliorcetes before Rhodes, and then the similar considerations which induced the Duke of Parma to advise the King of Spain to secure Flushing before sending the Armada. But he does not note the special difficulty of the trireme. In the late war the allies had to have a base at Lemnos and Imbros for the attack on Gallipoli; but that does not mean that modern and ancient conditions of naval attack are the same, and it is the difference that needs emphasis. In fact, compare the strategical factors in the campaigns of Pylos and Navarino. 83 There was not much difference in the average speed of trireme and merchantmen—each from five to six knots. See Köster, Seefahrt, pp. 125, 177 ff. 84 Conversely, Alexander the Great defeated the Persian fleet on land, when finally by the capture of Tyre he had taken all but their island bases. Seefahrt, pp. 80-3.
‘appeared quite stupefied with fear,’ the other was ‘no less stupefied (if I may so express myself) with foolhardiness, and seemed almost insensible of his danger’; and ‘as to the remaining part of the ship’s crew and the soldiery, most of them were dead drunk, and the rest were endeavouring, as fast as they could, to prepare for death in the same manner.’ Who would suspect John Bull of any connexion with the sea? Hesiod’s Boeotian was not more a landsman than the English countryman; and not the peasant only, but the gentry—Sir Willoughby Patterne, Sir Thomas Bertram, above all Sir Walter Elliot—far stranger to the sea than Homer’s heroes. If only a little English literature survives, but amongst it Jane Austen’s novels, and it is known not only that she lived in the great days of Nelson, but actually had close family connexion with the navy, what will be thought from Mansfield Park and Persuasion of our English love of adventure at sea? How much would be suspected from Shakespeare? Nobles are generally landsmen: especially when the sailing-ship is a merchantman, and the warship is rowed. And literature, even history, can be very conventional. Characteristically Aristotle describes the training of the Athenian hoplite, but says nothing about the rowers, still less of their officers; yet they were more highly skilled than the soldiers. I suspect the Greeks had more of the sea in them than we imagine. Aristophanes understood the sailors among his own countrymen (as he understood most things democratic):

δεύτε Ἑλθὲς εἰς χορὸν, ὦ χρυσοτρίαν, ὦ
delphinou medeōn, Souniárate,
ὦ Γεραίστε παῖ Κρόνου,
Φόρμίων τε φιλτρατ', ἔκ
tōn ἄλλων τε θεῶν 'Αθη-
naios pros to παρεστὸς.

And the Athenians were not the greatest of Greek sailors; Phocaeans, Samians, Milesians would claim the prize.

A. W. Gomme.
THE AMATHUS BOWL

A LONG-LOST MASTERPIECE OF ORIENTAL ENGRAVING

[PLATES I–III.]

The masterpiece of Oriental craftsmanship reproduced in Plates I–III is said by General L. P. di Cesnola to have been found in April 1875, in a rich but partially despoiled chamber-tomb at Amathus in Cyprus. Cesnola’s account of the discovery, exaggerates the depth at which chamber-tombs are found in Cyprus, but his plan corresponds fairly well with that of a large tomb (still accessible in 1894, and probably to-day) in the low ground north of the acropolis of Amathus. The silver bowl, already broken, and other objects, are said to have been found in a "copper cauldron," as if discarded by an earlier tomb-rober.

The "Amathus Bowl" and a bronze shield-boss (ronache) said to have been found with it were published by G. Colonna-Deccaldi in 1876 and republished in 1882 in his collected papers. The copper-plate illustration is signed S. Dardel, and was printed by Ch. Chardon ainé in Paris. If the "patère et ronache" were brought separately to Paris, this may account for their alienation from the main Cesnola Collection. Dardel’s engraving does not include the long ends of the rim, and is inaccurate in several details, as appears from the reproduction in fig. 1. It was reproduced on a smaller scale in Hellwig, Homerisches Epos, 1884, Plate I, and repeatedly elsewhere.

In 1885 Perrot and Chipiez published a line drawing signed J. Wallet, which differs in certain details from Dardel’s drawing, but not sufficiently to give independent access to the original.

Neither the "Amathus Bowl" nor the shield-boss published with it by Colonna-Deccaldi ever went to New York, though they are commonly quoted as if they were still in the Cesnola Collection. If they were...
separately brought to Paris to be engraved for Colonna-Ceccaldi, their alienation might be explained. Cesnola did not often give or sell objects from his collection; there are, however, small series selected from it in the Museum of Turin, his birthplace; in the Louvre; in the Museum of National Antiquities at St. Germain; in the British Museum; and in the Pitt-Rivers Museum in Oxford; the last-named were given by Cesnola to General Pitt-Rivers. 7

When I was preparing the Handbook to the Cesnola Collection (New York, 1914), all I could learn about the fate of the "Amathus Bowl" (p. 458) was that it was at one time in the possession of John Ruskin. But when the Ruskin collection was dispersed, there was no mention of it.

In 1931, however, Mr. Ralph Brown, art dealer, of London, bought it together with remainders of books, prints, and china from Ruskin's house. There was no information relative to the bowl in Ruskin's papers, so far as he could examine them. From Mr. Brown the bowl was acquired by Mr. Sidney Smith, who has presented it to the British Museum.

Since Dardel made his drawing, the bowl, already reduced to a little more than half its original surface, has lost (1) nearly the whole of the leading sphinx in the innermost zone, with part of the pedestal of the kneeling figure above it, (2) part of the last horseman on the left of the outer zone, (3) the fallen tree and almost everything else, between the leading horseman and the wood-cutter, and (4) the breakage in the upper part of the castle is more extensive. On the other hand, two long pieces of the rim are preserved, which Dardel omitted, to economize space. In the British Museum, the engraved surface has been skillfully cleaned, revealing many details; these are recorded in the new drawing by Mr. Waterhouse, reproduced in Plate I, on the same scale as the bowl. In Plates II, III, photographs of the best-preserved parts of the design, on double scale, make it possible to appreciate the vigour and minute skill of the engraver, and to study his technique.

The whole class of engraved Oriental bowls, in bronze, silver, and more rarely in gold, to which the "Amathus Bowl" belongs, has been recently studied by Dr. Frederik Poulsen. 8 He describes this bowl briefly on p. 21 (under the number A 4), but he clearly had not seen it, for he says that it is in New York, and he describes the male figures about the "sacred tree" in the middle zone as "assyrische Königsgestalten," whereas they hold ankhsymbols in their hand, and their dress is the same as that of the archers in the outer zone.

For the three Italian tomb-groups which contain bowls of this class—the Regolini Galassi tomb at Caere, the Bernardini and Barberini tombs at Praeneste—Dr. Randall-MacIver has recently established 9 on independent evidence an approximate date about 670 B.C., nearer, that is, to the Bocchoris tomb at Cerneto containing an Egyptian object dated to

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7 The fine figure-painted olpe with heads of the Pitt-Rivers Museum are published in Essays in Ancient Archaeology presented to Sir Arthur Evans (Oxford, 1927), pp. 72–89, Pls. XII, XIII, XIV.
8 Der Orient und die frühhethrische Kunst (Berlin, 1923), chapter iii.
734–728 B.C., than to the Polledrara tomb at Vulci with its scarab of Psammetichus II.\textsuperscript{10} The bowls themselves must be a little earlier, but they seem to belong to a single consignment of such goods; for though there are slight differences of handling, the subjects and the style are similar.

What distinguishes the ‘Amathus Bowl’ from the rest of the group is its vigorous naturalism, and elaborate symmetry or rhythm. As usual, what M. Pottier has happily described as the ‘hierarchy of styles’ is apparent. Just as, in epic art, preference is given to the lay

\[ \text{ἡτὶς ὀκουόντεσαι νεωτάτη ἀμφιπέληται,} \]

so the engraver, like the contemporary vase painter, devotes his originality to the major subject or subjects of his composition, while availing himself, in accessories, of what for him has become more or less \textit{vieux jeu}. Here, around the central rosette, to which the gadrooning and fluting of Minoan and old Syrian metal-work have shrunk,\textsuperscript{11} the six sphinxes of the inner zone all face to the right, processionally, like the warrior friezes on the bowls from the Regolini Galassi grave, the horses on the inner zone of the ‘Hunter’s Day’ bowl from the Bernardini grave, and even the ‘Hunter’s Day’ itself, though its movement, in both examples, is leftwards.\textsuperscript{12}

Each sphinx subtends 50° across the wings; each head 10°, and each interval also 10°; a simple instance of precise plotting which prepares us for what we shall see later. Processional continuity is ensured by making the forward wing of each sphinx overlap the hindquarters of its predecessor; though the sphinxes themselves are recumbent.

Of the middle zone enough is preserved to permit us to restore it as a composition of four groups, in alternate pairs. Of these, two, consisting of three figures only, are made absolutely static by fixed pedestals. Between these ‘pilasters’ a larger group (of which the counterpart is destroyed) is more elaborate, consisting of a central panel—the ‘sacred tree’ and its attendants—and lateral outward-facing Horus-figures communing with winged goddesses, Isis holding plumes, and Nephthys with lotus-flowers, whose stiff back frame this whole composition. The complete scheme, so far as it is extant, thus reads as follows:—

\[ \text{E F E : D C B A B C' D : E F E :} \]

The component elements of this zone are precisely spaced, like the sphinxes. The scarabaeus subtends an angle of 40°; each Sun-god votary

\textsuperscript{10} When Dr. Randall-Maclver wrote, this scarab was still assigned to Psammetichus I (669-609 B.C.); it is, however, now thought more probable that all the scarabs in the tomb are of sixth-century date. But Mr. F. N. Pryce tells me that the Polledrara tomb seems to contain two if not more groups of objects, from separate interments; the earlier may be a generation earlier; so Dr. Randall-Maclver’s general perspective is not seriously affected.

\textsuperscript{11} There is, of course, fully developed gadrooning on contemporary vessels, for example in the Polledrara tomb; but such persistence of older fashions is familiar. We still reproduce ‘willow-pattern’ and ‘Indian-tree’ designs on our dinner-plates.

\textsuperscript{12} The Bernardini version of the ‘Hunter’s Day’ is figured in Poulton (p. 24, fig. 14) and Perrot and Chipiez, III, fig. 543; the other, from Cyprus, in \textit{Hdtk. Czn. Coll.}, 4550, and Marquand, \textit{AJA}, iii (1887), Pl. XXX. It deserves republication, and there are other fine fragments in New York.
20°; Isis and Horus 30°; the ’sacred tree’ with its attendants 40°. The only irregularity is that Nephthys and infant Horus sub tend 40°, completing the total of 180° for the central-group and one of the wing-groups together. The other half of the zone therefore exactly balanced that which is preserved; and as the kneeling votary belonging to it subtends 20° like its counterpart, we may infer that the missing centre-piece also balanced what is extant. The ’sacred tree,’ round which the whole composition is built up, stands exactly in mid-line with the castle, and emphasizes its centrality. But the slightly greater space occupied by Nephthys and infant Horus throws the flanking groups slightly out of balance to the right; in the same direction, that is, as the processional movement of the sphinxes below, and counteracting the predominant movement of the outer zone in the reverse direction.13

There is, on the other hand, no correspondence between these balanced compositions and the processional inner zone of sphinxes: to have attempted that would have stopped its movement.

The outer zone, so far as it is preserved (about 220°), is a single composition, but, unlike the ’Hunter’s Day,’ it converges on a static centre-piece, the besieged castle, above the ’sacred tree,’ the zenith-point of the middle zone. Consequently it also diverges from a corresponding static nadir-point, which we may assume to have been the besiegers’ city. Compare with this ’Tale of Two Cities,’ with its motive of warfare, the ’City at Peace’ with divergent traffic, on the outer zone (v) of an unpublished bowl in the Cesnola Collection,14 and the papyrus-grove between divergent cattle on the same bowl, zone ii. The resemblances between such compositions and the ’Tale of Two Cities’ on the Homeric ’Shield of Achilles’ have been often noted, but without the wealth of detail now available.

Here, too, as in the middle zone, the planning is so accurate that the conclusion seems necessary that the artist subdivided his work by angular measurements, using units of 15°, 30°, and 45°. On the castle, the outward-facing defenders subtend 30°, and the feet of the scaling-ladders 45°; the four foot-soldiers, from toe to heel 30°; the four archers 45°; the two horsemen behind them 30°; the chariot also needs about 30°, allowing for the customary warrior, whose head is partly preserved behind that of the driver. On the other side of the castle the tree-cutting scene, from the wall to the horseman beyond it 45°, of which the ladder accounts for 10°: then the first horseman occupies 15°, and the same must be allowed for the mounted archer following him. The total angular measurement of this whole series is rather less (235°) than the sum (245°) of the items. But that is because usually one section overlaps its predecessor a little. The foot-soldiers encroach on the scaling-ladder, the archers on the foot-soldiers; the scaling-party has not quite come clear of the hedge, and the defender leans forth over the scaling-ladder. Similarly, in greater detail, each of the foot-soldiers occupies 10° between toe and heel, but

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13 The lateral panel, on the right, ended at 190° from mid-line, about 10° beyond the fore-feet of the chariot horse; and that on the left, about 35° beyond the mounted archer, if he subtended 15° like each of the other mounted men.

14 Handbook, No. 4555.
the four together fill only $30^\circ$. On the other hand, no account has been taken, in these angular measurements, of horses' tails and other details which could only be engraved after the following figure was in place: for example, the tail of the preceding horse is engraved above and below the fore-legs of the chariot horse, but not between them: and one of the forefeet of the leading cavalry-horse was drawn after the archer's cloak was finished, and is curtailed by it.

Applying these measurements to reconstruct about $125^\circ$ of lost items: as the castle subtends $20^\circ$, we may allow the same angular unit for its counterpart. This leaves $20^\circ$ between castle and chariot, enough for one horseman ($15^\circ$), or for three standing figures—let us say the king and

his vizier and queen. And then, to left-ward of the castle, we have ($95^\circ - 10^\circ = 85^\circ$), for three chariots at $30^\circ$ each, with overlap; or two chariots with a third horseman behind the mounted archer: or, to balance the king and his attendants, a group of women watching the fight, or bringing water and provisions to the army; or perhaps were the captured cattle being driven off, as a pendant to devastation of fruit-trees?

Similar subdivision into angular units is recognizable on other bowls of this class. On a bowl from the Regulini Galassi tomb, the chariot in the outer zone subtends $30^\circ$, and there are several other units of $30^\circ$ and one of about $60^\circ$, with the same tendency to overlap of one group on another. On a bowl from the Bernardini tomb, there are again units of $30^\circ$. On the 'Hunter's Day' bowl, also from the Bernardini tomb, units

$^{14}$ The castle of the 'Hunter's Day' subtends spectators on its walls, only $15^\circ$, but it has no need for defenders or
of 20° and 30° are used together on the outer zone, with 45° on the inner. On the lowest (innermost) zone on the deep bowl from the Bernardini tomb the angles are: the garden-scene 60°, the grazing horses 50°, the sportsman 30°, the cattle, two units of 30°, the lion-fights 40° and 50°, and the horseman 50°: here instead of overlaps there are slight intervals between the separate units, amounting to about 20° in all, and partly explained by the craftsman’s failure to draw tree-trunks and other upright lines truly radially; they all slope more or less to the right. But no other piece that has been examined in detail shows any such careful spacing as the ‘Amathus Bowl.’

Further evidence of forethought is the preliminary planning which the outside of the bowl records (fig. 2). There are two processes in this ‘toreutic’ decoration; the embossing of the larger surfaces in the design, heads, bodies, wings, and the like—which is done from the back—and the engraving of outlines and details on the face. That the embossing was done first is evident from the craftsman’s procedure here; for he has aided himself by engraving a few guiding lines to connect the parts to be embossed, and in one instance has thereby given us the clue to a detail which might otherwise have been lost. Above the head of the chariot horse, he has engraved the outline of an Egyptian plume, such as royal horses wear in Ramessid battle-scenes, and he has embossed the round disc out of which the plume rises. On the engraved face, this part of the bowl is corroded; even the disc is hardly recognizable, and only the ends of the feathers could be recognized, without clue to their meaning except the reverse workmanship. The engraver, however, is now seen to have improved on his draft, for the conventional smooth outline of the Egyptian plume has been replaced by the same fine ‘feathering’ as is used for the horses’ tails, and the foliage of palms.

How far advanced is the rhythm of the ‘Amathus Bowl’ beyond the simpler schemes attempted on other bowls of the same period may be illustrated from two bowls from the Regulini Galassi tomb. Poulsen’s No. 18 has horsemen (H) and infantry (I) as follows (fig. 3):

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\[ \ldots \quad H \quad H \quad H \quad I \quad H \quad H \quad I \quad H \quad H \quad H \quad I \quad \ldots \]
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The asterisk marks the zenith-point of the central medallion; the cross, its nadir-point; the arrow \( \downarrow \) the middle point of the zone, and the arrow \( \uparrow \) its counterpoint, close to which an extra figure has had to be interpolated to adjust miscalculated plotting. It is, as we now see, the familiar Late Minoan ‘jazz’ rhythm—or shall we call it dactylic (\(-\infty\)),

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14 Poulsen, no. 15 (fig. 15); Monumenti, X, Pl. 33. These measurements are only approximate, as they are taken on the published drawings, not on the bowl itself. But only those drawings are quoted, where the whole circumference is shown continu-
or anapaestic (—not—) ?—but whereas the figures are all proceeding clockwise, their rhythm is balanced about a centre and its counterpoint:

\[
\begin{align*}
\uparrow & \quad \uparrow \\
\text{\textcircled{\(\uparrow\)}} & \quad \text{\textcircled{\(\uparrow\)}}
\end{align*}
\]

and this centre is not at the zenith or nadir of the medallion, but nearly midway between those points—a little "after three o'clock" and "after nine."

![Fig. 3.—Silver Bowl from the Regolini Galassi Tomb.](image)

(Poulsen's No. 19 has likewise a procession of horsemen (H) and infantry (I), but a centre point is given by one chariot (C) preceded by two footmen and followed by three. In the same notation, its rhythm needs, and rewards, more careful analysis. The movement is from left to right, as follows (fig. 4):

\[
\begin{align*}
\cdots & H \quad H \quad H \quad H \quad H \quad C \quad H \quad H \quad H \quad H \quad H \quad \cdots \\
\uparrow & \quad \uparrow
\end{align*}
\]

Now, the chariot axle is exactly at nadir-point * of the medallion, and the chariot with its escort of five \((3 + 2)\) infantrymen occupies \(90^\circ\) \((50^\circ\) preceding the axle and \(40^\circ\) following it). Then comes, on either side
of this centre-piece, a horseman with two footmen; and, to preserve alternation of horse and foot, both horsemen have to be nearest to the chariot escort. On either side of the chariot axle, the half-chariot, half-escort, and flanking group occupy 90°:—i.e. 50° + 40° leading, 40° + 50° following, reckoning outward on each side from the chariot.

Then the craftsman seems to have begun to plan from the zenith *, which divides another group of one horseman with two footmen. But he determined his zenith point not from the chariot axle, but from the half-length of the chariot or the whole chariot group; 5°—7° past twelve o'clock.* Consequently he had more space at his disposal 'before noon' than 'after noon,' as his plotting shows: first group behind chariot 50°; second group 50°; third group 60°; and as his first group began 10° late, owing to the asymmetry of the chariot group, he had still 10° to spare, and his fifth group accordingly fills 60°. His rhythm, therefore, may be analysed and represented as follows, using the same notation, with 'C' for the chariot:—

\[
\begin{align*}
50° & \quad 40° & \quad 50° & \quad 40° \\
90° & \quad 11H & \quad 11C & \quad 11H \\
90° & \quad 11H & \quad 11H & \quad 11H \\
50° & \quad 60° & \quad 60°
\end{align*}
\]
But here he was in a difficulty, for his fourth group following the chariot was also a second group preceding it, and should have had its horseman to the left of the footmen, not to their right. He accepted the situation, however, and gave us a double squad of four footmen, spread out as already explained, and interpolated with 10° of landscape between the leading and following pairs. He was working, probably, on multiples of an unit of 30°, with allowance, as on the 'Amathus Bowl,' for a varying amount of overlap between groups. But his frequent interpolation of various sorts of trees makes it more difficult to follow his planning, however it may have enabled him to compensate for vagaries in execution. All this, however, falls very short, both in design and workmanship, of what we have on the 'Amathus Bowl.'

From the composition, we turn to the subjects of the design, which in turn will raise further points of composition, more subtle and significant.

A siege-scene recurs on the bronze bowl from Delphi, engraved in a more casual style, with some embossing. It is reduced to the simplest terms; on the right, one swordsman, mounting the ladder, one archer, and a chariot moving away, so that the warrior in it may use his bow. As the chariot is drawn by a sphinx, not by horses, it belongs only partly to the battle-scene and forms a counterpart to the castle, of independent though inferior value. Or rather, the chariot with its occupants closes this wing of the sublunary fighting, and the sphinx, though ingloriously associated with it, belongs to the repertory of symbolism, like the Eris and Kér in the battle-scene on the 'Shield of Achilles,' and forms an independent and static counterpart to the castle which is central on the battlefield. From the forward wing to the right wall of the castle we have 180°; from the back leg to the left wall 170°; so nearly balanced is the design. On the left, between castle and sphinx, are three figures; an assailant falling down the ladder and leaving his shield in the air, an archer, and an ambidextrous warrior wielding bow and battle-axe, and further equipped with round buckler and long sword. Here is the same interest in details of armament, and picturesque incident, but neither knowledge nor craftsmanship to compare with the 'Amathus Bowl.' Though a poor example, it has, however, the value of showing that such a siege-scene was a familiar and popular topic. That it stands rather nearer to the archetype than the 'Amathus Bowl' is suggested by two details. (1) The intrusion of the sphinx is a souvenir of that incoherent crowd of symbolic and decorative items on other bowls of this class, which the 'Amathus Bowl' relegates to secondary rank. (2) On the bowl from Delphi, the warrior who ascends the scaling-ladder has a long 'leaf-shaped' sword, a solid helmet with neck-guard, and a broad collar of rays such as betokens high rank in Egypt, and in Cyprus; he is no doubt

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17 Homolle, Rev. de l'art anc. et mod. XV, pp. 4 ff.; Poulleau, Fouilles de Delphes, V, p. 23, Pls. XVIII–XX; Poulleau, no. 10, fig. 11.
18 E.g. Hâbû. Comm. Coll. 4534; = Perrot and Chipiez, III, fig. 552; = Colonna-Ceccaldi, Pl. X.

19 E.g. on Cypriote votive statues, Hâbû. Comm. Coll. 1260, 1267, 1362, and 1363; the last perhaps a portrait of Amais, king of Egypt.
intended for the leader of the besiegers. On the 'Amathus Bowl' the ladder-man is an underling unarmed except for a conical cap, making ready for the heavy armed infantry; yet he still wears the collar of rays, which we must suppose to have been traditional for the man nearest the ladder. In both these points, the designer of the 'Amathus Bowl' shows characteristic independence, and inclination to improve on his model. On the other hand, on the bowl from Delphi, the single arched doorway in a curtain-wall of half-timbered construction may be a misinterpretation of the four cupola-buildings with irregularly placed doors in front of the castle on the 'Amathus Bowl'; for these are a characteristic form of North Syrian dwelling, represented in scenes of Assyrian warfare, and still in use near Aleppo and elsewhere.\textsuperscript{20}

Proclivities of mixed infantry, cavalry, and chariots are fairly common on these engraved bowls. Usually the equipment consists either of a small round buckler with two spears, or of bow and arrows; sometimes a Bowman carries spears also,\textsuperscript{21} or a sword,\textsuperscript{22} or shield-bearers have no spears;\textsuperscript{23} or the shields are oval.\textsuperscript{24} On the 'Amathus Bowl' the details are far more precise and realistic. Each of the four horsemen has his own head-dress and weapons, spear with or without Pennion, whip, or bow; the horses have fly-whisks on their bridles in Assyrian fashion.\textsuperscript{25} The cavalry horses, like the chariot-team, were drawn at first with plumes on their heads; but when the engraver came to outline the right hands of the riders, he cut right across the stems of these plumes, leaving the extremities of them emerging from the clenched fists. The archers are uniform, in long Assyrian overcoats; their bows are of the 'composite' type, and they have arrows in reserve, carried points upward without quiver; a similar arrow flies over the heads of the heavy-armed men. The headpiece of the ladder-man on the right is of standard Assyrian type; the shields of the scaling party on the left have the spiked boss, a fine example of which is said to have been found with the bowl.\textsuperscript{26} This round boss, and the shield to which it belongs, are quite different from the oval shield with central boss\textsuperscript{27} which is also of a standard Assyrian pattern.

Quite different, again, and of exceptional interest, is the hoplite equipment of the infantry; short fringed tunic, solid close-fitting helmet with fore-and-aft crest, round shield with badge, and single spear. Similar shields and spears are held by defenders of the castle, and one of these has a crested helmet, but stippled (for hair or fur) instead of plain; we


\textsuperscript{21} Poulsen, nos. 15, 18, 19.

\textsuperscript{22} Ibid., nos. 13, 19.

\textsuperscript{23} Ibid., nos. 18.

\textsuperscript{24} Ibid., nos. 13, 30.

\textsuperscript{25} For horse-trappings, compare \textit{Hdbk. Can. Coll. (statuettes)}, 1013-17, (terracotta) 2079. The globular cap or turban of the horseman next behind the archers recurs on the head of a terracotta centaur from Cyprus, \textit{Hdbk. Can. Coll.} (t-c), 2065.


\textsuperscript{27} Shown in the siege-scene from Delphi, Poulsen, no. 10, and on the inner zone of \textit{Hdbk. Can. Coll.} 4556.
recall the Homeric κυνήγις and the commoner κυνή. That such fur caps could have crests seems to follow from the Homeric description of the καταστώς. This corresponds exactly with the 'Carian' armour of Herodotus for the left arms of these warriors are wholly occupied in carrying their shields. The three 'Carian inventions' obviously cohere. Blazon on the shield only became necessary when the helmet covered not only the neck but part or all of the face; the fore-and-aft crest on the helmet itself, not on a spike or knob like the Homeric κώστας, only became practicable when the helmet itself came down over the neck instead of ending in a στεφάνη round the temples, and emerged as a skeuomorph, when a κυνή, of two side-pieces sewn together over the crown, from brow to nape (like the cap of a jester or of Mr. Punch), came to be copied in bronze-plate.

The σημάδια of the shields on the 'Amathus Bowl' are all different. One has a mere central boss, capable of elaboration into the eagle’s head or lion’s head of the Idaean bronze shields, or into the bull’s head of a terracotta shield in the Cesnola Collection. Another has the central boss surrounded by a ring of smaller knobs; it is ὀμφαλος, 'full of bosses,' like some Homeric shields, and its decoration may also recall a common use of the ‘concentric circle’ ornament by Cyproite potters. A third has a many-rayed star; two others the 'whirling disc' with curved rays common, like the star, on shields in early Greek vase-painting. Finally, the leading warrior has a quite unmistakeable gryphon recumbent, with uplifted beak and conventional curled wing minutely but clearly engraved. We are in the company of those Carian and Ionian 'bronze men appearing from the sea' who enabled Psammaticius I to expel the Assyrians from Egypt in 664 B.C. That there are similarly armed men among the defenders is in accord with their mercenary habit: and they occur, though rarely, in Assyrian service too.

The head which looks out over the wall, between towers, is that of a woman; for the hair is represented by downward strokes from the crown, ending in a stippled area representing the rolled coiffure common among Assyrian ladies. Only a trace remains now of the second head drawn by Dardel; and the oblique lines in the background above it are unexplained, unless they be the weapon of a warrior falling from the left-hand tower, as symmetry would seem to require.

28 Iliad, X. 335-458.
29 Iliad, X. 326-250. It is distinguished as τουρησις, φορέων τι και ἄλλοφθα, ητε καταστως καλληνικοτε, μοντε τε και χαρι τα μοντεια χαμος.
30 Hitt. L. 171, και γαρ τα κρανια αφορος ενδεχεσθαι καρος ει της καταπληκτως και της αντιπαθιας της σημαντως, και δεσα δεινα αοις ει την παλαμαινα πρωτος.
32 Reichel, Homerische Waffen, pp. 100-1. The fore-and-aft crest is seen on a terracotta horseman in the Cesnola Collection Handbook (1-e), 1909. An early example from the Lower Town of Mycenaean is figured by Reichel, p. 167, fig. 44.
33 Haltberr and Orai, Macso Italiano, II, (1888); Paulsen, figs. 76, 78, and p. 79. Cf. BSA, XI, 1904-1905, PI. XVI. p. 396 (Palaikastro).
35 Iliad, VI. 118, etc.; cf. XI. 34-3, a shield with twenty δφαυνα.
38 Herodotus, II, 152. χρησις δε της διαφανς ανδρας δηλουσας δεξιων επιφανος.
39 E.g. on seventh-century reliefs in the British Museum.
THE AMATHUS BOWL.

Enlarged photographs (Pls. II, III.) show details of engraver's technique. The firm outlines are impressed with a round-nosed punch driven by a mallet, successive blows of which leave undulations on the floor of the groove. Details, such as the fly-whisks under the horses' heads, and the toes of the horsemen, are struck with separate oblique blows of the same punch. Manes and tails, cross-hatched textiles, the chevron borders, and the outer lattice border (with (?) flowers in its openings) are incised with a sharp point, which, however, seems likewise to have been usually mallet-driven; though the vertical fringes of the archers' cloaks may be hand-cut. A similar point, driven vertically, executed rows of dots such as form the curled foliage and date-clusters and the stippling of head-hair and garments. There is no trace of a ring-punch: even the minute circles on one of the shields are hand-cut.

Though engraved with mallet-blows, the outlines of figures are firm and vigorous. Hands and feet are delineated with utmost economy of line, even the sole of a foot being omitted where it might over-run a border-ornament. It is interesting, but not unexpected, that the borders were engraved before the scenes. The faces have markedly Armenoid profile, which looks out oddly from western helmets. As a point of realism, note the gash in the trunk of the half-felled tree. The devastators' axes are of Assyrian pattern. A remarkable reminiscence of Late Minoan draughtsmanship is the conventional flower and foliage detail of the fruit-tree between the palms. 40 The lotus bouquets in the middle zone are, however, of correct Egyptian drawing. On the other hand, the maeander pattern on the second footman's tunic echoes the geometrical art of the Early Iron Age, and the cross-diagonal panels on the tunic of the third come from the repertories of Cyprus, North Syria, and Cappadocia.

The horses are of the same small, compact, heavy-headed breed as on other engraved bowls. Though the engraver has only given the chariot team two pairs of fore-legs, he has drawn the heads in triplicate. The war-dog under the chariot has the prick-ear and long collie-like jaws of the Caramanian breed; his back is hair-crested, and what can be seen of his tail is bushy. He is quite definitely not of the 'bull-dog breed' on the Nimrud ivories.

There is no need to identify the siege-scene, as Colonna-Ceccaldi did, with any historical event. In any case, the siege of Amathus during the Ionian Revolt (499-494 B.C.) is nearly two centuries too late, though war-chariots were still in use then at Salamis. 41 Such events were all too common throughout the long Assyrian hegemony, and the Medo-Babylonian balance-of-power which followed: and within this period we must look for other evidence of date. The persistence of the 'Mixed Oriental' repertory may be illustrated by examples of the 'sacred tree' 40 Professor Beazley calls my attention to a similar treatment, much later, of vine-foliage on a re-figured fragment, *Agora* (Plate II., Pl. xxvii. 441. But this tree is not a vine.

Fig. 5.—Hawk-headed Sun-God (Ra) and Infant Horus seated on Lotus.

Fig. 6.—Infant Horus.

Fig. 7.—'Sacred Tree.'

Figs. 5-7.—Carved Ivoires from Samaria.
and the 'infant Horus' among ivory reliefs from Samaria,\textsuperscript{42} probably representing the wreckage of Ahab's 'ivory house that he made'; \textsuperscript{43} but the close acquaintance with Egyptian symbolism, at so late a period as the 'Carian armour' indicates, suggests rather the renaissance under the XXVI Dynasty than reminiscences from earlier phases of Egyptian art. In default of exact record of the circumstances of discovery, and of associated objects, we are probably safe in attributing the 'Amathus Bowl' at latest to the early years of Psammetichus' reign. Whether it was made in one of the Phoenician cities, or in the interior (like the Syrian ivories), or in a workshop of Cyprus, there is not sufficient evidence to show; but the cupola-houses show knowledge of the Aleppo district.

J. L. MYRES.

\textsuperscript{42} Figs. 5-7; reproduced by permission from \textit{left, 'infant Horus.'}
\textit{Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement, 1932, \textsuperscript{43} Kings, xxxii. 39.}
July, Pl. III, \textit{right, 'sacred tree'}; Pls. I, and III,
THE PARADOX OF THE PROMETHEUS VINCTUS

The student of Greek religion has no more difficult problem to face than that of the Prometheus Vinctus. In previous writings I had always evaded it, because I had not found any solution and I hoped that there might be one. Failing to find anything satisfactory myself or in the writings of others, I have spoken of it in the title of this paper as a paradox rather than a problem. And I am only now setting down my thoughts on it in outline, because I do not find that the religious difficulties of that play are appreciated in their full gravity either by the commentators or by the writers on Greek religion.

The play is unique among (a) the dramas of the Attic stage, (b) the literature of Greece, (c) the religious literature of the world. The truth of the first two statements can be proved by a rapid glance through the existing and recorded literature of Greece, especially through the products of the Attic drama. In no other play, as far as we know, was a God, the protagonist, present on the stage through the whole action, not even in the *Aischylos* trilogy of Aeschylus, nor in the *Bacchae* of Euripides; and in no other Greek drama do we find the character of the suffering God. Dionysos in the dramas above mentioned, although attacked, is rather the cause of suffering to others than a sufferer himself. Moreover, Prometheus is a God suffering for his services to man, as a friend of man. And this brings us within range of a deep and possibly pregnant religious idea, unfamiliar to the Greeks. The dying God may be half-shadowed in certain myths, but it is only the God Prometheus who suffers for mankind. His only parallels in the religious world are Christ on the Cross, and the Indian God Siva suffering agony from the Serpent’s poison for the welfare of Gods and men. And even these two parallels do not preclude one from maintaining that the Aeschylean Prometheus is an unique figure in the religious drama of the world. For Christ and Siva are consoled by the adoration of men and the love of God or the Gods. But Prometheus Vinctus is tormented and hated by the High God, and with one exception despised and insulted by all the Olympians. The commentators on the play, through their lack of familiarity with Greek or Comparative Religion, have failed to appreciate this unique phenomenon at its proper magnitude. And I do not find it dealt with adequately by Mr. Thomson in his recently published edition.

Let us briefly consider first the fundamental features of the play so far as they bear on the religious and ethical questions which challenge our solution. Prometheus is presented to us as a God, and his Godhead was

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sufficiently attested by Greek mythology, and specially for the Athenians by the altar which they erected to him in the Akademeia and which was associated with the Lampadephoria. Even the Olympians recognise that he is a God; and he himself in this play proclaims and in the next play, the Prometheus Luomenos, deplores his immortality. He belongs to the older Titanic group, most of whom were dispossessed with Kronos, but a few, such as he and his mother 'Ge-Themis,' survived in the later cult. And their survival was accounted for by the myth to which Prometheus makes pathetic reference that they had helped the Olympians in their struggle with the Titans. The Aeschylean Prometheus avers that it was by his advice alone that Zeus and his family won the victory. Therefore the supreme God owed him a deep debt of gratitude. But so far from showing any sense of indebtedness, he inflicts on the Titan an agonising punishment, a torture of the kind that Apollo in the Eumenides specially reprobates, something like perpetual crucifixion and impaling. And the sole crime of Prometheus is his beneficent service to mankind, his 'philanthropic habits,' but specially his gift of fire to men. This gift is represented by his enemies as a theft of that which was the rightful prerogative of the Olympians alone, especially of Hephaistos. It is nowhere indeed stated that Zeus had issued a clear mandate that mortals were not to receive fire and that Prometheus had deliberately disobeyed. In our equally crude story of Adam and Eve and the apple there is a primitive principle of justice: they knew when eating it they were disobeying a divine mandate, and the early Jewish God was fully as vindictive as Zeus. But there is no hint either on the part of Aeschylus or in Hesiod of any disobedience on the part of Prometheus which might have justified the anger of the despot ἄρχων δέ νόον κρατής. It is merely that Prometheus loved and tried to preserve a race whom Zeus hated; in ll. 234-35 the Titan asserts that as soon as the Olympian dynasty was established, Zeus wished to destroy the whole race of man, who according to Hesiod had led happy and blameless lives under Kronos, and having destroyed them to create a new race of beings, and Prometheus boasts that he alone dared to thwart the designs of Zeus and to save mankind. It is very doubtful if, as is usually supposed, Aeschylus is here referring to Deukalion's deluge and to some casual myth that it was Prometheus who suggested to Deukalion the means of escape in his ark. Even if this view is correct, neither in the Greek nor the Biblical version of the deluge-story is the action of the High God given a clear moral significance and purpose.

So far we discern in the Aeschylean statement of the whole μοῖρας the predominant influence of Hesiod. The Prometheus-legend is given both in the Theogony and Works and Days; in the latter the only offence mentioned is the stealing of fire which Zeus had hidden away from mortals in order to make their lot harder. In the former poem an additional offence is narrated in detail, the trick that Prometheus played on Zeus
in the allocation of the parts of the sacrificial victim; the old Boeotian poet tries to save the omniscience of Zeus by making him choose the worser portion deliberately, in order to have the better excuse for wreaking his spite on mankind; that is, he thinks it more becoming in the High God to be malignant than to be ignorant. The only critic of antiquity who gives the right judgment on this legend is Lucian, who declares in his Πρωμήθεως ἤ Καῦκασος that it suggests a vulgar quarrel in a cook-shop. Aeschylus showed his regard for high tragedy by refusing to allude to it in his great drama. But he borrows many other motives from Hesiod: the cruel punishment, the further torment of the eagle, and finally the deliverance by Herakles, to which in the Hesiodic narrative Zeus appears to consent reluctantly, merely, as it seems, for the increase of the glory of his beloved son. But Aeschylus owes much also to Pindar, from whom, as I have tried to prove in my commentary on the Eighth Isthmian, he borrowed the momentous motive of the prophecy concerning the child of Thetis. But this was in no way connected with the Prometheus-legend by Pindar, who would probably have rejected it with strong reprobation. The combination of the two motives so as to form the keystone of a great trilogy we may believe to have been a mythopoeic achievement of Aeschylus himself.

But his indebtedness to Hesiod is greater still, in respect not only of the variety of his motives, but of one momentous religious idea common to them both. In the Prometheus-legend of the Hesiodic poems and of the Aeschylean drama Zeus is presented as an evil God, hating mankind. The Hesiodic narrative of the fire-theft and the sacrifice shows the crude naïveté and feeble-mindedness of folk-lore, with a weak veneer of higher theology; it is only of importance as expressing the feeling, occasionally discernible in the popular mind, of the malignancy of the divine powers. But generally this has been overlaid by the prevailing belief in the goodness of God: and I have tried to show how this higher conception was inevitable and won its way in the more advanced and even in the more primitive religions. Even in the crudest Greek mythology, outside the Prometheus-legend, only the faintest hint is ever given of an evil God or of a God essentially hostile to man; Homer may be giving us real folk-lore when he records that Poseidon was wroth with the Phaeacians for their saving men at sea, and Walter Scott attests the same feeling surviving in his own day in the Hebrides.

But the Hesiodic narrative, though clashing with the better thought of Greece and with his own better thought, was not impressive enough to produce a disturbance in the spiritual world. It is otherwise when this crude and immoral piece of folk-lore is taken up, developed and raised to the highest pitch of poetry and religious emotion by the genius of Aeschylus. For the Prometheus Vinctus must be called the chef d’œuvre of religious drama. It is religious poetry on the heights; and there is no imaginative reader

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4 He does not allude to the vile Oriental torture of impaling, to which a phrase in Hesiod appears to hint, Thorg. 522.
conversant with Greek who is not thrilled by it. Therefore it might well have been a fateful crisis in the history of Greek religion, when the High God of the whole nation and of the world—for Zeus is more than a national God—should have been represented before a great gathering of the people in all seriousness and solemnity as utterly evil, hateful to men and hating them, callously ungrateful to his benefactor, cruelly tormenting one whose only sin was to have saved and helped mankind, also as obviously lacking the supreme qualities of omnipotence and omniscience. And Aeschylus has gone further in the process of representing him in the blackest traits; he borrows from Hesiod the further torture of the eagle, the despot's reply to the defiance of the Titan. And he also borrows from the older poet as a by-motive the narrative of the most discreditable of the amours of Zeus, his love-affair with Io. Such stories are necessarily stumbling-blocks for those who have risen above the level of anthropomorphic religion. It was only Pindar who had the power to invest them with poetic beauty and dignity, so that the divine amours that engendered Herakles, Aiakos, Aristaos might seem gracious actions for the welfare of mankind. But as told by Hesiod the Io-legend is graceless and degrading to Zeus; in his version Zeus commits perjury, so that henceforth there is no sin in the perjury of lovers. And the Aeschylean version is equally derogatory to the High God who is impotent to save his victim from the malignant cruelty of Hera. Prometheus may well appeal to this as a further proof of the cruel oppression of the tyrant God; and the Chorus shudder at the thought that they themselves might become the victims of divine lust.

Finally, we may note that even the ministers of Zeus, Strength and Might, are depicted as specially brutal, and the Olympian Hermes as wholly contemptible.\(^9\)

If we looked then at nothing beyond this play, we should feel bound to interpret it as a mighty and dangerous challenge to the whole Olympian religion.

This is felt with all the greater force, as Aeschylus has lavished his powers in depicting the Titan as a noble and lovable being, so as to win for him our entire sympathy and admiration. And the judgment of Aeschylus was dramatically right. It is only because Prometheus is sinless and deeply wronged, able by godlike endurance and patience to win deliverance in the end, and holds the fate of Zeus in his hands, that the spectacle of a God nailed to a rock with a wedge through his quivering breast, doing nothing through the whole play but passively suffering, could be endured as a theme of great tragedy. If he were in any way a malefactor who deserved his torment, it might be a motive for the Grand Guignol, but not for the Attic stage. At the Ober-Ammergau Passion-play we should not endure the long spectacle of the crucified Christ, were it not for the sense of the triumphant exaltation of the divine man. In later antiquity, indeed, we find a condemnation of Prometheus in the Cynic school of philosophy, who maintained all civilisation to be evil;\(^10\)

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9 On the other hand, Hephaistos shows some kindly sympathy with Prometheus, no doubt because he was affined to him as a brother-god in the Attic cult.

10 E.g. Dio, Chrys. Or. vi, pp. 91-92 m.
they could therefore regard Prometheus who civilised man as the principle of evil. We know that such a view would be impossible for Aeschylus and the Athenian of his period. As regards modern criticism, Mr. Thomson in his recent edition published by the Cambridge Press quotes some utterances both of English and German scholarship implying that Zeus was after all in the right. Prometheus was a rebel or an 'impartial reformer' who deserved his punishment. Mr. Thomson rightly protests against such moral cretinism. But he himself is inclined to blame Prometheus gently for his lack of σωφροσύνη, when under torture he hurlrs unmeasured defiance against the High God, who retaliates by sending the eagle.¹¹ Now σωφροσύνη, measured and well-balanced self-restraint, was a virtue in high regard among the Greeks; but the torture-chamber and the rack are hardly the places for its exercise: they did not blame the brave and devoted hetaira who under torture bit out her tongue and spat it in the tyrant's face. We do not expect politeness from the victim of the Inquisition when under treatment. And we should not have loved and admired Prometheus more if he had cowered and whimpered before his tormentor. A writer of the fourth century B.C., Douris of Samos, conscious of the religious immorality of the older story, finds a justification for the eagle-torture by perverting the legend: the sin of Prometheus was his attempt to violate the maiden Goddess Athena, and therefore the eagle devours his liver, the seat of lustful passion.¹² For moral purposes, we may believe, partly to justify Zeus, Douris has transferred to Prometheus the sinful attempt of Hephaistos, his brother-god.

Aeschylus was never more inspired than when he wrote those words of defiance for the Titan;¹³ his poetic sympathies at least seem to be kindled to a white heat, and he can hardly have calculated coldly or desired that his audience would blame his hero for lack of moderation of language. There were dramatic occasions when the Greeks might applaud, not σωφροσύνη, but a stormy outbreak of moral indignation from a free man or a free God, from an Antigone, a Kassandra, or a Prometheus, although a timid Chorus, sitting on the fence, might be thrilled with the terror of the words. The Chorus of divine maidens, the Oceanids, tremble at the boldness of the Titan and implore him to be careful: this is the bourgeois function of all Choruses; but they show their final judgment of the righteousness of his cause by refusing to abandon him and determining in spite of the warnings of Hermes to share his final overthrow; thus commending themselves to us as the most lovable of all Greek Choruses and more faithful than the disciples of Christ.

But it has been supposed that Aeschylus himself indicates his own feeling that Prometheus has somehow sinned: the Chorus gently 'put it to him,' ὅπερ ἢ ἠματρεῖ; (I. 276), and on the face of it this might appear to mean that they thought he had sinned in giving men fire and saving them from misery. If so, that need not be the verdict of Aeschylus,

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¹¹ The wrath of Zeus is a disease, the unrestraint of Prometheus is a disease, p. 11.
¹² II. 180-90; 999-95; 985-95; 1019-28.
¹³ Müller, FGH. ii, Fr. 19: his new version blurs.
for the Chorus are by no means always the mouthpiece of the poet; but that cannot be their meaning, for Prometheus accepts their suggestion at once, ἐκὸν ἐκὸν ἰμαρτον, οὐκ ἀμήσουσα: and he can only mean, half ironically, that his whole activity was a ἰμαρτία, an error of judgment, in that he had championed the weak against the strong, never thinking that Zeus would repay him with such fearful cruelty. Aeschylus, then, does not allow us to discern any sin, still less any confession of sin, in Prometheus. And Zeus is the more cruel, the more ungrateful, as Prometheus is the more blameless.

Such a delineation of the character of Zeus is in direct contradiction of the best Greek tradition from Homer downwards. In the serious religious thought of Homer, as has been often exposed, we have the fairly consistent picture of the High God as a righteous Judge, the Father of Gods and men, punishing the evil but befriending the good and grieving over the self-inflicted miseries of mankind. And this aspect of him was recognised in many cults and cult-titles found throughout Greece. He was not indeed regarded in the popular cult as devoted to active philanthropy, as the Aeschylean Prometheus claims to have been. No Greek God was definitely characterised as φιλόθρωπος until Asklepios, who in the later Pagan period was the nearest counterpart to Christ. But neither was any Greek God definitely μισόθρωπος, least of all Zeus. And the strongest antithesis to the Zeus of the Prometheus-trilogy was presented by the masterpiece of Pheidias, the Zeus Olympios, wrought not long after the date of this play, and revealing him in accordance with the highest religious ideals of the race as the God of peace and mild benevolence.

Also, the Zeus of the Prometheus Vinctus violently conflicts with the religious message that Aeschylus strives to convey in his other works. He is par excellence the apostle of Zeus, as Pindar may be said to have been of Apollo. And some of his utterances concerning the High God, those especially in the Oresteia, composed at a date not far removed from that of the Prometheus Vinctus, belong to the great religious poetry of the world. And the people before whom he represents Zeus as a cruel and unjust tyrant in this play he hails in the majestic lyric of the Eumenides as specially dear to that god: 'Hail, ye people of this city, ye who sit near the throne of Zeus, dear to his dear maiden daughter; and being beneath the (sheltering) wings of Pallas Zeus halloweth you.'

Here then is the paradox, which some scholars try to belittle, but no one has explained.

A cheap and easy solution, of course, is always open to us when we find in a work attributed to a famous author a marked difference in tone or view from that found in his other works; we may deny the attribution and declare the work spurious. And so recently more than one scholar has been found to deny the authenticity of the Prometheus Vinctus, maintaining it to be the work of someone influenced by the scepticism of Ionia masquerading under the name of Aeschylus and writing to undermine the established religion. Mr. Thomson has sufficiently exposed the absurdities

14 Vito my Hero-Cult, pp. 276-77.
15 Il. 997-1102.
of this view; and we need only lament that scholars who work upon the classics should be devoid of literary sense.

Ruling out any possibility of doubt as to the authenticity of the play, can we evade the difficulty by the suggestion that Aeschylus imagines a distinction, such as we find in Platonic and Stoic theology, between a supreme transcendental God, the all-just ruler and beneficent creator of the universe, and the Zeus of the popular mythology, a limited and imperfect God? Even so, we should still have to explain why here, and only here, he should represent that God with such repellent traits; not merely as an imperfect God, but as entirely evil, and a hater of mankind. But that distinction is unreal for Aeschylus. In the decisive passage of the *Agamemnon*, the God of his highest religious vision is still the Zeus of the popular religion, and if our poet chose to reject the detrimental myths as Pindar did, there was no reason why he should not be.

Other scholars, anxious to save the character of Zeus or of Aeschylus, try to find some ‘theodicy,’ some justification of the dealings of God with Prometheus and man. We are used to strange ‘theodicies’ in our own pulpits; but to none so strange as that which is half expressed or tentatively suggested by Professor Murray in his *Rise of the Greek Epic*; all is well in the Aeschylean world, for the cruelty and the suffering end in reconciliation, peace and love; both Zeus and Prometheus have to go through a long period of probation and trouble from which they both emerge nobler and purified at the end: the spirit of love presides over the torture, because Zeus has just been carrying on an amour with Io, from which the future deliverer of Prometheus after thousands of years will be engendered. We ought not to accuse Aeschylus of wishing to preach us such a sermon. It was a far cry from Io to Herakles: the amour of Zeus that was directly connected with Herakles and might be represented by such a genial poet as Pindar as an act of beneficence to the human race was that with Alkmena. We discern that Zeus is in strong need of purification; but the poet does not show us the dark spot in Prometheus that needs it, unless the tortured victim’s bold defiance of the tyrant is a vice. And to suggest that Zeus’s intrigue with the mortal maiden was suggested by a lofty purpose is a parody of the narrative; and to torture the innocent victim and at the same time by indulgence in lustful passion to provide for his future release does not give us an attractive theology. In fact no imagined concept can justify the heinous and ungrateful cruelty of Zeus against the friend of man. But we might imagine a moral explanation of his anger: we might suppose that Zeus intended to destroy the human race for its sins and to create a better, and that Prometheus thwarted him in this noble cosmic purpose. But there is no hint given by Aeschylus that Zeus intended to create a better; and in the Hesiodic poems, when Zeus destroys one race of men, a worse usually takes its place. It would not occur to a

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18 ll. 169-83.
17 pp. 294-95.
16 It has been thought that ll. 566-67, ἄνωτεν τὸν Δίος φιλήμας προσάσθεν παρεῖχαν ἑλκομ, expresses the poet’s intuition of some higher purpose of Zeus which Prometheus has wrongly tried to thwart. The context is against this: the phrase is only a beautiful expression of the impotence of man: if Prometheus relied on man to save him from the wrath of Zeus he relied on a rotten reed.
Greek dramatist to moralise the situation by suggesting a cosmic solution of the knot which involved the destruction of the human race: a good God for the Greeks meant one who was good for man.

Another solution that has commended itself to many scholars, and notably to Wilamowitz in his recent writings, is the theory of a progressive evolution of the Gods: like men they may develop from a lower to a higher state: in crude, primeval days they 'had their fling' and did wild things: then they became civilised and developed into higher moral beings: he quotes as examples the Erinyes softening into the Eumenides; and the vindictive God of the earlier period of the Old Testament, whose cruelties may be pardoned on the ground that at that time he was still young. I do not find these parallels at all helpful: the Erinyes were placated and became friendly to the Athenian people; any God or Goddess might pass through that process; but how far their morality was improved by the trial is not clear. And the God of the Hebrews starts much higher up the scale than the God of Prometheus. But the theory breaks down, because this moral evolution of the High God was never believed in by any who believed in the God at all. And I am convinced that Schmid was right when he said, 'Griechisch ist solche Vorstellung vom Heranreifen der Götter nicht.'

Those who generally fail to realise how serious is the religious convulsion set in motion by the first play of our trilogy have supposed that the two following plays, the Προμηθέας Ανάφεινυς and the Προμηθέας Πυρφόρος, may have cleared up the trouble and set things right. I do not find this credible: the moral character of Zeus has been blackened too deeply to be brightened on the traditional lines of the myth. The minimum demand we should make, so that he should win the forgiveness of Prometheus and our own, is that he should have deeply repented, should have turned from hating mankind to loving them, and should have released and reinstated Prometheus with adequate apologies and compensation. We note in our play that Prometheus vows he will not relent and give up the fateful secret which alone can save Zeus until the latter has at least released him and made atonement. All that we can gather from the titles and fragments of the lost plays and from a few statements in later writers does not suffice for a full reconstruction of their plots such as Thomson fancifully attempts; but only for a skeleton-sketch of the final drama. In the second a chorus of Titans arrives at Kaukasos to comfort their weary brother, possibly to persuade him to try humbleness. Herakles enters and receives guidance from Prometheus concerning his journey to the Hesperides: he shoots the eagle; Prometheus gives up the secret, possibly having first received a pledge from Zeus that as a reward he will be released: he is then set free and in the final drama, the Πυρφόρος, he was probably represented

19 Vide Thomson, Prometheus Bound, p. 12, n. 4.
21 Quoted by Thomson, op. cit., p. 10, n. 4.
22 It is certain that in the Aeschylean as in the later versions Prometheus gives up the secret before he is finally released (Philol. II. Eöösé. ii, 41): this is a departure from his previous determination, P. V. 177; but the passage in Hyginus, Fab. 54, "itaque fide data . . ." suggests that a mutual treaty was made between the two antagonists, and this might be drawn from the Aeschylean source.
as reinstated in his ancient dignity, as colleague of the benign Attic deities Hephaists and Athena in some ritual where he appears in the solemn function of Πυρφόρος, carrying a processional torch. Now we cannot say with any precision what part Zeus played in the reconciliation. We have a phrase preserved from the second play, uttered by Prometheus, apparently after Herakles has shot the eagle,22 'dear son of a hostile father,' which suggests that there was no sudden 'περιπετεία' in the divine feud—Zeus is still angry, and it may be that his willful son is acting against his father’s will, but counting on his indulgence. At any rate, we may be sure that Zeus did not 'stand in a white sheet' or by any act of repentance or atonement restore himself to the moral veneration of the thoughtful worshipper. Nor do we know how or by what agent the poet set himself to vindicate the ways of Zeus. It would be strange if he put such a vindication into the mouths of his Titans, though they themselves may be now released and pardoned.24

We can understand his exaltation of Prometheus and his love of him. He was expressing what was probably the sentiment of the Attic people, especially the potters, who at the flourishing height of their art dealt with his personality nobly and sympathetically.25 Then when the poet took up the crude story of old folk-lore, discerning in it the possibilities of high tragedy, he allowed his creative imagination so far to carry him away as to present the astounding spectacle of the tormented and loving God, a new religious revelation; and thus came near to the brink of a crusade against the traditional and popular religion. He shrank from the brink, and patched up the breach in the end, and thus escaped a public prosecution for δαιμονία. But the first play remains unique and irreconcilable with the rest of pre-Christian religious literature. The wind of genius bloweth where it listeth. We can quote no parallel.26 We might say that he gives himself up wholly to his dramatic imagination, which comes near to shattering his normal theologic creed.

We should expect that a play of such power and dangerous originality would have made a deep impression on contemporary Athens and on later antiquity. But no record gives us any hint as to the emotion it excited in the Attic people, who, as we know and as Aeschylus found once to his cost, could be dangerous when they thought that their religion was attacked.27 We must believe that it was a new and startling religious experience to the thoughtful Athenian in the audience: the shock was probably softened for him by the final play.

What surprises us is the slightness of its proved influence upon later

22 According to Plutarch, Vit. Pomp., c. i, Prometheus says this to Herakles after he has been rescued.
24 This pardoning of the Titans had been mentioned by Pindar, P. iv, b. 291; in my edition, vol. ii, p. 167: the date of P. iv was 462 B.C., probably near to the date of the Prometheus trilogy.
25 E.g. on the Vulci vase, where he is represented standing majestically before Hera, who offers him a libation. Vide Roscher, Lexicon, iii, 3086.
26 Haig, Tragic Drama of the Greeks, p. 117, quotes Milton's admiration for Satan versus Jehovah; but if we scrutinise it we find no real parallel there.
27 Haig, op. cit., p. 112, expressed the opinion that the Athenian people would not have been shocked by the portrait of Zeus given in the Prometheus Vinctus. But he wrote without knowledge of the popular religious psychology.
literature. We do not expect the incorrigible Aristophanes to have been impressed, whose figure of Prometheus in the Birds, skulking about under an umbrella lest the Gods whom he hates and who hate him should see him, is excellent fooling. We look in vain for any echo of it in Sophokles, unless we suppose that his lyrical masterpiece in the Antigone on the wonderful works of man is a silent protest against the Aeschylean doctrine which attributed all man's culture to a personal God. On the other hand, in a striking passage in the Supplices of Euripides, which ascribes a divine origin to our culture, we can recognise the influence of the great Aeschylean drama, although Euripides avoids mentioning Prometheus and is content with "έλυσεν δὲ τῶν." We might well have expected to find clear reference or allusion to our tragedy in that famous passage in the Republic where Plato censures the great poets for narrating immoral myths or otherwise speaking blasphemously of the Gods, and twice arraigns Aeschylus on lesser matters than he might have arraigned him on if he had taken note of the Prometheus Vinctus. But here and elsewhere he is entirely silent about it; and Aristotle also is silent save for one doubtful passage in the Poetics where he classed the Prometheus among the 'spectacular' tragedies. It is still stranger that the author of the treatise 'On the Sublime,' which gives the most sympathetic and penetrating literary criticism that antiquity produced, draws no illustration from the play that was the masterpiece of sublimity in ancient literature. It was certainly read in the Augustan and Imperial periods; but both Horace and Vergil, in passages where they are dealing with the same or connected themes, write as if they had never read the tragedy. Of the later writers Lucian has dealt with the myth in the most original way with his usual satiric humour, (a) in the Dialogus Deorum, and (b) again in his treatise Πρωτοθεος ἦ Καύκασος; this is the severest moral indictment of Zeus, and he writes as if in a white heat of indignation; he certainly had the play of Aeschylus in his mind, but the borrowing is slight. Among the narratives of the later mythographers who deal with the story, it is only seldom that we can prove their indebtedness to the Aeschylean trilogy.

Nor is there any clear evidence of its influence on later art, although we may suspect that Panainos, the brother of Pheidias, when he painted the deliverance of Prometheus on the screen of the throne of the Pheidian Zeus at Olympia, was influenced in his choice of subject and his manner of treatment by the great drama.

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32 Ibid. 201-15.
33 In Protag. pp. 320 0-322 there is no hint of the Aeschylean handling of the fire-myth. In Gorg. p. 523 a Zeus is said to have ordered Prometheus to deprive mankind of foreknowledge of death, from moral motives: we discern the debt to Aeschylus, P. V., ii. 250-32, but there is no acknowledgment.
34 145664.
35 O. 1, iii. 17-33.
36 143-35.
37 Zeus is here the confirmed man-hater: he J.H.S.—VOL. LII. releases Prometheus as soon as he has told his secret: there is no mention of Herakles.
38 In the opening scenes describing the binding of Prometheus, and in Prometheus' appeal, § 3. Κρόνος ἔτη.
39 There is nothing definite to be detected in Apollodoros; nor in Hyginus, Fab. 54, and in Astronom. xvi ("Sagitta") he only refers to the authority of Aeschylus for one detail, that Prometheus was bound for thirty thousand years.
40 Paus. V, xi, 6.
It may have failed to have won its due homage from antiquity. But of all Greek plays it has been the most generative in our modern literature; for Aeschylus was the far-off begetter of Shelley’s great masterpiece, the *Prometheus Unbound*: Robert Bridges also was indebted to him for a notable drama; and there are signs that the inspiration of the Attic poet is not yet extinct.

Lewis R. Farnell.
THE GREEK KOUROS IN THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

[PLATES IV, V.]

WHENEVER our store of Greek sculpture is enriched by a new example of major importance, the new-comer naturally arouses great interest. The question immediately arises whether it conforms with what is already known of the Greek sculpture of that period or whether it reveals new features. In either case it becomes the object of keen discussion, for we are almost as eager to test the soundness of the edifice we have tentatively set up as to enlarge it.

The newly-acquired archaic marble statue in New York (Pls. IV, V) is such an important new-comer. Under the circumstances I have gladly accepted the invitation of the Editorial Committee of this journal to present a short note on the statue pending its more detailed publication in Metropolitan Museum Studies and Brunn-Bruckmann-Arndt, Denkmäler.¹

The significance of the New York statue lies in the fact that it is the best preserved and so the most representative example of the earliest "Apollo" figures—or kouroi as we now preferably call them—of Greece. That is, it stands at the beginning of the long line of development which began about 600 B.C. and culminated about a century and a half later in the Apollo of Olympia. Its only important contemporaries are the famous colossal figures from Sounion,² one extensively restored, the other a mere torso, and the Dipylon statue,³ of which only the head and one hand have survived. The preservation of the New York statue, on the other hand, is astonishingly good. Though broken in several pieces, the fractures (at the waist and knees, above the ankles, above the wrists, at the left elbow, above the right elbow, and at the left thumb) neatly join, with only a few slivers missing at the joints—which have been restored in plaster and coloured. Besides these there are only a few small pieces missing (see illustrations). At the back of the legs is a hard incrustation, not thick enough to obscure the modelling. The warm reddish tone of the surface is due to the earth in which it was buried and which has not been entirely removed.

The statue ⁴ may be described as a slim, long-haired youth standing in a strictly frontal pose with arms hanging down along the sides and the plinth is 6 ft. 4 in. (1-93 m.); that of the head 12 in. (30.5 cm.). The plinth was already embedded in the modern rectangular base when the statue arrived at the Museum, but from a photograph taken previously the height of the plinth can be computed to be about 2½ in. (6 cm.). Its form is irregular, roughly following the contours of the feet.

² Rhomaioi, Antike Denkmäler, IV, pls. 47-56, pp. 94 ff.
⁴ The marble is white and large-grained, evidently Island. The height of the figure without the
left leg a little advanced in the manner characteristic of the Greek kouroi. He is nude, but wears a necklace,\(^9\) tied in front with a reef knot (only partly preserved). His hair is encircled by a fillet, also tied with a reef knot, the ends hanging loosely down; at the bottom of each tress is a narrow band.\(^6\)

The figure as a whole is four-sided, directly derived from the block of marble from which it was carved. On the surface of this cubic form anatomical details are indicated by grooves and ridges delicately carved with a fine sense of the composition as a whole. The proportions of the figure display many obvious deviations from nature. The head is too large for the body, the neck is too long, the thighs are too short, the first phalanges of the hands too long. The anatomy is only partially understood. The ideal of the art of the time was evidently not realism as we understand it, but a simplified conception of the human figure, a solid harmonious structure, in which essentials were emphasised and generalised into beautiful patterns.

To visualise the statue in its original state we must supply in our imagination the colour with which the surface was painted and of which only a few traces of red remain—on the necklace, the fillet, the narrow bands at the bottom of the tresses, a circle round the nipple of the left breast, the insides of the nostrils.\(^7\) The hair was doubtless black, brown, blue, or yellow; the skin perhaps a deep flesh tint; the eyes were also painted, for though no actual colour is preserved we can still distinguish the differentiation of the iris and pupil. This colour scheme must have greatly enlivened the effect.

For proof of authenticity it is interesting to record that on examination under (segregated) ultra-violet rays\(^8\) a considerable amount of 'penetration' was revealed; that is, the elements had changed the marble from the surface into the body of the stone to a depth of more than \(\frac{3}{8}\) of an inch, making this area appear—when exposed by a modern fracture—as a whitish band, in striking contrast to the purple core. Moreover, ancient fractures (after careful cleaning) appeared whitish under the ultra-violet rays, the modern fractures purple (except for the band of penetration), the difference being due to the action of time and the fact that marble long exposed to the elements fluoresces under the rays, whereas marble not so exposed does not.

Though the provenance of our statue has not been disclosed,\(^9\) its resemblance to the Sounion and Dipylon figures suggests an Attic origin—though this is, of course, not a clue to the finding-place, since the statue may have been exported in antiquity. The Sounion and Dipylon figures

\(^9\) For other instances of male figures with necklaces cf. the Dipylon head, the bronze statuette from Delphi (Fouilles de Delphi, V, pl. 4), and a torso in Markopoulo (Buchholz in J.M. LII, 1927, p. 260).

\(^8\) The examination was made at the Metropolitan Museum by James J. Rorimer, associate curator of the department of Decorative Arts and author of Ultra-Violet Rays and their Use in the Examination of Works of Art.

\(^9\) The statue is evidently not the one claimed to have been unearthed in Attica by two Greek peasants in the spring of 1932, for it already was in New York in October 1931.
have been dated about 600 B.C.,\footnote{Cf. Buschor in \textit{AM. LII}, 1927, pp. 211 ff.} and this must be the approximate date also of the New York statue. It was the time when Athens was at the beginning of her career of expansion, when her merchants were first engaging in trade overseas, when Solon introduced his epoch-making reforms. Our statue, with its quiet strength and refinement, is a revelation of the advanced culture of Athens at this early period.

\textit{Gisela M. A. Richter.}

\footnote{Cf. Buschor in \textit{AM. LII}, 1927, pp. 211 ff. of Greek sculpture between 650 and 550 B.C. and on The dating is based on the progressive development relations with vase paintings.}
AN UNPUBLISHED EPIGRAM IN OXFORD

In the Sculpture Gallery of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, is exhibited an inscribed tombstone, bearing the following description: "Tombstone of Demetrios from Smyrna. Late Hellenistic or early Imperial period. Smoke-discoloured marble. Presented by J. W. Burgon, 1858." As this has remained, to the best of my knowledge, unpublished, I sought the permission of the Keeper of the Museum, Mr. E. Thurlow, to publish it; I am grateful to him for his ready acquiescence. While I was engaged in studying the inscription and a squeeze of it actually lay on my table, I received from Freiherr F. Hiller von Gaertringen a letter asking whether I could trace the inscription referred to in a slip, now in the possession of the Prussian Academy, bearing, in the handwriting of August Boeckh, a copy of the text together with the following note: "Auf einem Grabstein von Athen, im Besitz des Herrn Burgon. Über die Inschrift ein Basrelief. Eine sitzende männliche Figur, deren Oberteil abgebunden ist, in dem Sessel eine kleine, wunderlich gestaltete männliche Figur. Vor den Sitzenden zwei weibliche Figuren. Die Inschrift: [here follows a copy of the text]."

For John William Burgon (1813-81), Fellow of Oriel and Dean of Chichester, see the D.N.B. Suppl. i. 335 ff., and G. C. Richards and C. L. Shadwell, Proctors and Fellows of Oriel College, 177. He was born at Smyrna and was the elder son of Thomas Burgon (1787-1838), a Turkey merchant and member of the court of assistants of the Levant Company, who removed in 1814 from Smyrna to London and was subsequently employed in the Department of Coins in the British Museum (see D.N.B., loc. cit., and the dedication of the first volume of the Numismatic Chronicle).
diese letzte Inschrift genau gelesen zu haben. Von Forchhammer durch [K.O.] Müller in England copirt." Upon learning that the stone is now in the Ashmolean Collection, Freiherr von Hiller, with characteristic generosity, waived in my favour his claim to publish the inscription. He has also kindly read this article in manuscript.

The accompanying photograph (Fig. 1) renders any further description of the relief unnecessary, while the letter-forms are represented in the following facsimile, based upon a squeeze (Fig. 2). The dimensions of the stone are: height 34 m., breadth 345 m., thickness 06 m.

The epitaph, couched in five iambic senarii, runs thus:—

'Odita, ἐπιστραφητί, καὶ γνώσε[ι τάχα] τίνος χάριν σ' ὅ τύμβος ἀνήσται λέγ(ει). Δημήτριον κύκευθα καὶ ξυνάφοιν Ἀραπιάδα. Τῇ δ' εἶτον ἄτταίστῳ [τέκνῳ]; Περίτα, χαίροις εἰς γονεῖς τοῖς γ(έοις).

'Wayfarer, pay heed, and [soon] shalt thou know wherefore the tomb bids thee behold. Demetrius I hide and his consort Sarapias. But what said they to their unaltering [son]? Peritas, fare thou well, who hast so [dealt] with thy parents.'

Of the text, with the exception of the two words wholly restored, there can be little doubt. In l. 1 Boeckh read ἰνοςκε, which he restored as γ(ί)νοςκε [57]; but the omission of the ι and the use of the present imperative* evoke doubt, and ἰνοςκε seems to me to be clearly legible on the stone. The last word of the line might be variously conjectured: [σαφος] would satisfy the demands of sense and of metre, but I prefer τάχα, for which I quote as parallels, albeit not very close, an epigram of Corcyra (JG. ix. 1. 880 = App. Anth. ii. 229) beginning ὁδίτα, βασιν σάματι σταθεὶς πάρα μάδοις κεν ἀσταθείν, two from Rome (JG. xiv. 1537, 2126 = App. Anth. ii. 619, 445), βασιν στήσαν ιχνος παύροις γράμμασι εἰςορόνων and βασιν ἐπιστράτος ιχνος ἑνθάδε τύμβοις ἀδόρησον, and a fourth from western Crete (Stud. ital. fil. class. n.s. ii. 390), σώφρωνα Θεοδότου ἀστάρα, ξένοι μικρὸν ἐπιτάσ. In all of these stress is laid upon the brevity of the delay required of the passer-by if he would learn the message of the epitaph. In l. 2 Boeckh's copy shows λεγεῖ, at the end of l. 4 ΣΤΩΣ and in l. 5 part of

* Γνώςκε is, however, used in App. Anth. ii. 600.
the ε of γεγώς, restored independently by Freiherr von Hiller and by me. In l. 4 τέκνος appears to me the most probable restoration in view of the following line: the Σ of Boeckh’s copy may be a misreading of ε.

The writer seeks to compensate for his lack of poetic genius by the use of poetic words such as δεινον, διήρησα, κεκυθα and ευβοαρον and of the somewhat recondite epithet ἀνταπστῶ, as well as of the device, beloved of epigrammatists alike in classical and post-classical times, whereby the tomb (or sometimes the dead whom it commemorates) is represented as addressing the passer or passers-by. The usual word to designate these is παροδιτῆς, but there are frequent variants such as πάροδος (Kaibel, Epigr. gr. 236), παράγωντες (I.P.E. ii. 378), παράγεται (Kaibel, 23, Anth. Pal. vii. 355), δεινότορος (Geffcken, Gr. Epigr. 188, 326, 3599, Hermes, lxvi. 321; possibly παροδοειπόρος in Stud. ital. fil. cl. n.s. ii. 358) and, as here, δεινὸς (Geffcken, 147, 206, 374, Anth. Pal. vii. 436). The last two lines strike a more original, though hardly a more poetic, note. The greeting frequently addressed to the passer-by 5 is here directed by the dead parents to their son, who, we may assume, erected this monument.

The name Πειρίτας or Πειρίτας is claimed as Macedonian by O. Hoffmann 6 and is borne by Macedonians in BSA. xxiii. 73 (= SEG. i. 276) and Petrie Papyri, iii. 2. 5; it appears, however, more frequently in other parts of the Greek world, at Naxos,7 Chalcis,8 Aphrodisias,9 Attuda (Phrygia) 10 and in Egypt.11

Two grammatical points may be noted in conclusion. The form ἐκιστράφη (l. 1) for –ηθ bist is doubtless due to the analogy of the first aorist passive imperative termination –ητι by dissimilation for –ηθι.12 Of the construction λέγω τινά ποιεῖν τι (l. 2) examples are cited in Liddell and Scott, Lexicon9, s.v. λέγω (B) III. 5.

Marcus N. Tod.

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5 SEG. vii. 138.
6 Die Makedonen, 228. Cf. my note BSA. xxiii. 83.
7 IG. xii. 3. 393; the name is indexed as Πειρίτας, ibid. p. 350.
8 SEG. vii. 395; the name is indexed as Πειρίτας, ibid. p. 400.
9 CIG. 2770, 2771, 2834, REG. xix. 138, No. 70.
10 CIG. 3952 = IGRom. iv. 844.
11 Preissigke, Namensbuch, s.v.
TWO NOTES ON PTOLEMAIC HISTORY

I. THE LINEAGE OF PTOLEMY I

Ptolemy I, son of Lagos and Arsinoe, is usually supposed to have belonged, through his mother, to a cadet branch of the Argead house and to have been a third cousin of Alexander. But a fragment of Euphantus, so far unexplained, leads up to the conclusion that his mother was not of the blood royal and that he had no connexion with the royal house at all. Hellenistic literature was full of fictitious relationships, which often found their way into history as facts; and we seem to have here another case of the same sort.

Euphantus is contemporary evidence for the period during which Ptolemy I was king. He was a pupil of Eubulides and the first philosophic teacher of Antigonus Gonatas; supposing he went to him when Antigonus was thirteen, as Aristotle did to Alexander, he was a known man in 307 or 306, while Ptolemy took the crown in 305. As he wrote a treatise on Kingship for Antigonus he was alive in or after 276, after Ptolemy's death; he wrote a history of his own time, and died of old age.

Euphantus fr. 2. Euphaontos... Ptolemaion phisi tou tritou basileus... Algyntou kolasca ginestai Kallikratyn, de oustov deinov oun wres... One of the questions, whether they should have a throne in the kingdom, and Antigonus. I think Mallet was the first to suggest that triitou was a mistake for protou. Since then opinion has been divided. C. Müller in FHG. retained, Wilamowitz defended, and Klek has recently adopted, E. Schwarz and Natorp read protou as being necessitated by the date of Euphantus; F. Jacoby in F. Gr. Hist. prints protou but obelises it. But no one has examined Euphantus' story of how Callicrates flattered Ptolemy; this story proves at once that it was Ptolemy I, and proves some other things also.

Callicrates, says Euphantus, was a flatterer of Ptolemy; he was so clever that he not only wore a ring with the figure of Odysseus engraved upon it, but also named his children Telegonus and Anticleia. How did this flatter Ptolemy? The answer is given by the name Anticleia. In the Odyssey Anticleia is merely wife of Laertes and mother of Odysseus; but post-Homeric legend made her the heroine of a scandal. Her father Autolycus, who was a clever man—he surpassed other men, says Homer, in thieving and perjury (Od. XIX, 395)—had betrothed her to Laertes;

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2 On some of these see my papers: Herakles son of Buntas, JHS, 1921, p. 18; Philip V and Philip, CQ, 1924, p. 17; Queen Ptolemais and Apama, ib. 1929, p. 138.
3 Dion. Laertian, II, 110; see Tarn, Antigonus Gonatas, p. 25.
4 Athen. VI, 2515; FHG, III, p. 195; F. Gr. Hist. II, ii, p. 132.
5 Histoire de l'école de Megare, 1845, p. 96.
6 Antigonus von Karyota, p. 87, n. 3.
7 Callicrates, RE. Supp. Band IV, 859, a confused account.
8 Hermes, XXXV, pp. 106, 129.
* Euphantos in RE.
but he had met a 'cleverer' man than himself, Sisyphus, and he gave his
daughter to Sisyphus prior to her marriage, so that her son might be the
son of the 'cleverest' man alive; that son was Odysseus, who surpassed
even his father Sisyphus and became the 'cleverest' of them all. Calli-
ocrates' method of flattering Ptolemy implies some parallel between
the Ptolemy in question and Odysseus, the name Anticlea showing which
aspect of Odysseus is meant; and this parallel is furnished by the story
that Ptolemy I was no more the son of Lagos than Odysseus was the son of
Laertes, but was the son of Philip II, whose mistress Arsinoe had been before
her marriage to Lagos. The flattery itself lay in what lawyers would call
the innuendo of this: as Sisyphus had been the cleverest man of his day,
but had been surpassed by his son Odysseus, so Philip II had been the
ablest man of his time, but was surpassed by his son Ptolemy.

This leaves unexplained one item in Euphantus' story; the name
Telegonus also must bear upon the matter in some way, but I have been
unable to find any story about Telegonus which is in point.

The story then that Ptolemy I was a son of Philip II belongs to
Ptolemy's lifetime, as Professor Berve conjectured. It does not, however,
belong to the time before Alexander's death, because Ptolemy called one
of his sons by Thaïs Lagos, or to the period immediately following
Alexander's death, for then something would certainly have been heard of
it; besides, in 323, the connexion which Ptolemy was meditating was
not with the Argead line of Macedonia but with the Sebemtry dynasty of
Egypt. Since the Callicrates of Euphantus is certainly, as Schwarz
said, the Friend whom Ptolemy I sent on a mission to Cyprus in 310 B.C.,
it may be supposed that the story was first put about somewhere in the period
which saw the death of Alexander IV (310 or 309 B.C.) and the assumption
by Ptolemy of the crown of Egypt (305 B.C.); it might be connected with
the latter event. The allusion to Anticlea shows that the form of the
story given by Pausanias and Curtius—that Arsinoe had been Philip's
mistress before she married Lagos—is the correct version. But this in turn
shows that, about 305, Arsinoe was certainly not supposed to have been
of the blood royal; had she really been Philip's second cousin he must
have married her in proper form, seeing that he even married Cleopatra,
who was merely the niece of one of his generals. If then about 305 Arsinoe
was represented as having been Philip's mistress (pellea in Curtius), the
story that she was of royal blood had not yet arisen. She was, in fact,

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10 The story is given in the Scholion to Sophocles,
Ajas, 190. The tragedians frequently refer to
Odysseus as son of Sisyphus. See Bethe, Sisyphus in
RE.; Hölder, Odysseus in Roscher, p. 613.
11 Paus. 1, 6, 22; Curtius, IX, 8, 22. Another
version, Aviad fr. 285 = Suidas, Lagos, does not
mention Philip, but only says that Lagos believed
that the child was not his.
12 Lut. cit.: diese gewiss in der altersten Zeit der
Ptolemeierherzogent entstandenen Erzählung.
13 Ditt. 314; their second son Leoniscus was a
grown man in 366, Justin XV, 4, 7.
14 See Dittenberger on OGIS, 54, note 5.
15 W. Weber, Die ägyptisch-griechischen Terrakotten,
I, pp. 112 sq.; Tarr, CQ. 1929, p. 130.
16 Diod. XX, 21, 1. He dedicated two wreaths
at Delos (p. 65).
17 There is, I believe, no trustworthy instance
except Cleopatra VII, and only one untrustworthy
one (Justin's story about Apama of Cyrene), of any
woman of the blood royal in any Macedonian
kingdom living with a man without marriage (see also
G. H. Macurdy, Hellenistic Queens, 1932, passim)—one
of the most extraordinary manifestations of pride
known to history. I once in ignorance spoke of
'the facile queen of Hellenism'; I did the Macro-
donians a grave injustice.
like Lagos, an ordinary member of the Macedonian aristocracy; one must now follow the process by which she became royal.

Her pedigree as an Argead is given at length by Satyrus, and in it she is the connecting link between Ptolemies and Argeads; the pedigree is, in fact, that of the Macedonian kings from the gods Dionysus and Heracles to a point two generations later than Amyntas I, where it branches, the main line (not given in Satyrus) running through Philip II to Alexander, and a side line through Arsinoe to Ptolemy I. This pedigree is alluded to by Ptolemy III; and there is an earlier allusion to it in Theocritus XVII, 26, which takes its date back to about 271. I believe myself that its existence can be traced even earlier, in 279/8, and that it was one of the subjects of the great festival of that year described by Callixenus (Athen. V, 197c sqq.).

First, as to the much-discussed date of that festival. I agree with those who have believed that at its date Arsinoe II, whose name is never mentioned in our account, was not yet queen. The passage Athen. 203AB, relating to the crowns given in the εὐθεία—20 (query 21) to the army, 22 to the images of Ptolemy I and Berenice, and 23 to that of Ptolemy II alone—seems to me conclusive; had Arsinoe II been queen, her image, like Berenice's, must have accompanied that of her husband. But there is another indication, also important, which has not been noticed. Ptolemy II employed the δικέφας, the double cornucopiae, as a sort of emblem of Arsinoe II; her statues bore it, and she herself used it on her coins; the idea, says Athenaeus, was to show that her horn was richer in benefits for men than the fabled horn (κέφας) of Amaltheia, the single cornucopiae, an idea which appears again in her cult-title Ἀρσενίκεφαλος. Now in the πομπή of Dionysus the horn of Amaltheia, borne by Eniautos (198A), was a prominent feature, while Arsinoe's horn had no place; and when, in Callixenus's list ofmiscellanies, the single and double horns do appear side by side, the single horn is the more important; of the horns upon the κέφας is of solid gold, δόξακροσ, while the δικέφας is only gilt, χρυσόων (202A); and of the two enormous horns carried free, the δικέφας is 8 cubits long (202C), but the solid gold κέφας, Amaltheia's horn, is 30 cubits (202E). Whatever this δικέφας may refer to, it is evident that Arsinoe II and her δικέφας had not yet dawned upon the Court of Alexandria. Therefore, since I believe that Arsinoe II was probably married in the winter of 276/5, and since I agree with Professor Otto that the presence of the army

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18 FHG. III, p. 164, fr. 21; he is late third century.
19 OGIS. 54, l. 6.
20 δοξακροσ (Alexander and Ptolemy I) προορούος ἐν δικέφασ. Ἡρακλειδίκη, i.e. Hyllus, who in the Satyrus pedigree is son of Heracles and (through his mother) grandson of Dionysus.
21 Kaibel, in 203A, prima ὑπεράντια χρυσός τοσίαν. The context seems to call for χρυσότατος; perhaps κτιστ in the original.
22 W. Otto in Philol. LXXXVI, 1931, p. 414, n. 27, arguing for 271/0 as against myself (Herma, LXV, p. 447, n. 2), has unfortunately made a mistake to which passage in Athenaeus I was building on (perhaps I did not make it clear), and consequently has not directed his argument to what I believe to be the real point.
23 Athen. XI, 497b; M. R. Vallois, GRzItin. 1929, p. 33.
25 I suppose it is conceivable that Berenice might have used the δικέφας before her daughter, as she did the diadem, but I think there is no evidence.
should mean that this festival marked the end of a successful war \(^{27}\) (and therefore, if not in 271/0 as he thinks, it can only be in 279/8), I regard 279/8 as tolerably certain. I see no difficulty in the introduction of Berenice, though she was not mentioned in the invitations sent out in 280.\(^{38}\) She plays a very subordinate part, and nothing shows that she and Ptolemy I were being honoured as θεός σωτήρες; \(^{29}\) probably as yet there were no θεός σωτήρες in the official sense,\(^{30}\) however the pair might be named by private persons in private offerings; \(^{31}\) in fact we do not even know that in 279/8 Berenice was dead.\(^{32}\) It might perhaps be argued that in 279/8 we should expect to find the name of Arsinoe I, which never occurs; but there is no difficulty in supposing that she was already repudiated \(^{33}\) or at any rate in disgrace; her marriage to Ptolemy II was probably in 289/8,\(^{34}\) the year of the alliance of her father Lysimachus and Ptolemy I against Demetrius, and, allowing for three children, her fall might have been at any time after her father’s death in 281. And I feel strongly that Callixenus’ account must belong to the first festival of the series; that ostentatious extravagance could never have been repeated.

In the procession, the ποταμή of Eosphoros was followed by a ποταμή of the ‘ancestors of the kings,’ ἡ τοῖς τῶν βασιλέων γονέων καταώνομασμένη (197D); then came the ποταμή of Dionysus, then those of Zeus and other gods, and lastly that of the divine Alexander (197D, 202A); a ποταμή of Hesperos closed the procession. Now the festival was in honour of Ptolemy I, who had no ποταμή of his own; and I take the connexion to be this. The ποταμή of the ‘ancestors of the kings’ displayed, by means of images, the pedigree of the Ptolemies \(^{25}\) (and probably of Alexander) back to Dionysus, as Satyrys gives it; these images were the θεός τῶν βασιλέων, ‘images of kings,’ which Callixenus (201F) gives as carried upon ears somewhere in the procession without specifying where, and which modern writers have usually passed over in silence. It may be that the ‘many thrones’ which (202A) Callixenus also gives as somewhere in the procession belonged to this ποταμή also. This parade of images of the ancestors of the royal house naturally drove home the (alleged) blood-relationship of Ptolemy I to Alexander, and also made it clear to the spectators how Dionysus, whose ποταμή was to follow, came into the business; he was the common ancestor of Alexander and Ptolemy I, and so to him and to the divine Alexander were naturally assigned the two chief ποταμὲς among those of the gods—Dionysus, the ancestor, at the start, and Alexander at the finish. The details of Alexander’s ποταμῇ are not given; but into that of Dionysus was worked the fact that Ptolemy I was (not only Alexander’s supposed cousin

\(^{27}\) Beiträge zur Seleukidengeschichte, pp. 7 sq.

\(^{28}\) Ditt., 390.

\(^{29}\) The belief of some scholars that they were seems to have arisen from a misunderstanding of the nature of the ποταμῆ of the ‘ancestors of the kings.’

\(^{30}\) R. Herzog, Philol. LXXXII, 1927, pp. 49-50.

\(^{31}\) Archiv, V, II, p. 139, no. 1.

\(^{32}\) Cl. U. Wiclein, Archiv, IX, p. 73.

\(^{33}\) The story which attributes her fall to the intrigues of her successor is as worthless as most other stories of the kind about Arsinoe II.

\(^{34}\) Ptolemy II was definitely the heir before 288, in which year Eurydice had already left Egypt and gone to Miletus. In CAH. VII, p. 97 I put the marriage of Arsinoe I too late.

\(^{35}\) Naturally the kings do not, at this date, mean Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II, as some have supposed. In any case there is no evidence that the pair were ever so called.
but also) his political heir, by means of the introduction of Corinth and the cities.\textsuperscript{36} The ancestors, the ἀρχαῖοι, were, of course, not gods, any more than Corinth and the cities were; \textsuperscript{37} everything that figured in the procession was not necessarily divine.

To sum up. Whether Callicrates' flattery was well-pleasing to Ptolemy I or not, an early attempt was made to connect that monarch with the Argead house through his father by calling him a son of Philip II; subsequently—at latest by the beginning of the reign of Ptolemy II \textsuperscript{38}—this was dropped in favour of a version which retained Lagos as his father \textsuperscript{39} but connected him with the Argeads through his mother, making her of royal blood, which she had not been before. This version became official; the ποιημα described by Callixenus was perhaps its canonisation. The motive for representing Ptolemy I as an Argead may have been twofold: partly because Seleucus' son and heir Antiochus (I) really was an Achaemenid, \textsuperscript{40} and the Ptolemies could not let their rivals over-trump them; and partly from the same desire to claim kinship with Alexander which led to Seleucus' wife Apama becoming Alexander's daughter.\textsuperscript{41} The clever Odysseus himself might have envied the skill with which the Ptolemies imposed their alleged kinship with Alexander upon history.

One further point. I have now shown how two of the three Macedonian lines, Ptolemies and Seleucids, ultimately claimed (or others claimed for them) to be connected by blood with Alexander; and we know that, as regards the third line, the later Antigonids (or others for them) reckoned the succession to the crown of Macedonia from Antigonus I as the successor of Alexander, ignoring Philip III and the houses of Cassander and Lysimachus, etc.\textsuperscript{42} As Philip V was much concerned to establish his relationship to Philip II and Alexander,\textsuperscript{43} we may suppose that a connexion in blood was already invented between Antigonus I and Alexander; some day the details of this also may come to light.

\section*{II. The Duration of the Ptolemaic Nauarchate}

It is now widely believed that Callicrates son of Boiscus of Samos, sometime nauarch of Egypt under Ptolemy II, ceased at some period (usually taken as by or before 266 B.C.) to hold his high office but nevertheless remained in honour with the king and was employed by him on other work. I believe that so far, in the Hellenistic kingdoms, no instance is known of a great official, who could not be further promoted, vacating office except for one of two reasons—death, natural or otherwise, or removal in

\textsuperscript{36} 201 b, \textsuperscript{37} in its significance, Tarn, \textit{Antigonus Gonatas}, p. 371.
\textsuperscript{38} The image was called Ἐρμής ἄρης, not ' the Fortune of Corinth,' and it wore the diadem; while the other cities were represented by living women.
\textsuperscript{39} Three out of the eight demes of the tribe Dionysias at Alexandria, as given by Satus, bore names which reflected names in the pedigree, but at the very beginning of it. Doubtless all the eight demes names are of Alexander's day, whether the three were taken from his pedigree or, like the other five, direct from the Dionysus story. The recently discovered demotic Argeades (P. Mich. \textit{Zet.} no. 66, l. 12) also probably belongs to Alexander's time.
\textsuperscript{40} Theoc. XVII, 42: Ἀρχαῖοι τῷ Ἰταλοῖς.
\textsuperscript{41} Tarn, \textit{CQ.} 1929, p. 136.
\textsuperscript{42} K. Ziegler, \textit{Phil.}, 1928, p. 84.
disgrace; and if Callicrates, who had successfully occupied one of the two highest posts in the kingdom, was an exception, there must have been a reason. I want to examine the whole matter, and to suggest a reason, which goes further than the question of Callicrates.

The suggestion that Callicrates survived his nauarchate was first made by Dr. E. Bevan in 1927, in connexion with the dating of the letter of Ptolemy II to Miletus; soon afterwards Professor W. Otto made the same suggestion independently, in connexion with the dating of the same letter. Meanwhile in 1927 Professor U. Wilcken had suggested that the Callicrates of P. Cairo Zen. 59066 (259 b.c.) might be the son of Boiscus. More recently Mr. C. C. Edgar has taken the view that the Callicrates of P. Mich. Zen. 100 (257 b.c.) was almost certainly the admiral, and Wilcken has referred to the mention of the admiral in these two papyri as a fact, while Professor M. Rostovtzeff has alluded to the Callicrates of P. Mich. Zen. 100 as the admiral. Before going on, I ought to say that, though the Callicrates question had its origin in a consideration of the date of Ptolemy's letter to Miletus, it is now, in my view, quite independent of that document; whether Callicrates were nauarch or ex-nauarch at the date of that letter depends on the dating of the letter and not vice versa. What I have to say here has, so far as I see, no bearing one way or the other on the much-argued question of that dating, on which I have said all that I have to say; the problem of Callicrates must now be treated on its own merits.

The documents which now matter, putting aside Ptolemy's letter to Miletus, are the two Zeno papyri to which I have referred; but before examining them I would note that the name Callicrates, notoriously common in Egypt in the second century b.c., was also common in the earlier period. I give in a note below some cases of the occurrence of the name in Egypt in the third century b.c.; more important perhaps are the Friend of Ptolemy I treated of in the first of these Notes, and in the middle of the third century another Callicrates from Samos, sometimes confused with

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43 A History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty, 1927, p. 387.
44 Milii, Ill, 1, no. 136.
45 Beiträge zur Selimidgeschichte, 1928, p. 23.
46 Archiv, VIII, p. 276.
48 Archiv, X, 1932, p. 76.
49 Foreign Commerce of Ptolemaic Egypt, Journ. of Economic and Business History, IV, 1932, p. 764, n. 4.
50 The last articles in the debate between Otto and myself as to this dating are Tarn, Hermes, LXV, 1939, p. 446; Otto, Philol. LXXXVI, 1931, p. 400. I am no more convinced by Otto's reply than I was before, but as I began, he is entitled to the last word, and I do not propose to write on the subject again; σταύρος ιδιότητας. The main point about his reply is that he is now compelled to postulate a 'Zwischenzeit' between the categories νομιμοί and παρελθόν (pp. 404, 407); and I frankly confess that I do not understand what an 'intermediate period' between 'now' and 'formerly' can mean.—In case anyone should think that p. 386 of Dr. M. Cary's book of 1932, A History of the Greek World from 323 to 146 b.c., means (as it might perhaps seem to mean) that Mr. Sidney Smith has altered his view of the dating in the Babylonian Chronicle concerning Antiochus, I have his permission to state that he is still of the same opinion as when he republished that Chronicle, and for the same reason.
the nauarch. His name occurs together with that of Patroclus (the nauarch or future nauarch) in a list of proxenies given by Olus in Crete,\textsuperscript{52} at a time when Egypt was seeking allies in the island: Πάτρωκλον Πάτρωνος Μακέδονας, Καλλικράτης Περιγένη Αριστσόνου Ιθισέου Σιμίσος. 'Ιθισέου is obviously wrong, and E. Pozzi,\textsuperscript{63} whom Professor Wilhelm has followed,\textsuperscript{64} proposed to read Βοῖσκου, making this Callicrates the nauarch. But the temptation to turn an unknown man into a known one is, I think, to be resisted, certainly in the third century B.C., unless there be clear evidence, and in this case the position is unsatisfactory; J. Demargne, who published the inscription, published it from a squeeze and a copy,\textsuperscript{65} and neither he nor Pozzi nor Wilhelm saw the stone. I had myself previously assumed\textsuperscript{56} that 'Ιθισέου was a stone-cutter's error for 'Ισιδηκο, a known name;\textsuperscript{57} and as this does less violence to the actual letters (if they be the actual letters) than Βοῖσκου, and as Demargne wrote 'la lecture est partout très facile,' I shall continue to believe that this is right unless and until an examination of the stone disproves it. But in any case the name Callicrates is so common that it is clear that we must have some good reason, besides the mere name, if we are to say that the Callicrates of this or that papyrus must be the son of Boiscus.

\textit{P. Cairo Zên. 59006.} (259 B.C.) is a list of people who drew salt fish from store, probably over some days, in a garrison town somewhere near Gaza; they included members of the garrison, and also (Col. II) Apollonius' steward Zeno and various people travelling with him, among them his accountant Pyrrhon and one Heracleides τοῦ ἀγάγοντι—dragoman, or one who saw to horses for the party. Among Zeno's party is listed one Dionysodorus τοῦ παρα Καλλικράτους; and in Col. I, outside Zeno's party, there are listed another agent of Callicrates and an agent of Ptolemy II; the latter had perhaps not yet arrived, as a note (οὖτα) shows that he had not yet drawn his ration. As one of Callicrates' agents was travelling with Zeno, their object was more probably trade than anything else; Callicrates might be a mere trader (there are plenty of cases in the Zeno papyri of quite unimportant men having agents), or he might be the ex-nauarch doing some trade on his own account, as did the great Apollonius. It is all perfectly indeterminate; and we cannot interpret it in the light of \textit{P. Mich. Zên. 100} and say that Callicrates' agents might be concerned with naval matters, because lines 64–5 show Dionysodorus travelling \textit{inland} with Zeno's party to Marisa.

\textit{P. Mich. Zên. 100.} (257 B.C., \textit{i.e.} the year after 258) is more definite. One Zoilus (not the known \textit{economus}), who calls himself an agent of an agent of Callicrates and a collector (λογαρίσμος) of the τραπέζημα, the tax for the upkeep of the navy, writes to Apollonius to say that Callicrates has told him to remind him (Apollonius) that he has not paid his navy tax, and that Callicrates has written to him (Apollonius) personally to ask for payment. It is clear that this Callicrates was an important person whose

\textsuperscript{52} SGDE. 5104a, l. 36.
\textsuperscript{53} Le battaglie di Cori e di Andro, 1912, p. 370, n. 1.
\textsuperscript{54} He put it before the Chersonesean war.
\textsuperscript{55} AM. LI, 1926, p. 16.
\textsuperscript{56} BCH. XXIV, 1900, p. 223.
\textsuperscript{57} F. Freisinger, \textit{Namnhbuch}, 12.
interest or duty it was to get in the navy tax; beyond this the document
does not go. For when Edgar says that the allusion to the navy tax makes
the 'identification' (with Callicrates the nauarch) 'almost certain,' and
that, granting that Callicrates was not nauarch during the Chremonidean
war, 'he may have resumed active service as admiral of the fleet' after
that war, one is bound to point out that the collection of taxes was no part
of the functions of the nauarch, and that, qua nauarch, he can have had
nothing to do with the navy tax, which was an ordinary royal tax collected
by the usual machinery. And there is a definite reason, which I shall
come to, why the Callicrates of this papyrus could not have been nauarch
at the time it was written.

But that does not necessarily mean that this Callicrates was not the
son of Boiscus. The date, 257 B.C., is important; for of the two dates now
possible for the battle of Cos, 258 and 256, 258 seems to me the probable
one. A naval defeat for Egypt so important that she lost the Cyclades
and the command of the Aegean, even though Egypt and Syria were not
threatened, would entail heavy work to try and make things good; the war
was still going on in 257, and therefore the nauarch himself (presumably
Patioclus, see post) would be with the fleet; and the theory which com-
mands itself to me is that Callicrates the ex-nauarch, being available, had
been called out of his retirement and appointed to manage the 'home
front'—to reorganise and supplement the existing ships, with a special
commission to take charge of and get in the navy tax (perhaps augmented).
This, of course, is hypothesis only; the papyrus does not prove it; it does
not prove anything, except that the Callicrates in question was not nauarch
(p. 65). But it can hardly be chance that information is gradually pointing
to activity of the sort in the year 257. In the winter of 258/7 the repair of a
'nine,' (ἐννεάς) at Halicarnassus was considered so urgent that Apollonius'
subordinate Apollodotus got the keeper of the royal treasure in
that city to advance 2000 dr. to the triarch out of the proceeds of a royal
tax, while Apollonius himself guaranteed an advance of another 3000 dr.;
and in 257 Zoilus the economus, another subordinate of Apollonius, had
to neglect his own work because he was 'busy about the sending off of the
sailors'—a statement which might have nothing to do with the war-fleet,
but again might mean that Callicrates had Apollonius' whole organisa-
tion at his disposal. Lastly, in P. Cairo Žen. 51040, dated 3 April 257, the writer,
whose name is lost, is equipping a ship, ναῦς, and complains that certain
men had been drafted into the καυγαῖ, who were a military organisation;
his ναῦς seems more likely to mean a warship than not, since a trading
vessel on the Nile is usually called παλαιός.

I come now to the argument from titles. Otto put forward a definite
reason for supposing that, at the date of Ptolemy's letter to Miletus, the

80 P. Hübch 1, 114 (cf. 113). Rostovtzeff, loc. cit. suggests that the τεμπάρµατος of P. Mich. Žen. 100
might be a tax on the import of foreign goods, citing
P. Cairo Žen. 59012-59014.
81 My reasons, CAH. VII, pp. 713, 862.
82 P. Cairo Žen. 59036 (repayment asked for 1 Feb.
257); see Wilckens, Raccolta Lumenis, pp. 93 144.
83 The ἐννεάς is called ἡ παλαιός. My own habit of now
calling these great ships in English merely by their
numbers, e.g. a 'nine,' follows this ancient practice;
I hope it may become universal.
84 See now P. Rosell, REG. XLIII, 1930, p. 961.
85 Beiträge zur Seleukidengeschichte, p. 25.
Calliocrates therein mentioned was ex-nauarch (i.e., had survived his office): he said that, had he been nauarch at the time, the king would have given him his title. But there are other cases in kings’ letters where an official is named without his title (I exclude, of course, the greeting, where the title is normally omitted). There is a clear instance in the letter of Philip V to the Abaeans: γέγραψι τῷ Ἰρασιλῆδι μὴ ἐνυχλείν ύμᾶς. There is another in a letter of Attalus II to Attis: οὐκ ἔργαγοντος μου οὔ μόνον Ἀθηναίων καὶ Σωσσίδου καὶ Μηνυγηνήν ἄλα καὶ ἑτέρους πλείον τῶν ἔναγχων; Athenaeanus was the king’s brother, Sosandrus was his foster-brother, priest of Dionysus Kathegemon, and perhaps general, and Menogenes was vizier, ὃ ἔντι τῶν πραγμάτων. Similarly, one king could mention another without his title: letter of Antiochus III to the people of Amyzon, ἐν τῇ Πτολεμαίῳ συμμαχίᾳ. Finally, in the famous letter of Antigonus I to Scepsis, among the numerous names of rulers, generals, and what not which occur in it, not one has any title or distinguishing word. Otto’s argument therefore fails. I may add that the reason of this diversity of practice in kings’ letters was undoubtedly this:—when a secretary drafted the letter he put in the title, but when the king wrote it himself he sometimes did not bother to do so. The omission of the title might also occur where the king gave the secretary a rough note to be put into shape, and the secretary copied the material words verbatim.

Only the king, however, could omit the title; the king’s secretary never does. It seems clear, therefore (to return to P. Mich. 257), that a mere λογαριάς like Zoilus could not possibly omit Calliocrates’ title if he were nauarch; indeed he even gives Apollonius his title in the greeting, Ἀπολλωνίων διοικητῆς χαῖρε, where titles were usually omitted. To me this is conclusive against Calliocrates being nauarch at the date of this letter,

For completeness, I note that the Delian inventories give no help. Two gold wreaths dedicated by a Calliocrates appear from 279 to 244, after which they were presumably placed in a ρυμός. In 279 one of them is listed amid a number of fourth-century dedications, and the inventory of 269 calls the donor Καλλικράτους Μακέδωνος; he was therefore not the Samian but the already mentioned Friend of Ptolemy I, sent to Cyprus in 310. These wreaths have nothing to do with the son of Boiscus.

There is therefore no proof that Calliocrates son of Boiscus survived the termination of his nauarchate; and it is difficult to see why a man who had been so successful and was so honoured should be relieved of his office by the king, while still remaining in favour; for naturally he could

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64 See their letters collected by F. Schroeter, De regum helenistorum epistolis in lapidibus sereniss quassione stilistico, Leipzig, 1932.
65 Ditt. Syl. 552 = Schroeter 32.
66 OGIS. 315, VI, l. 47 = Schroeter 47.
67 See Dittenberger ad loc.
68 OGIS. 391-46.
69 Schroeter 27.
70 OGIS. 5 = Schroeter 1.
71 IG. XI, ii, 1618, l. 54.
72 J.H.S.—VOL. LIH.
73 B. 203B, l. 78. I once suggested that Μακέδωνος might perhaps be a title of honour (JHSt. 1911, p. 253). Now that the inventories can be studied as a whole this is at once seen to be untenable.
74 The big variances from the normal weights in 1618, l. 89 and 1628, l. 43 must be stone-cutter’s errors.
75 He was the nauarch of the first Syrian war.
76 E.g. OGIS. 29, a unique honour for a subject.
not retire of himself unless Ptolemy agreed. Nevertheless, there does seem to be a certain probability that this is what did happen, and I am going to suggest a reason; and if my hypothesis should ultimately prove correct, then indeed we might feel certain that the Callicrates of *P. Mich. Zen.* 100 was the ex-nauarch. I start from a perplexing fact about the nauarchs of the reigns of Ptolemy II and Ptolemy III: there were too many of them. In a period of 68 years, from 286 to 218 (in Philopator’s reign), seven are known—Philocrates, Callicrates, Patroclus, Timotheus the Rhodian (*p. 67*, n. 91), Hermaphilos the Rhaukian,76 the nauarch of the battle of Andros,77 and Perigenes;78 and this during one of the most obscure periods of ancient history, where much of the evidence has perished. Contrast the long terms of office sometimes enjoyed by the highest civil officials of the earlier Ptolemy—Apollonius dionetes for 15–17 years at least, Sosibius in office, first as dionetes and then as vizier, ἐπὶ τῶν προφυλάτων,79 for some 40 years;80 and Polybius speaks as though cases of such long tenure of power as his were common.81 There is no possibility of there having been two nauarchs at once; other considerations apart, the enormous powers of these Viceroyats of the sea absolutely preclude the idea.82 And although, as Lord High Admiral, the nauarch commanded the main fleet in battle, and though in this period Egypt was defeated in two great naval battles, Cos and Andros, we cannot take refuge in the belief that some nauarchs were killed in action. For one of the astounding things in the Hellenistic period (I include Rome and Carthage here) is that there is, I believe, no recorded case in which, in a formal battle, the admiral of the beaten fleet, however badly beaten, was killed; the reason doubtless was that the admiral usually had a larger and more powerful ship than anyone else.83 Ptolemy I escaped from Salamis, though his fleet was almost annihilated. Gonatas survived his defeat by Keraunos, Pyrrhus his crushing defeat by Carthage. In the first Punic war, Hannibal escaped from Mylae, Hamilcar from Ecnomus, Hanno from the Aegean Islands; P. Claudius Pulcher survived the annihilation of his fleet at Drepana. Attalus I escaped at Chios, though his flagship was captured. In Rome’s war with Antiochus III Hannibal escaped at Side, as did Polyxenidas at Corycus and Myonnesus; in the Civil Wars, Octavian escaped from Tauromenium, Sextus Pompeius from Naucratis, Antony from Actium. This list must suffice here. There is one case where the victorious admiral subsequently died of his wounds, the Rhodian Theophiliscus after Chios;84 but he only had a quinquereme, and had risked his life deliberately.

My suggestion to account for the number of Ptolemaic nauarchs in this period, and for the probability of Callicrates’ reappearance as ex-nauarch,
is that the nauarch held office for a term of ten years only; that is, that he had to retire at the end of ten years, supposing that the king did not remove him sooner (I do not mean that he had fixity of tenure). No appointment for a term of years is so far known in any Hellenistic kingdom; but it was not unknown in the Greek-speaking world, for some officials at Athens were appointed for four years,66 as the censors at Rome were for five, and Aristotle speaks of offices longer than annual as a well-known thing.67 My hypothesis fits what is at present known about the nauarchs, and I will take it by decades. The office of nauarch, in the enlarged sense of a Viceroyalty of the sea, was created by Ptolemy I in 286 for Philocles, the date now being certain;68 he fills the decade from 286 onward, the last epigraphic mention of him being in 278 (or 277).69 Callicrates would occupy the decade from 276; his association with Arsinoe II is well attested, and in my view her marriage was in 276/5,70 though she must have been influential before it; and two epigrams of the contemporary Poseidippus show that Callicrates remained nauarch for long enough after her death in July 270 to build the temple he dedicated to her as Aphrodite Zephyritis.71 The decade from 266 should be Patroclus'; I will come back to this. The decade from 256 is then certainly that of Timotheus, author of the well-known work On Harbours, as he was nauarch somewhere under Ptolemy II.72 The decade from 246 is that of the name concealed beneath Trogus' Pyros, the nauarch of the battle of Andros, which is fixed to 246 (or early 245) by its dependence upon the Panneus and Solertia at Delos;73 that from 236 must then be that of Hermaphilus, as IG. XII. 3, 1291 belongs to about this period; and that from 226 belongs to Perigenses, mentioned by Polybius

66 The Atholobatai of the Panathenaia and the Epitaspai of Eleusia; Busolt, Greek. Staatskunde, II, p. 1655; other instances p. 1657, n. 1.
67 Print VI, 13, 1993, 7.
68 Tarn, Antigone Comata, pp. 105–6. CII. VII, p. 92; proved now by 287 being the last year of Demetrius' dated Tyrian coinage (E. T. Newell, Tyrian Redaction, 1923, pp. 14, 21 sqq.). W. S. Ferguson's datings of Demetrius' surrender to spring 286 agrees with this (CPIH. XXIV, 1929, p. 29, on a consideration of the Lachares papyri).
69 SEG. I, 363; see Tarn, JHS. 1926, p. 138.
70 Tarn, ib. p. 161.
71 Poseidippus' two epigrams on this temple are given by Preger, loc. cit., p. 96, and in Schout, Poseidippis Epigrammata; the one from a papyrus also by Hiller von Gaertringen, Historische Griech. Epigrammer, no. 95 (the other is Athen. VII, 3186). Both show that Callicrates was nauarch when he built and dedicated it. Usually this has been thought to be after Arsinoe's death (see now A. D. Nock, Ξηρά και Φυσικά, Harvard Stud. in Classical Phil., XLI, 1930, p. 6, and references); but Wilamowitz, Hellenistische Dichtung, I, 193 (whose conclusion is adopted by Hiller, loc. cit.), argued that the temple was built during her life, because (a) after her death she was herself a goddess, 'nicht bloss Trägerin des Geistes einer anderen,' and (b) the papyrus epigram calls her ἐπιστάτης. But as to (a), she was indisputably Isis in 286/5, after her death (Nock, op. cit., p. 6 and references; see too her identification with Isis, E. Brecia, Inscr. gr. e. lat., 8 and 9, and M. R. Vallées, CR. Archäol. 1929, p. 33). And as to (b), in the royal styles of Gogatas (IG. XI, 4, 1955–6) and Domn (ib. 1957) each calls his dead father βασιλεὺς; and Geopatra VII was βασιλεία long after her death, BGG. IV, 1182, 1190, as indeed Arsinoe herself was in cult, 'Εσπ. 1925–6, pp. 72, 116, and 74. Wilamowitz' conclusion is therefore, I think, unfounded.
72 Str. IX, 421 ὁ δὲαἰγύπτιος τοῦ Ρείλιου Πτολεμαίου cannot be wrong, and is confirmed by Pliny, H.N. VI, 183, 'classium Philadelphi prœfector' (note the plural). Marcianus, Epitome Peripli Monippi (GGM. I), § 2, calls him ἄρχων Πτολεμαίου; but Strabo and Pliny do not. Timotheus was, of course, a subject of Ptolemy, not a citizen of Rhodes.
73 W. B. Dinsmoor, The Archon of Athens in the Hellenistic Age, 1931, pp. 495 sqq., proposes to shift the Delian dates between 301 and 225 one year forward (300 to 224). I need not consider this here, as the battle of Andros a year later would not affect my hypothesis; but I think the evidence is against it.
(V, 68, 3) as nauarch in 218. This means that the seven names we possess go into seven consecutive decades.

As to Patroclus. That he was nauarch at some time during the Chremonidean war is unquestioned; and I gave my reasons in 1920 for agreeing with Professor A. C. Johnson that the first campaigning season of that war was 266 and not 265. But now Professor W. B. Dinsmoor dates Chremonides’ decree to 270/69, making 269 the first campaigning season. I suppose it is possible that Callicrates, who was nauarch for long enough after 270 to build a temple, might have fought part of the war and then been succeeded by Patroclus; but, on a first consideration, I feel that there are serious difficulties in this way of Dinsmoor’s dating of the beginning of the war, and as I naturally cannot investigate this complicated matter at the end of an article on another subject, I must adhere meanwhile, provisionally of course, to my former dating.

There is, however, another fact about Patroclus which is material and has not, I think, been noticed: there can be little doubt that he was the nauarch defeated at Cos (in 258). Phylarchus relates that Patroclus challenged Antigonus to wrest the command of the sea from Egypt by sending him a present of fish and figs, which Antigonus interpreted to his Council as meaning that they must get command of the sea or starve; and the point of the story must be that it was going to be Patroclus himself whom Antigonus was to defeat in the decisive battle. The story thus gains that touch of the dramatic which Phylarchus is supposed to have sought for in his writing of history.

It remains to ask, why ten years for the nauarch’s term of office? If the arrangement was, as it was, an unusual one, probably the reason would be an unusual one also; and I think it may have been that Philocles did happen to be nauarch for ten years and then died; he had previously served Demetrius, and was probably not young. Egypt’s debt to Philocles, who had given her the empire of the sea, was very great; for him the (enlarged) office of nauarch had been created; and Ptolemy II may have decided that no future nauarch should hold office longer than Philocles had done. I am thinking of course of the unwritten but unbroken law in the United States that no President shall hold office longer than Washington did.

The existing evidence then fits my suggestion, but is naturally far from proving it. I am publishing it as a working hypothesis, which may provide a framework meanwhile, and which future discoveries may either confirm or refute.

W. W. TARN.

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98 Paus. 1, 1, 1; see Tarn, JHS. 1911, pp. 256-8. Add to the inscriptions there considered ‘Egypt. 1920, p. 87, a better copy of OGIS. 45.
94 JHS, XL, 1920, pp. 150 sq.
98 As does J. Kirchner, Gymnion, 1932, p. 453.
97 Athen. VIII, 334α = FGrHist. 1, 334 = FGrHist. 11a, p. 162.
99 Tarn, Antigonos Gonatas, pp. 105-9. But the debt was even greater than I could then know; for he was also the nauarch of the successful war of 280/79 (see Otto, Beiträge, pp. 19 sqq.), in which Egypt acquired Miletus and much other territory.
THE CASTLE ASHBY APOLLODOROS

[PLATE VI.]

The name of the vase-painter Apollodoros was discovered by Hartwig, who combined the incomplete inscriptions on two works so close in style that they must be by a single hand: the cup-fragment in the collection of the Marquess of Northampton at Castle Ashby (Pl. VI, 1) gives... odoros-...graphsen. The fragmentary cup in the Louvre Apollod. ... 2 The Castle Ashby fragment has been taken to represent actual fighting; but comparison with a fragment in the Villa Giulia suggests another interpretation. The Villa Giulia fragment shows, inside (Pl. VI, 3), the lower right quarter of a warrior moving to right, the shield on the left arm, the spear carried in the right hand. The device on the shield was the face of a satyr in full relief: what remains is the long beard. The shield-rim is inscribed [καλ]ευει. An apron hangs from the rim—a piece of felt or leather folded in two and fastened at the fold to the shield. On the outside of the cup (Pl. VI, 2) we find the lower parts of two warriors moving quickly yet cautiously to the right: chiton, greaves, shield, spear carried low. To the right of the leader came the handle. On the other’s shield-rim [... νε].

Now I take the Castle Ashby fragment to have come from just such a scene. What we see there is head and shoulders of a young warrior moving to right, bending; helmet, chiton, wrap, spear carried, shield charged with a satyr’s face in high relief; on the right, crest-tip and spear-butt of a second warrior moving in the same direction. I think it almost certain that the Castle Ashby fragment comes not only from a cup with the same subject as the Villa Giulia, but from the same half of the same cup; and that the two Castle Ashby figures are the same as the two Villa Giulia. The relation of the two fragments will have been approximately as in Pl. VI, 1–2.

Hartwig gives h... on the Castle Ashby shield-rim: I forgot to verify the reading: if it is correct, the h will have been the beginning of a ἁρας... or ἁρας... The lines to the right of the shield in the Villa Giulia fragment may be the ends of the satyr’s beard.

A second fragment in the Villa Giulia must come from the other half of the same cup; for not only is the style exactly like, but there is the same craquelure near the border inside.3 Outside (Pl. VI, 4), right foot and

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2. The Castle Ashby fragment, Hartwig pl. 69, 1, whence our pl. 1, 1, and (retouched) Hoppin, RF, p. 45. The Louvre cup G 139 and 140, Potter, Album, pl. 115; part only, Hartwig, pl. 69, 2; part only, Hoppin, p. 47. On Apollodoros see Hartwig, pp. 628–40 and p. 702, note 11; and my Att. V, pp. 58–3 and 468; Hoppin’s account, as I have pointed out elsewhere (BSR 11, pp. 19–20), is a misconception, based on errors exposed by Hartwig (Meist, pp. 314–15).
3. My thanks are due to Cav. Enrico Stefani for kindly allowing me to reproduce the two fragments in the Villa Giulia; and to Dr. Bartolomeo Nogara for his permission to figure, by way of tall-piece (fig. 1), the cup by Apollodoros in the Vatican, no. 5 in Hartwig’s list, no. 4 in mine. The left knee and part of the right are modern; part of the shield-rim to the left of the kappa, and of the corselet below that. The photographs are all my wife’s.
greaved shin of a warrior to right, then a warrior wounded and fallen, then the right foot and right hand of an opponent, the hand pulling the wounded man's shield away from his body to dispatch him. On the shield-rim [κ]ωλ. . . . Inside (Pl. VI, 5, under the actual size), the fragment gives part of a crest, to right, and the letters . . . ει . . ., no doubt part of the love-name Euryptolemos which appears on two other cups by Apollodoros.⁴

The picture, then, on one half of the exterior was a battle: the other half showed warriors hastening up to take part.⁵ The wounded warrior was male; but whether the other figures were male or female—Amazons—is doubtful.

There is a small fragment in the Villa Giulia which I did not connect with our cup at the time, but the remains are such that I wonder whether it may not belong. Outside, the beginning of a line-border. Inside, what must be the left lower edge of a shield-apron cut out into just the same peculiar half-vandykes as on the outside of our cup; and to the left of them what I take to be a shin, the right shin of the warrior.

J. D. BEAZLEY.

⁴ The signed cup in the Louvre; and the cup in Florence and Villa Giulia (see my Campana Fragments in Florence, pl. B, 7). ⁵ See my Kleophonides-Maler, p. 18.
CLASSICAL EPIGRAMS AND EPITAPS

A STUDY OF THE KIMONIAN AGE

II. The Stoia of Zeus, p. 82.
III. The War Monument in the Meçjanian Agora, p. 95.
IV. A Hellenistic Monument of the Eurymedon, p. 97.
V. The Delphic Charioteer, p. 101.

I. THE USE OF πολύς IN EPIGRAMS AND EPIGRAMS: AND THE EION EPIGRAM.

The epigrams and other verse inscriptions which are preserved for us in literature impose on us a certain caution. The good-will which our authors have brought to the reading of monuments is like what we bring to the singing of hymns: when lulled by the authority of the verse-form and of the occasion, we can accept things which the poet cannot have intended. I take as example the 'green hill far away Without a city wall.' The poet does not say that the hill is unwalled but that it is outside Jerusalem: yet to understand him to say the former is both easy and common.

The moral is important. What generations of intelligent piety can acquiesce in is one thing: what the poet can have meant is another. We

1 Bibliographical Note.—The 'Simonides Question' has not seriously advanced since M. Bosis' elaborate treatise, De epigrammate Simonidess, I, Groningen, 1905. See also R. Reitzenstein, (Epigramm und Skolion, 1893, pp. 104 sqq.), Art. Epigramm in Pauly-Wissowa, 1900, col. 71 sqq. J. Geffcken, 'Griechische Epigramme [Text and Commentary], Heidelberg, 1916: Studien zum griechischen Epigramm, in Neues Archiv, 1917, pp. 88 sqq. Art. Simonides in Pauly-Wissowa, 1927, col. 192 sqq., and of course Wissowa (Sappho und Simonides, 1913, pp. 192 sqq.). It is well established that ascription to Simonides in the Palætine Anthology is no guarantee at all that Simonides wrote the poem. Bosis believes that a collection was made at the close of the fourth century B.C. of famous epigrams, which ascribed them all to Simonides. He further holds that certain poems of Musaikos, a writer of the third century B.C. who modelled his style on Simonides, were later ascribed to Simonides: the only one of this class I have occasion to quote is Epigramm [O]. For an example of third-century epigrams on classical subjects which were actually inscribed, see Epigramm [W] and [X].


The collections of metrical inscriptions by Karel and Freiber are now rather obsolete: a new edition is projected by W. Perek (Cimnams, VIII, 1932, 559 sq.). New discoveries, restorations, etc. are reported in due course in the volumes of [Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum]. Good selections have been made by J. Geffcken, Griechische Epigramme, Heidelberg, 1916, and E. Hiller von Gaertringen, Historische griechische Epigramme, Bonn [Kleine Texte, 150], 1926. I give references to the last wherever possible.

The 'Simonidean' epigrams are given in Diehl's Anthologia Lyrica under Simonides, and other classical epigrams and epitaphs in his first fascicle (Poetae Elegici) and under Anovm in the Poetae Melici, Monodia. Stadtsmüller's Teubner edition of the Palætine Anthology is unfinished but includes Book VII (Sepulcraria), and it is to be hoped that Watz's Büd edition soon will: Paxton's Loeb edition is complete.
must not, therefore, be shocked to find Herodotos also acquiescing in what the poet never meant him to believe. Recording the Battle of Thermopylae, and concluding with the action in which (he says) only Spartans and Thespians fought, he then names the bravest of the Spartans, and then of the Thespians. He then proceeds, ἐφθάσει δὲ σφι αὐτοῦ ταύτη τῇ περ ἔπεσον — ἐπιγέρατται γράμματα λέγοντα τάδε

[Ἀ] μυρίσαις ποτὲ τῇ δε τρισκοσιαίο ἔμοχοντο
ἐκ Πελοποννᾶσσου χιλιάδες τέτορες.

Thespians is not in Peloponnese, and this is not an epitaph. Herodotos has indeed masked this sentence by adding καὶ τοὺς πρῶτους τελευτήσας ἢ ὑπὸ Ἀεωνίδεω ἐποτεμφθέντων οἶχονται. This does not seriously mend matters. The inscription belongs neither to the grave of the Thespians nor to the grave of the 'Thespians and others.' It marks no grave. It marks a battle-field,

Four thousand Peloponnesians once
Fought here against three millions,

and since these stones were erected, it seems, before Simonides died, the bulk of those 4000 were presumably still alive: most certainly they were not buried at Thermopylae. That so aware and alert a man as Herodotos should speak of it as of an epitaph I ascribe to the mesmeric effect of ritual verse.

Eduard Meyer speaks of these lines with contempt. The Persian numbers are indeed rather shocking: yet it is not the numbers at which he points his scorn, but the word ποτὲ: 'stopgaps like ποτὲ,' he says, 'are used without the least scruple, where the poet is too unskilful to find anything better' (Forsch. II. 20–21). This is most undeserved: it is high time that the sense of ποτὲ in this and similar epigrams was understood.

The Persians remained in possession of the field of Thermopylae; and Xerxes marched among the corpses and (so it is said) had the body of Leonidas dishonoured (Hdt. VII. 238). Doubtless Leonidas and the other dead were ultimately buried; but it was not until at least eighteen months later, perhaps not till a good deal later again, that the Amphiktyons took in hand the honouring of the reconquered site, and the erection of the monuments, epitaphs and epigrams (Hdt. VII. 228. 4, 225. 2). Nor should the interval be measured in time only: all history, it must have seemed, had happened in that interval: the Greeks recovered Thermopylae with something of the feelings with which the English marched back into Mons. *Here once—*

This couplet, and that more famous and noble couplet on the Spartans (ὅ ἦν' ἀγγέλειν κτλ.) were inscribed on public memorials, to the order of the Amphiktyons. Herodotos does not say who wrote them: perhaps Simonides, though in that exalted hour I do not suppose he was the only

* Dr. Macan has claimed Herodotos as an Irishman: surely we need not insert τούτο before ὑπὸ? * See M. Boas, De epigrammati Simonidis, § 14 (pp. 16 sqq.).
Greek capable of skilful and immortal verse. Yet it is likely it was Simonides, for Herodotos speaks of a third poem inscribed on the same site, and this was written privately by Simonides for his friend Megistias. It looks as if the poet who inscribed the two public monuments took occasion to inscribe a third for his private friend. It is as follows:

[B] μὴ μας τὸδε κλεινολο Μεγιστία, δι' ποτὲ Μῆδοι
Σπερχεῖον ποταμὸν κτεῖναι ἄμειψαμενοι,
μάντιος, δι' τὸτε κήρασα ἐπεξερχόμενος σάφα εἰδώς
οὐκ ἔτη Σπάρτης ἠγεμόνας προλιπεῖν.

Megistias remember, whom the Mede
Crossing Spercheios once did kill,
The seer, who saw impending death indeed
And stood by Sparta still.

Here ποτὲ, in a genuine epitaph, refers to the circumstances of death. That this is exceptional, I hope to show: and if it is, then it is the exceptio probans regulam, for we have seen the special circumstances requiring ποτὲ here. When the monuments were erected, the events had already fallen into perspective.—Those same circumstances are plainly stated in the inscription which Plutarch reports from the precinct of Artemision (Them. VIII. 5 = H. v. Gaertringen, Epigr. 14):

[C] παντοδαπῶν ἀνδρῶν γενέσαι Ἀσίασ ἀπὸ χώρας
παίδεος Ἀθηναίων τοῖδε ποτ' ἐν πελάγιες
ναυμαχίας διαμάσαντες, ἐπεὶ στρατός ἀλέστω Μῆδων,
στιματ' ταύτ' ἱδονα παρθένω Ἀρτέμιδι.

This is not an epitaph: like the ψυφών ποτὲ τῆς [A], it seems rather to mark a battle site, and to honour the living, not the dead. The poet says expressly that when the monument was erected Mardonios had been defeated (στρατός ἀλέστω Μῆδων: cf. Thuc. I. 132. 2): in this perspective, the engagement at Artemision is properly qualified with ποτὲ.

One more instance [D], where ποτὲ marks the first stage in a process now complete, will lead up to my especial objective [E]. The names of the hundred men who stood siege at Phyle in the winter of 404–3, and so began the democratic revival, were inscribed in the Metoon at Athens, with this epigram (Aeschines, III. 190 = H. v. Gaertringen, Hist. Gr. Epigr. 61):

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The 'historical' implication of this ποτὲ is developed by the ποτὲ in line 3: cf. the dedication of Alexander's Lion-Hunt at Delphi (BCH. XXI. 508: H. v. Gaertringen, Epigr. 82): on ποτὲ, Alexander pote os immo, etc...

Διαμάτας—ὁδίκη: it is a dedication by the victors.

A similar ποτὲ occurs in the lines quoted by Plutarch (Arist. 19, De melig. 43) from the altar of Zeus Eleutherios at Plateaiai. We must infer, after these instances, that it was inscribed later than 479.

4 This results, I think, from τοιοῦτο in line 1. The figure of approximately 100 survivors of the siege results from Aeschines III. 187, χάλκη δροσιάς, καὶ τοῦτ' ἔστω πλοτόν ἢ δίκοι δροσιάς ἀν' ἠδρία: ibid. 350—ἐβίθ Φιλή ἐπιλοιπόκτητον.
The men were not crowned till the Restoration, of which their action was the 'first beginning,'⁹ was complete and assured (probably in 400, see Ferguson CAH. V. 375). The defence of Phyle, like the battle of Artemision, had been the 'bright foundation-stone of freedom.'¹⁰

Exactly parallel in phrase to these oι ποτε—πρῶτοι—ηρωίν are those oι ποτε—πρῶτοι—νῦνοι¹¹ in a poem which Aeschines quotes a few chapters earlier (III. 184: cf. Plut. Kimon, VII. 4: = H. v. Gaertringen, Εἰπ. 34b):

[E] ἦν δρᾶ κάκεινοι ταλακάρδιοι οἱ ποτε Μῆδων ταιοιν ἐπὶ Ἡλεία Στρυμόνοι ἀμφί ροδᾶ λιμόν τ' αἰθωνα κρεοῦν τ' ἐτάγωντες Ἀρμα πρῶτοι δυσμενέων νῦνον ἀμηχανίν. They too were brave, who once against the Mede By Stymphon's riverside at Eion Advancing fiery hunger and cold war First taught their adversary to despair.

No one who reads this poem with attention can doubt that, at the moment when the poets writes, the battle of Eion lies in the past, and is seen as the beginning of a process¹² which has since been carried further: that, in fact, these verses are written after the battles of the Eurymedon and perhaps after Kimon's death. Κάκεινοι, in line 1, because the victors of Eion are being compared with the later victors. 'They too were brave, who once—first found out how to break the enemy's resource.'

That the mesmeric effect of ritual poetry¹³ was enough to let Aeschines imagine the memorial as set up soon after the battle, when the generals came home, is not surprising. It is more surprising that practically all modern scholars follow him, even to repeating the childish tale that the Demos forbade the generals to mention their own names.¹⁴ It is perfectly

¹⁰ Plutarch's words, quoted by Plutarch, Them. VIII.
¹¹ Ἡρώιν is, of course, a word proper to first inventors.
¹² Κρατίπων Aesch. κραιπόν Plut.
¹³ The 'process' in question is the breaking of Persian morale: πρῶτοι δυσμενέων νῦνον ἀμηχανίν.
¹⁴ III. 184-4, τὴν τὴν Στρυμώνοι ποταμῷ ἐνώπιον μερεῖ αἰμαται Μῆδων—όροι διάμερον δρικόμοι τὸν δήμον έτησην ὑπερ τὴν Ἡλείαν, καὶ ἄλλων αὐτοῖς ἀ δήμον τιμᾶ ὑγιάνθεις, ὡς τοῖ Morath. τρίτος λέοντος ἔρμην ἐτήσιον ἐπυρρροῖς ἐτήσιον ἐπος ἐτήσιον τὴν Ἐρμήν, ἐπη ἐπη πρόδρομον τῷ ἔρμῃ τῷ στόπῃ τῆς Στρυμώνου, οὗ τῇ ἀθλητῆς ἐνώπιον τὸ δήμον τὸ ἱεράτειον, ἐν ἑπετράπτων ἀλλὰ τὸ δήμον διδακτικόν τῷ διηγηθείτω.  ὥστε δ' ἀθλητῆς ὑπερ τῷ ποταμῷ γενέσθαι.  ὅτι τῇ ἀθλητῆς κόρον, ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν μεταπηγεῖν ἔτησιν.  6 Robert, Panathens als Schriftsteller, p. 327, speaks of this as a 'degree of the Pentekontaetia quoted by Aeschines.'¹⁴ Weber, Philologus, LXXIV, devotes 26 pages (257-288) to the 'three Eion epī-
clear that Aeschines is ‘aetiological’ for the sake of his moral: he has no evidence beyond the poems themselves, and he reads them uncritically. It is an easy matter to make prejudice against an orator’s testimony; so easy as to be hardly necessary. Yet it is worth pointing out that in the next chapter, Aeschines passes on, for his next instance, to the Stoa Poikile. There is pictured the Battle of Marathon. Who was the general? You will all answer “Miltiades,” yet his name is not there. What? did he not ask this favour? He asked it, but the Demos refused: but instead of the name, they let him be painted in the forefront, urging on his men.’—This is no unfair instance: and who will suggest that we have here a true or even plausible account of the circumstances in which Peisianax created the Stoa Poikile and had it painted, twenty years at least after Miltiades was dead?

I will return later to the Eion memorial (in the ‘Stoa of the Hermai’) and the circumstances of its erection and inscription, which are, I think, of great importance and interest: see below, *The Stoa of Zeus*. Meanwhile, more cases of ποτέ.

There is preserved under Aeschylus’ name in the Anthology (Anth. Pal. VII. 255) the following epitaph:

[F] κυσάνε θα πτωσίς μενεγχέβασιν ἀλλεσον ἄνδρας
Μόρα, ποιλέρημον πατρίδα ρομέουσιν
ζωὸν δὲ φθιμένοιν πέλεται κόλοσ, οἱ ποτὲ γυνίοις
τλήμονες Ὀσσαίαν ἀμφιελτηστάντο κάνιν.

*These too, who once did stand to rescue, spear in hand,
Their country’s pastureland, dark Fate did kill,
Whose fame in death hath birth: that left the ways of mirth
And clad them in the earth of Ossa’s hill.*

The circumstances are unknown: it may indeed never have been inscribed. But from καὶ τοῦσδ᾽ in line 1 and οἱ ποτὲ in line 3, I infer that the circumstances (if actual at all) are comparable to those of the Eion poem (κάκεινοι—of ποτὲ) and the other poems we have been considering. It may therefore refer to some unrecorded action on Xerxes’ march into Thessaly. The tense of ῥουσάμενος is probably inceptive (contrast the aorist ρουσάμενον on the Isthmian cenotaph), and appropriate to a forlorn hope. I would be glad to keep this fine poem for Aeschylus, and a real occasion; such as the ranking of the few Thessalian Diehards with the other heroic dead, when the war was over and Thessaly reconquered, would give us.16

13 Plut. De malig. 870 c, 1, ῥουσάμενος τοῖς ἡρωῖς ἔρισθεν Εὔδης πάντως τοις στρατιωτικὸς κατέβασεν ῥουσάμενοι:
H. v. Gaertringen, Epigr. 22. *Ibid.* 41, the men who died at Byzantion ἐτυμνασσαμεν ρουσάμενοι ἄροι are hardly the Athenian conquerors: the Ionic Revolt?
Or some yet earlier resistance to Persia?
14 I do not wish here to broach the problem of how the canons of patriots (ταῦτα τοῦ πολέμου πολέμους, Tod, Gr. H. 11, 19, Dist. Syl. 31) was determined. There were certainly isolated exploits not
So far I have quoted only two epitaphs, [B] and [F]; for ποτὲ (referring to the circumstances of death) is, in fact, rare in classical epitaphs.\(^{17}\) We are not, of course, concerned where ποτὲ is already ποτὲ at the moment of death:\(^{18}\)

\[G\] ὡς ἐξεὶν εὐνοῦρόν ποτὲ ἔναιμος ἄστιν Κορίνθου

\[G\] ἕνος ὀφθ' ἀμύντιος νάσας ἔχει Σαλαμίσ.\(^{19}\)

*We drank the wells of Korinth once: now is Our rest in Ajax’ island, Salamis.*

Or (an epitaph which was never inscribed):

\[H\] ὀδε ποτὲ Ἀλεξίοιο βαρύβρομον οἴδαμα λιπότεσσ' 'Εκβατάνου πέδρων κείμεθ' ἐν μεσάτωρ:

χαῖρε κλυτή ποτὲ πατρία 'Ερέτρια, χαῖρε' Ἀθήναι γείτονεσ Εὐβοίασ, χαῖρε θάλασσα φίλη:20

*The loud Aegean main we left for Ecbatane And midmost of this plain we stayed to die.
Famed home of old adieu, Eretria: Athens too, Neighbour, good-bye to you: dear sea, good-bye.*

Or (what perhaps is part of the *real* epitaph of the Thespians who died at Thermopylae):

\[I\] ἄνδρῃς τοι ποτὲ ἔναιμον ὑπὸ κροτάφοιον 'Ελικώνοσ λήματι τῶν σύχει Θεσπίδος εὐρύχωροσ.21

*Men that in life beneath the heights abode Of Helikon; whose pride makes Thespiai proud.*

Or finally,

\[J\] Σαῦθιτπημο Περιάνδρου ἀπέκχουν, ὅποι τὸν ὑπερήφανον σήμευε λαοῖς τέρμ' ἔχων Κορίνθου.22

*If I may repeat my first caveat: we have to distinguish between what the reader can easily accept (which is one matter) and what the poet can have intended (which is another). To the long futurity of readers, ποτὲ will*
qualify the whole story, unexceptionably if dully: for the poet, it must refer to things which, at the moment at which he writes, have definitely receded into the past.\textsuperscript{23} We must not expect the sort of imaginative game with Time which (for instance) Flecker plays in his lines \textit{To a Poet 1000 Years Hence}:

\begin{quotation}
I who am dead a thousand years
And wrote this sweet archaic song:
\end{quotation}

even the self-dramatisation which can throw the immediate past into history, \textit{fumus Troes}, is a trick outside the simplicity of the classical epitaph. At the most, as in [G] and [J], the poet will allow this recession to the peace-time life of the dead soldier. When he applies \textit{ποτέ} to the circum-

\begin{figure}
\caption{Epitaph on Athenians who fell at Poteidaia, BM, Inst. xxxvii.}
\end{figure}

stances of death, we may (indeed we must) infer that for him those circumstances lie in the past: not yesterday nor last month, but in a past which has become a story.

The restorations recently proposed for \textit{IG. I². 945} (= \textit{Epigr. 53}) lines 1–4—the first of the three epitaphs on those who fell in the Battle of Poteidaia—offend against this canon, since they identify the dead soldiers

\textsuperscript{23} Phrases such as \textit{εἶσον τις ναυτών} (H. v. Gaertringen, \textit{Epigr. 49}, line 3; \textit{uidem nat. sitis}), \textit{πολεμών} \textit{ποταί} (ib. 53, line 9; cf. 18, line 1), \textit{οὐ} \textit{ποτε} (ib. 56, line 6), show the poet's mind fixed on his own moment, not on futurity. When I read this paper to the Oxford Philological Society, my attention was called (by Prof. Murray, Mr. Syme, Prof. Beazley) to such passages as \textit{Aesch. Ap. 575 sqq.}, Homer, \textit{Iliad.} 6. 459 sqq. and especially 7. 87 sqq. [not an imagined epitaph, but an imagined traveller's comment], \textit{ἀνάμαχοι} \textit{οὐ} \textit{τινι} \textit{ποιμα} \textit{κατατηροῦσι} \textit{οὐ} \textit{ποτ'} \textit{δραπαίνουσι} \textit{κατακτοῦσι} \textit{φανεροῖς} \textit{παρθένος}. In the passages from the \textit{Iliad}, the speaker imagines a form of words to be used by posterity looking back on the present as a story: this is not, I submit, what the epitaph-writer is doing; though the passages show that the Greek imagination is agile enough to take that leap if it chooses. And the \textit{Iliad} after all \textit{is} a story: the poet's imagination is not fixed on his heroes' present as \textit{actually} as the epitaph-writer's is; and this is especially evident in the Agamemnon passage, where \textit{τάδε—ἐν ἡμῖν φῶς} (575) is followed by \textit{ἐνί οἰκία} (577) and \textit{φιάξεω} (579)—The long futurity foreseen in the epitaph on Miltias (Plato, \textit{Phaed. 264 c}, \textit{Anth. Pal. VII.} 153, etc.; cf. Simonides, \textit{op. Diog. Laert. i.} 6) is no more than a rather shocking elaboration of \textit{ἀδιαφορεῖ} in [K] [N] [W] (or \textit{εἰσαλαλύνω} in [M] or \textit{σπέσε} in [F]): it does not, any more than these passages, thrust the poet's present into the past.
with the προγονος referred to in line 3. I think Mr. Powell’s restoration (CILR. XXI, pp. 61 sq., quoted by Tod, Sel. Gk. Hist. Inscr. No. 59) unacceptable on other grounds also, since (for instance) it needs punctuation to make it intelligible. The restoration in IG. 12 (given by Tod in his text) is by many hands, line 1 by Hicks, line 2 by Kirchhoff, line 3 by Kaibel: it is vain to hope to restore the actual words of lines of which less than half survives, and I attempt no improvement on any but line 3. Here the stone now shows κατπρογονος (Fig. 1) and Fauvel read κατπρογονοθευς: editors have all agreed to refuse this, I do not know why. Προγονοθεως as an adjective may not be to our taste, but I cannot see that it is impossible: the dead soldiers, who cannot have been ancestors to their contemporary poet, may have had ancestor-strengthened courage (cf. IG. V 2. 173 = Epigr. 68a). So I would modify the reading of IG. 12 as follows: 24

[K] ἀθανασιος με θα[νοι πολιται σε μι ανεθεκαν]
σεμαινειν αρετ[εν τοια δε και εσομενοι]
και προγονοθεους [επαρ ηοι ενορεσι ηε και αλκες]
νικεν ευπολεμιο μιμε ελαθον [ς]φετερα.

The absence of the name Poteidaios (which comes in both the other epitaphs) may be excused by the heading ει ποτι[ειδαιαι ηοιες σπεθανον]

Deathless memorial of the dead I stand
To show our children these men’s courage and
High-father’d heart: who left their fame behind
In the fair memory of that fight shrined.

Posterity is addressed, but the poet stays in his own moment. The ancestors are his contemporaries’ ancestors, the descendants are his contemporaries’ descendants. Nowhere in any of the three poems could ποτι stand.

I must therefore turn to the only two classical epitaphs known to me 25 in which ποτι seems to be used at random.

The first in the Tanagra epitaph (at least on Wilhelm’s view: v. infra): 26

24 I alter the end of line 3 to avoid repeating αρετε: but to say a value in half a hexameter leaves a paralleling wide choice. — ἀθανασιος has perhaps better fifth-century authority than ατεμοι. — Powell’s suggested [σ]φετερα for line 4 would perhaps require ακρης, which it cannot have: cf. lines 6, 10, 11: in line 12 there is a strong pause before φησιαν. — I feel certain Kaibel is right in insisting that κοι in line 3 must add a second object to εσομενοι: if it introduced a new clause it would be quite intolerably flat. (Perhaps this slightly spoils the κοι in line 2, so possibly write γενομενοι for κοι εσομενοι: but I think not.)— I am unable to trace Fauvel’s sketches of the stone in its earlier stages: they are neither in the British Museum nor in the Archives of Inscriptions German in Berlin.

25 If there are others, they will equally demand explanation. I do not count Anth. Pal. VII. 270, τοιοι ποτι ει απόπτοι παραλατος Φεθε Θεονος ει δηλογοι μια νοε δι ενορει (σελ 63 τοια) heuristes: which is merely a variant on the original τοιος ει από Τιπρηνος, etc. The MSS. evidence is given by Stadtmüller ad. loc., ‘Entscheidet, wem nicht schon das unberemene ποτι, so doch das bekanntere Sparta,’ Wilamowitz, Sappho und Simonides, 213. Besides, από Τιπρηνος θεοφάνεια is an integral phrase, like [νετο Μηθε] ασχολουμαι in the inscription found on the side of the Athenian Treasury at Delphi [Tod, Sel. Gk. Hist. Inscr. 14 = Dittenb. Syl. 23; see now too BCH. 54 (1930), p. 315]. Pomponiu indeed suggests that they were Hieron’s spoils from Kyme (Dittenb. Syl. 35, B 6).

For Anth. Pal. VI. 50 (Simonides 67, Diehl) see note 96 infra.
CLASSICAL EPIGRAMS AND EPITAPHS

[L] [χαιρετε αριστεες πολεμο μεγα] κυδο[σ εχοντεσ]
[κοροι αδυναοι εχοσι ηιπποσοναδ[i]
[οι δη τοε καλλιγορο περι ποτ[ριδοσ ο]ςεαθ ηεβεν]
[πλειστοις ἠλεανοι συνιε μ[αρμαρε]ανε[να]
Farewell brave peers of battle, names renown’d,
Young cavaliers of Athens! for whose peace
Your own sweet lives ye lost in battle-stound
Against almost the complete host of Greece.

IG. P. 946, restored from Anth. Pal. VII. 254 (= H. v. Gaertringen, Epigr. 47).—Since Prof. Wilhelm’s brilliant identification, there can be little doubt of the Anthology’s text, which is assured by the stoichedon arrangement of the inscription. Wilhelm has argued that the occasion of this poem is the Battle of Tanagra in 457 B.C.26 But the stone, now lost, is known to have had the 4-stroke sigma: and this is so surprising in a public inscription of that date, that v. Domaszewski (SB. Heid. 1917, Abhandl. 7, Der Staatsfriedhof, p. 18) preferred to connect it with a small cavalry encounter in the Spartan invasion of 431 (Thuc. II. 22. 2, Paus. I. 29. 6). Hiller von Gaertringen followed him in IG. I². 946, but is uncertain again in Epigr. 47.

I do not feel the last line so difficult to refer to 431 as Hiller does, since the Athenian cavalry may well have felt they were facing all Greece single-handed.27 Nevertheless, the case for Tanagra is strong, and the problem of the 4-stroke sigma is resolved, perhaps, by ποτε in line 3. The grave was inscribed some years after the battle: perhaps when Kimon returned in 451 (the 4-stroke sigma appears in a public document of 452–1, IG. I². 335, line 14 28), possibly later still.29


[M²] οθε παρ’ Ευρυμεδοντα ποτ’ ἄγλαον ἄλεσαν ἡβην
μαριμενοι Μηδεων τοξοφόρων προμάχοις
ἀλημπτοι, πεζοὶ τε καὶ ὄκτωροι ἐπὶ νηὸν
κάλλιστον δ’ ἀρετῆς μυθήμ’ ἐλιπον φθιμενοι.

I am unwilling to take the same way out here, in the absence of any external evidence or probability.30 I prefer (what may seem more violent) to emend.

26 O.Jb. II. (1896) 221 sqq.
27 Especially when the Boeotian cavalry whom they were fighting were supported by the (whole?) allied infantry (Thuc. II. 22. 2). Cf. Xen. Hipparch. VII. 4, ἢ δὲ ἢ μὲν τελεί τρέπτω ἐπὶ τα ὀνειρο καὶ ἀντι σοτη τα τείχος δευσομεν, ἄπειραι καὶ ἀπόκει Λευκο-

28 The exact circumstances can only be guessed: unless Wilhelm’s search for the stone should succeed at last. We might then date it more narrowly. I am not sure whether anything at all can be inferred from the Doric vocalisation (ηπισοναδ[ων] etc.) possibly it points to the Kimonian panhellenic milieu.
29 Unless the occurrence of ποτε in [O] be taken as external evidence that the Eurymedon cenotaph was not erected until the battles had receded, in some special sense, into the past. See below, where [O] is discussed.
30 This case is very clearly distinct from [L]. The tone of this poem is flatter, it is a routine poem: the Tanagra verses have a certain restrained pity, almost indignation. The Eurymedon poem, though less
The poem was imitated in an extant inscription of probably c. 440 B.C. (IG. I². 943 = H. v. Gaertringen, Epigr. 52):

\[ [N] \text{hoide par Hellesponton apoleasan aylaon hebev} \]
\[ \text{barinomei spheran de eukleistai patrida} \]
\[ host ebyros stevexheve polleve theros ekkoimantanai} \]
\[ autois de apaganon mei aressex ebesan \]

The first line is so much more felicitous in this copy than in the supposed original, that Bruno Keil (Hermes, XX. 342) condemned the Eurymedon poem as a fake, clumsily imitated from the Hellespont verses. Meyer's defence of the Eurymedon poem was that all these poems are pretty bad and ποτε commonly meaningless (Forsch. II. 20–21). And so the matter stands. But no! a meaningless ποτε cannot stand, and the skill which could get the names and doings of Harmodios, Aristogeiton and Hipparchos into one couplet had not run so thin in Athens as to need a meaningless ποτε and a false caesura to help Ευρυμέδων (that easy name) into place.

For ποτε here, besides being meaningless, destroys the caesura. Lines without caesura exist: μνημα τ[οδ εστ ε]πι σωματι κεμενον ανθρω προς αριστο is the first line of Python's epitaph (IG. I². 1085). But no writer of public epitaphs would permit himself such a line: here is once more that division, between the mesmerised good-will of the reader, who will take bad metre when he thinks he finds it, and the integrity of the poet, who keeps his own standards. I have little doubt that the poet wrote

\[ [N] \text{hoide par euryumedoun atopo τι[– –]ou olesaan hebev} \]

and this was misread as we have it. [Similarly απο Τυρησεον gave rise to a false ποτ', see note 24 above.] We have then to find an adjective capable of being read (carelessly) as ταγλαινον.

The word was perhaps τ(μυ)ιν. In non-stoichedon Attic script, two slight marks would convert μι to aγλαιν: we have further to suppose that the transcriber read 'ποτιαγλαιν' as 'ποτ αγλαιν.' Read then:

**Hymn (Hymn. Hom. III), line 53.**

43 He may have been predisposed that way by IG. I². 943 = [N]: unless indeed we are to think that the epigram was current in (incorrect) book-form already by 440 [or 408] and is responsible for αγλαιν hebev in the later poem. [For the early currency of books of epigrams (in Plato's early life), see, e.g., Gefferken-Herbig in Glotta, IX. 1918, p. 100, Weber in Hermes, LII. 1917, p. 540.] 'Αγλαιν is not normally feminine, but the phrase αγλαιν θην occurs in Theognis 985 in a memorable poem. Τυρησεον (feminine, e.g. Soph. Ant. 948) recalls, of course, Minnemos' θην τυρησεον. The two words τυρησεον and τυρησαν have the same range of meaning; but Minnemos probably means 'honoured by others,' our poet 'precious to the owner.' Cf. further Kallinos, 1. 6, and Minnemos, 3. 2.
I must add the other "Simoneidean" epitaph on the Eurymedon (Anth. Pal. VII. 443 = Simonides 116 in Diehl's Anth. Lyr.), though it is not classical and was not written for the occasion:

[O] ταύτι πατρὶ ἐν στέρνωσι ταυγυλώχωσα διατούρα
λούσεν φοινίκας δυσφόρος Ἀρής ψακάδι
ἀντὶ δ' ἀκοντοδόκων ἀνδρῶν μημεῖα δανόντων
ἀμφι' ἐμφύλχων ἄδε κέκεκθε κόσμῳ.

The title in the Anthology is 'On the Greeks who fell beside the River Eurymedon.' I suppose the fact of ποτὲ coming in the MSS. of two alleged Eurymedon epitaphs weakens the case, formally, for the emendation I have proposed in [M]. I must leave my readers to judge of this, and shall be content to differ from any who suppose [O] to be a contemporary Attic poem.

Boas in his De epigrammatis Simonideis, pp. 213 sqq., seeks to prove that it is Hellenistic, the work of Mnasalkas: that it is a literary exercise on the Eurymedon theme. This is no place to discuss the "Mnasalkas hypothesis" (Boas, pp. 209 sqq.): I have little doubt the poem is Hellenistic. Whether the lines stood on an actual monument, e.g. on the Eurymedon River itself (cf. the Hellenistic monument in Samos to Maiantrios who fought at the Eurymedon), and ποτὲ is therefore strictly used; or whether they are a literary fiction, and the ποτὲ is a lapse from actuality (like the

59 Eλαγια: Boas, p. 219, believes this to be a mere error for Αθηναίος, which stands in the title of the preceding epigram where we might expect Eλαγια: the two words, he thinks, have been simply exchanged. This is one of many reasons for supposing that these two poems are from the same source.

40 I think no one who knows the Attic style will dispute that the burden of proof lies with anyone who suggests this is fifth-century Attic. I am confident that the frigid and sentimental second couplet was not written in Athens or elsewhere, within a century of the battle. [Arist. 61 is a special mark of the 'refined rhetoric' of Alexandrian poetry; contrast the last couplet of Simonides' ἡμέρα Γάρυκα (Anth. Pal. VII. 496 = Simonides 80 in Diehl's Anth. Lyr.) with Kallimachus' imitation (Anth. Pal. VII. 271).]

41 For those who like something more specific than the taste of style, the use of ύπαρξις for blood may serve. Its usual sense is light rain, drizzle, e.g. Hdt. III. 10, Xen. Com. V. 41: in comedy of a stuttering talker or a spot of money (Arist. Ath. 1150, Peace 112). In the Agamemnon Klytaiemnestra thus describes Agamemnon's death:

J.H.S.—VOL. LIII.
II. THE STOA OF ZEUS.

In his short and dazzling paper "Die Herren der Agora zu Athen" (SB. Heid. 1914, Abh. 10), von Domaszewski suggested (pp. 13–20) that the Stoa of Zeus in the Agora at Athens was a monument to the Euryomedon battles: that it was the same as the Stoa of the Hermai, and after Kimon’s death held those three Victory Hermis, which Demosthenes and Aeschines mention as memorials to Kimon’s victories: that the three victories celebrated were Eion, Euryomedon, Cyprus, and the three inscriptions were as follows:

Eion [E] ἦν ἄρα κάσαντοι ταλακάρβιτοι οἱ ποτε Μήδεων παισίν ἐπ' Ἡλιόν Στρυμόνος ἄμφι ρόδας λιμόν τ' αἰθώνα κρυεράν τ' ἐπάγοντες Ἀρης πρῶτοι δυσμενέοις θύρων ἀμφιχανήν.

Euryomedon [Q] ἐξ ὀο τ' Ἐὐφρατίην Ἀσίας δίὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἄνθρωπον νειμέ καὶ πόλισις θυτῶν θυέτου Ἀρης ἐπέλεξεν οὐδὲν ποι ὁ τοιοῦτον ἐπικρυφοῖν γένετ' ἄνδρον ἐργον ἐν ἤμετρο καὶ κατὰ πόλεων ἄμα.

Cyprus [R] ὁδε καὶ [γάρ MSS.] ἐν Κύπρῳ Μήδεων πολλοὺς διῆλατον Φωιτίκου ἐκατόν ναῦσ ἔλοι ἐν πέλαγεν ἄνθρων πληθοῦσας, μέγα 8' ἔστενεν Ἀσία ὑπ' αὐτῶν πληγεία' ἀμφιτέραια χερσὶ κράτει πολέμου.

The first is the first four lines of the fourteen quoted by Aeschines III. 184: 48 the second and third are quoted, as a single poem, by Diodoros XI. 62. 49

His treatment of the poems was at once challenged by Weber in Philologus, N.F. 28 (1917), 248 sqq., and his thesis buried under the weight of Weber’s 35 pages. These latter now rank as the standard discussion and von Domaszewski’s error is taken as proved: e.g. by Hiller von Gaertringen in IG. I2. 277, and Epigr. 34; by Diehl in Anth. Lyrica Graeca, notes to Simonides 103; and (the most important) by Judeich in the new edition of his Topographie von Athen.

48 Anth. Pal. VII. 442: i.e. the poem next before [O]. It is clearly similar in nature to [O] (see note: 39 above) and is likewise ascribed to Mnasalas by Boas.
49 Also by Plutarch, Kimon, VII. 4, whose text is better, and so is presumably drawn from some source independent of Aeschines: see note 76.
50 Also by Aelius Aristides twice (Dindorf, Vol. II, pp. 209 and 512) and in the Palatine Anthology, VII. 296. The variants are given in full by Boas (De op. Simon. 104 sqq.) and Weber (Philologus, N.F. 28 [1917], 249). Diodoros seems to be the least corrupted: but the others are not derived from him and we can consequently use them as independent evidence. I desert Diodoros in [Q] line 1; ἐξ ὀο γ’ is certainly wrong, Aristides gives ἐξ ὀο τ’. In [R] line 1 I have preferred Μῆδεως (Aristides and Anth. Pal.) to Diodoros’ Μήδεων: the partitive genitive is common in fifth-century Greek and I think improves the verse. Aristides’ is yevoi in the same line (πίθε εὐηε) is quite worthless as evidence: it attempts the impossible task of harmonising [Q] line 4 and [R] line 1. See, however, note 65 below.
Yet much\(^5\) of von Domaszewski's thesis (with results of some importance not only for literature and history, but also for the topography of that part of the Kerameikos now being excavated) seems to me to be most probably true. His brilliant and dangerous method of hypothesis was seldom better exemplified; and since his paper was a series rather of suggestions than of proofs, the real strength of the case is quite untouched by Weber's arguments. I have therefore raised the matter again. I have argued above that \([E]\) cannot be part of a memorial erected immediately after the Battle of Eion (as H. von Gaertringen, Weber, and Judeich suppose), and will argue now that the same scholars' view, that \([Q]\) and \([R]\) are parts of one poem, is equally untenable.

### A. The Eurymedon epigram \([Q]\).

1. οὐδὲν πω τοιοῦτον.

Diodoros XI. 62 concludes his narrative of the Battles of the Eurymedon with the words ὅ δέ δὴμος τῶν Ἀθηναίων δεκάτην ἐξελάμενος ἔκ τῶν λαούρων ἀνθήκε τῷ θεῷ, καὶ τὴν ἐπιγραφήν ἐπὶ τὸ κατεσκευασθέν ἀνάθημα ἐνέγραψε τὴν θεᾶ: and then quotes the eight lines of \([Q]\) and \([R]\) as a single poem.

Eduard Meyer has well remarked, that these lines are in fact responsible for the monstrosities of the narrative, which converts the 'foot-fight and ship-fight at the River Eurymedon' (Thuc. I. 100. 1) into a sea-fight off Cyprus\(^3\) and a land-fight in Pamphylia. Poem and narrative are inseparable and both without doubt go back to Ephoros.

It is further clear that the poem cannot, as it stands, refer to the Eurymedon battles: it undoubtedly (in lines 5 and 6 = \([R]\) 1 and 2) contains references to the Battles of Cyprian Salamis, fought after Kimon's death by the Athenians in Cyprus. Ephoros has therefore blundered: whence come these lines which so gravely misled him? Meyer held (Forsch. II. p. 14) that the whole poem stood on a monument at Delphi or Dodona which celebrated the Cyprus battles: Ephoros wrongly understood it to celebrate the Eurymedon battles.

No one can quarrel with the two main points of this thesis: viz. that the source of Ephoros' errors is lines 5 and 6 (= \([R]\) 1 and 2), and that these lines refer to the Cyprian battles. I therefore disregard any theory which holds that lines 5 sqq. (= \([R]\)) are 'spurious' in the sense that they were unknown to Ephoros.\(^4\) But amongst all the discussions of the problem I have never seen it adequately emphasised, how pardonable and indeed inevitable Ephoros' error was, if the eight lines all belong together. The Cyprus battles were noteworthy achievements indeed and there were reasons for magnifying them, but the one thing (almost) which could not be said of

\(^{5}\) I cannot indeed agree to all: e.g. pp. 17 and 18, or note 74, or his general topography.

\(^{3}\) It is quite certain that the sea-battle was fought close to the Eurymedon River: see below, Epigram [W].

\(^{4}\) Or which accepts the late variant it yoi] for it Komp. See, however, note 65.
them was, that such a double victory of the same troops by water and land was ἴ unexampled ἵ

οὐδὲν πω τοιοῦτον ἐπίχειοὺς γένετ’ ἓνδρον ἐν ἡπείρῳ καὶ κατὰ πόντον ἄμω.

Let me say at once, that if these two lines do not refer to the Eurymedon battles, I think we must resign ourselves to attaching no meaning to the metrical inscriptions of fifth-century Athens.  

2. ἐν ἡπείρῳ.

Compared with this main reason, there is less weight in the contention (which I yet think certain) that ἐν ἡπείρῳ cannot (here or anywhere) mean ἴ in the island of Cyprus," and must (here) mean ἴ on the Continent of Asia." The demonstration will be rather more laborious: yet since Ed. Meyer (Forsch. II. p. 10 note 1) has denied it (quoting Od. 5, 56, Kalypso’s island; we may add 10. 56, Aiolos’ island), and his denial now ranks as orthodox, the case needs stating.

Stephanus, Thesaurus, and Liddell and Scott, Lexicon, both regard ἴ the shore ἵ (as opposed to the sea) as a distinct meaning of ἡπείρος: the latter work indeed, deriving ἡπείρος from the same root as Germ. Ufer, regards this as the original meaning. This derivation is, I believe, beyond question: and indeed it accounts at once for all the Homeric usage. We may observe that this usage did, in fact, develop into the sense of ἴ mainland (continuous shore); and that the only two cases where it does not, in fact, refer to mainland are magic islands ἵ (Aiolos’ and Kalypso’s), and therefore in some degree comparable to the enchanted confusion of Theognis’ lovely lines on the Nativity in Delos (lines 8–9):

πᾶσα μὲν ἑπίθεσθι Δῆλος ἁπτεῖσθι ὁ ἄμφορος ἀμβρώτης.

Yet to estimate how soon the later meaning was felt, or how wide apart is the magic world of the Ἀλκίνου ἐπόλογος from the Persian Wars, are matters of subjective judgment. I think, in fact, that the sense of ‘shore,’ Ufer, is dominant in Homer and Hesiod, and the usual phrases ἡπείρον ἵ

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53 The repetition of the double event is striking and would no doubt be rejected as a doublet by many scholars, were the evidence less good.—The actions were not in fact very similar: at the Eurymedon the driving ashore of the fleet was preliminary to the great land-fight [see, however, note 65]: in Cyprus, the defeat of the land-force was preliminary to the sinking of the reinforcing fleet. But the poem stresses precisely the thing which they have in common.—That the sea-fight came first, at the Eurymedon, is commonly accepted (since Meyer) from Plutarch’s account (Kimm, XII–XIII), and is perhaps confirmed by [W] (see below) if I am right in believing Maimndios was killed before the land-fight began: nevertheless the land-fight is almost always mentioned first, e.g. in line 4 of [Q], in line 3 of [M], in Thuc. I. 100. 1, and Lycurg. Lycet. 72: presumably because it was the more important.

54 The Battle of Mykale had been fought on sea and shore in one day, yet had been on nothing like the scale of the Eurymedon. I imagine the poem deliberately invites comparison with Mykale.

55 Ephoros apparently understood it so. But against him I must appeal to the principle stated at the opening of this paper.

56 As opposed to Epeiros proper (Od. 14. 97, etc.), the Troad (H. 1. 458), Boetia (Hesiod, Ergo, 624), etc.

57 I imply, of course, no etymological relation between ἡπείρος and ἀμβρώτης.

58 Except in the latter books of the Oidipse, where it means definitely Epeiros.
The question, what our epigrammatist means by his phrase, is separate, and is, I think, decided by two considerations:

(i) So long as the _Ufer_ sense is dominant, the proper phrase for _on shore_ is _in_ ἤμερος (as, e.g., Od. 15. 90 ἐν δ’ ἦμερον δὰ κερεῖ δεινόσειστοι), Our epigrammatist, however, writes ἐν ἤμεροι and thus betrays that to him ἤμερος no longer means _Ufer_. I need not elaborate this argument, which I take to be (so far as it goes) conclusive. So in Timokreon fr. 5 (Diehl), ἐν ἤμεροι means _on the continent_:

ὅπουν σ’ ὁ-τυφλο πλοῦτε
μὴν γή μητ’ ἐν δολάσατη
μητ’ ἐν ἤμεροι φαντάζει.

'Wealth, you ought never to be seen, neither on land or sea, nor on the Continent of Asia [whence poor Timokreon's troubles had come]: you should stay in hell.' ἤμερος cannot be mere repetition of γῆ: in Timokreon's mouth and circumstances it means 'the Continent of Asia.' This brings me to the second point:

(ii) By the fifth century, ἤμερος is never used of an island, but always of some part of one of the three 'Continents,' Europe, Asia, Libya. The Ionian scientists had established this division: threefold, e.g., in Hdt. II. 16 and Pindar Pyth. IX. 9, πίζω ἄπερος τρίτον: but twofold in Hekatomnos' geography, since Libya is counted part of Asia. And in the circumstances of the fifth and fourth centuries, most Greeks thought in terms of the _Two Continents_, Europe and Asia: e.g. Soph. _Trach. _101, ἀνασάλλε ἄπερος κληίσις: and Chares' wife buried on the Bospors says in her epitaph (Anth. Pal. VII. 169), ἤμεροι τίποτας ἀμφοτέρας. Isokrates, Paneg. 35, says, ἐπὶ ἐκστάσεις τῆς ἤμερος: ib. 179, the words τῆς γῆς ἄπερος δίκαι ντεμεῖεν καὶ τῆς μὴν Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς ἐν Εὐρύπτερον καλουμένην pretty certainly echo our epigrammatist's own first line. καὶ ὥσ’ ὡς ἄπεροι Ἀσίας ὡς πάντας ὅθεν.—And of the two continents, the _continent_ par excellence is Asia: Hdt. IV. 91, Ἀθηναῖοι ἄραν ὡς Αἰγυπτίως ἡπέκειος τι καὶ πάντας ταύτας ἐν ἤμεροι βασιλείως (cf. I. 96) : Timokreon, in the skelion quoted above: Aeschylus, Pers. 42, ἤμερογενός ἔθνος: Eurip. _Androm. _159, 652: Xen. _Hell. III. _1. 5: and Isokrates _passim_ (see Harpokration, s.v. ἤμερος, and the use of ἤμεροται in Paneg. 193, 157, 166).

It is in precisely such a context that our epigram belongs; and Aeschylus and Timokreon are its contemporaries. That, after the naming of the two great Continents in line 1, in line 4 ἤμερος should mean the Island of Cyprus, is unfelicitous indeed; credible only to those who regard the poem as a piece of random bombast, written with no fire of imagination.—Indeed, so long as the eight lines are read together, and referred together to the Cyprus battles, such a judgment is natural. The lines (so juxtaposed) are random, the language (in this context) bombastic. Yet this is surprising, since Athenian poetry is at its height.—Now read the first four lines alone and without prejudice as to their context. The reference is now clearly to such a battle as we know the Euryomedon to have been: we have now a

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68 Just as, in Od. 14. 100, ἐν ἤμεροι means _in Epeiros._

69 Liddell and Scott, _Lexicon_ *, quotes this (wrongly) as an instance of ἐν ἤμεροι — _on shore._

70 When Thucydides calls the Sicilian cities γῆ περιτρικοῦ ἄπερον, 'their resources are on a continental scale,' he is precisely _not_ calling Sicily an ἤμερος.


67 The poem has commonly been treated with contempt: or damned (as by Meyer, p. 13, Weber, p. 251) with faint praise.

68 A double action, _on sea and land_: unexampled: _on the Continent of Asia._
direct statement of fact, in language full-throated and majestic, Aeschylean in quality as it doubtless is in date.

Since first the Sea did part two Continents
And Ares looms in fury o'er mankind,
Never have mortal men achieved such
A deed, on continent and sea at once.

B. The Cyprus epigram [R].

1. ἐν Κῶρῳ.

The whole force of Meyer's demonstration, that the poem quoted by Diodoros (= [Q] + [R]) refers to the Cyprus battles of 450 B.C., falls in fact upon the last four lines (= [R]). I need not repeat his arguments (Forsch. II. 9 sqq.): the words ἐν Κῶρῳ guaranteed by Diodoros' [Ephoros'] narrative, are sufficient.—Ephoros, then, based his narrative of the Eurymedon on a poem of which the first half (but only the first half) refers to the Eurymedon battles. How did the second half (which so misled him) become attached?

If this is a vera quaestio (i.e. the fact which it asks to have explained is really a fact), then an answer which meets the case may rank as a working hypothesis. The suggestion of von Domaszewski is that the two quatrains stood on adjacent parts of one monument: consequently, in the books of verse inscriptions which were certainly current before Ephoros wrote, they would be given consecutively, i.e. the two poems are still connected; and he expresses the different nature of the connexion by 'correcting' οἶδε γὰρ τὸ οἴδα καὶ. I must return to this.

To the falsa quaestio, put by Meyer and others, 'How did eight lines, all referring to the Cyprus battles, come to be referred to the Eurymedon battles?' various answers have been offered. 'How the epigram came to be falsely referred to the Eurymedon, has been convincingly explained by Ed. Meyer', says Weber on p. 251; but in the additional note on p. 256 Ed. Meyer seems to me to have only partly explained how, etc.' Since the question is false, the answers hardly matter.67

2. οἶδε γὰρ.

Since [Q] cannot refer to Cyprus, and [R] cannot refer to anything else, the words οἶδε γὰρ in [R] present a difficulty. If the two poems stood in

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66 Uxkull-Gyllenband (a pupil of von Domaszewski), in his Plutarch und die Griechische Biographie (Stuttgart, 1917), p. 55, denies that the narrative demands ἐν Κῶρῳ, insists that Aristeides is as good evidence as Diodoros for Ephoros' text, and therefore retains ἐν γαίᾳ, and refers the whole eight lines to the Eurymedon. His whole treatment of the Eurymedon narrative (pp. 45-59) is stimulating and important, and contrary to the view taken in this paper: he thinks the land battle preceded the sea battle [see, however, my note 55]. I think he is wrong: the land battle was first not in time but in importance:

and "Ephoros'; [Diodoros'] narrative, though not true to the poem [Q] and [R], has yet been warped by them, and why should anyone change γαίῃ to Κῶρῳ? But I am so uncertain about [R] that I willingly leave the matter in suspense.

67 See Geffcken and Herbig in Glotta, IX. 1918, p. 100 (note 35 supra).

68 Meyer, p. 19, says the monument (at Delphi) referred to Cyprus, but being in effect Kimon's memorial, was later thought to refer to the Eurymedon. Weber, p. 256, says it was an epitaph, but lines 3-4 (of [Q]) sounded very like the Eurymedon.
any sort of relation, oίδε γάρ is wrong: if [R] is an independent poem, oίδε γάρ is a highly improbable opening. Therefore von Domaszewski corrected to oίδε καί: explaining the corruption as born of the delusion that the two poems referred to one occasion.

This correction is not very easy to justify; and who in any case are oίδε? Von Domaszewski's answer, "the generals, Kimon and his colleagues" (p. 18), is, I think, impossible. Oίδε suggests a list of names, and is most natural in an epitaph appended to such a list: yet I do not, in fact, believe that [R] is an epitaph. Fifth-century epitaphs without exception refer to the fact of death. This does not; and though Weber holds that the grave itself speaks of this 'clearer than any words' (p. 254), it was the Greeks' habit to say it in words. And it is a fiction, and I think a sentimental one, to claim for the dead that 'These men destroyed 100 ships.'

I can suggest no correction for oίδε γάρ. I feel that [R] is certainly the most problematic of the three poems for von Domaszewski's thesis. I know indeed no alternative which is better: the truth is perhaps still to be found.

3. οἵ τε αὐτῶν.

Only Aelius Aristeides has this reading: Diodorus has οἵ τε αὐτῶ, the Anthology a lacuna. Schwartz keeps αὐτῶ and takes it with κράτοι, and Weber approves: but how can αὐτῶ bear the stress of its position, both in the sentence and in the verse? I cannot understand οἵ τε αὐτῶ except by reference to the ἐγγραφή of [Q]: so that it, like oίδε γάρ, may be a corruption induced by the belief that the eight lines form one poem.

C. The Herm-Stoa.

The Eion epigram [E] compares the Eion heroes (who began the breaking of Persian hope) with later heroes (who continued that work). The Eurymedon epigram [Q] is written about such later heroes, and provides the necessary unit of comparison. The Cyprus epigram [R] appears to belong to the same context (since [Q] and [R] were regarded as one poem), and the Cyprus campaign, which was final in a sense in which the others were not, provided a good occasion for such a retrospect as [E] implies. Athens seems to have decided to treat the Peace as a glorious peace, a Peace with Victory: a retrospect over the series of undeniable actual victories won under Athenian hegemony would help to make this difficult conception easier.—Further, [Q] reads as if it was written in the exaltation of victory, before the disaster in Egypt or the Cyprus campaign: it may perhaps be suggested that [Q] is the original monument, to which [E] and [R] were added in 449.

Aeschines says that [E] was inscribed on the first of the three herms in

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68 The fiction occurs in the spurious last couplet of Simonides 90 (in Diehl, Anth. Lyric, Gr.).
69 Cf. the dedication of the Nike Temple: R. Ι. 24 (= Tod, Stil. Gr. Hist. Introd. 40 [with improved text]): Welter, Von Nikeparos in AM. XLVIII, 190 sqq., makes it certain that the Nike Bastion was constructed in its present form before the foundations of the Propylaea were finished.
the 'Stoa of the Hermai' (the Herm-Stoa): if he is right in this, and if the above thesis is correct, then [Q] and [R] were inscribed on the other herms in this Stoa.—Aeschines indeed quotes other poems ([S] and [T] below) as inscribed on these other herms: are we entitled to accept part of his testimony and refuse the rest? I answer to this, that the alternative is not between accepting all or rejecting all, but between rejecting all or rejecting part: for it is past doubt that he has put [E] into a wrong context.70

I suggest that the part of Aeschines' testimony which it is hardest to doubt is, that there was a 'Herm-Stoa' and that it contained three inscribed herms. It is extremely probable, from the words of Demosthenes and Plutarch as well as his own, that the whole monument was popularly referred to Kimon's exploits. The poems which he quotes, he quotes from a book-collection of verse-inscriptions; 71 it is here we may most reasonably expect error. I may add, that we may hope for some control of hypotheses from the excavations in the Kerameikos: such control as the foundations of the Deinomenid offerings at Delphi have given us for a not dissimilar monument,72—What then is known of the 'Herm-Stoa'? I begin with the testimony of Demosthenes and Aeschines.

1. Demosthenes and Aeschines.

Some memorial which was raised to Kimon's victories was used by the fourth-century orators to point a moral: Kimon's great services, and the modesty of the memorial, show how the later Athenians had cheapened their honours. 'We shall doubtless hear,' says Demosthenes in the Leptines (XX. 112), 'that in our forefathers' time certain men after many great services rendered were judged worthy of no such honour as this, but got an inscription on the Hermai and that contented them (ἀγαπητός ἐπιγράμματος ἐν τοῖς Ἑρμαῖς ἔργοις): and perhaps,' Demosthenes adds, 'Leptines will quote this inscription to us.'

That these 'certain men' (τινες) were Kimon and his companions is implied by the longer passage of Aeschines in the Ktesiphon: 73 'There were certain men in those days, who endured much labour and great perils on the River Strymon, and conquered the Medes in battle. When they came home, they asked the Demos for a reward, and the Demos granted them great honours, as it then seemed—leave to erect three marble Herms in the Herm-Stoa, on the condition that they did not inscribe their names; that so the inscription might seem to be made not by the generals but by the Demos. And you shall know the truth of my words from the poems themselves: for on the first herm is written [E], and on the second [S] and on the third [T].' I do not yet quote the verses, to which I return later.

It is rather surprising, after Demosthenes' πόλλαι ἀγαθα, to hear in Aeschines only of the capture of Eion. Are we to believe that the memorial celebrated that victory only?—We are not. I need not repeat here what I

70 See above, p. 74.
71 See notes 35 and 92.
72 See, e.g., Keramopoulos in AM. 34 (1909), 49 sqq., Paret in Studi siciliani et italic (Florence, 1920), 173 sqq. The Stoa of Zeus is to be further excavated this year, AJA. 36 (1932), 389.
73 III. 183 sq.: the Greek is quoted in note 14 above.
said earlier,\textsuperscript{74} to show that Aeschines had no fifth-century decrees before him, nor any evidence beyond the monuments themselves (and what previous orators had said of them). The Herm-Stoa, like the Poikile, provides him a moral; and where we can control him (in the latter case) he draws it with reckless disregard of history. What then may we infer from his words?—In the case of the Poikile, we may infer that there was, in the Marathon painting, a major figure popularly called Miltiades.\textsuperscript{75} In the case of the Herm-Stoa, we may probably infer that such a Stoa existed and contained three inscribed Herms; and (I think) that it was popularly referred to Kimon's exploits. But that Eion alone was celebrated is disproved by the words of [E], which demand a context different from [S] and [T]. I return to this later.

2. Harpokration and others.

The name \textit{Herm-Stoa} is fifth-century usage, since Harpokration, s.v. 'Ερμαι, quotes it from Antiphon. Since both von Domaszewski and Hobein (in Pauly-Wissowa, \textit{Art. Stoa}, col. 20) reject this testimony, I quote the passage:

`Ερμαι: Ἀλαχίνης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Κητσιφόντας καὶ Ἄγγελη ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν Ἑβούλου βιορέων.\textsuperscript{76} Μανελλά τῆς Καλλικράτης ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἀθηναίων [\textit{cornice}: Ἀθηναίον] γράφει ταυτίζει: `ἀπὸ γὰρ τῆς Ποικίλης καὶ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως στοάς ἦσαν ὦ τοι Ἐρμαι καλοῦμενοι διὰ γὰρ τὸ πολλὸν κείσθαι καὶ ὑπὸ ἰδιωτῶν καὶ ἀρχόντων ταύτῃ τῆς προστιγμασίας εἰληφθὲν συμβιβάζονται. ἢ ἐνάπο τῶν ἐπιγράφων ἐγράμματος ἄρχοντας

Ἀντί: ἑνεχαίρησε Ἀγαμήμονα δῆσαι Ἀχαΐοι.

ὅτι ὁ καὶ Θρηκόν [\textit{cornice}: Ἐρμῶν] στόχα τις ἔλεγεν διενδέλεκτα καὶ Ἀντιφᾶν ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Νικολίας. ὁτί δὲ ἐκκαλοῦμεν τινας καὶ Ἰππάρχους Ἐρμαι ἀπὸ Ἰππάρχου τοῦ Πεισιστράτου ἐφέται ἐν τῇ ἀρχαίᾳ κοινωνίᾳ καὶ παρὰ Πλάτωνος ἐν τῷ Ἰππάρχῳ.

I quote from Dindorf's text, and cannot say if Θρηκόν has the iota subscript in the MSS. or not, but I imagine this is palaeographically indifferent. To write 'Ερμῶν for Θρηκόν is a reasonably certain emendation: since

(a) the citation is otherwise quite irrelevant;
(b) it is palaeographically extremely easy: both epsilon and theta are, in many hands, circular letters with a stroke in the centre, the only difference is that the circle in epsilon is not closed: whilst the misreading of mu as two letters, of which the first is alpha, is common.

Von Domaszewski is therefore wrong in saying that Aeschines has coined the name for the occasion. Nevertheless the Stoa is mentioned, by this name, in only one further passage, viz. the scholiast on Demosthenes, loc. cit.:

ταῖς ἵπποις Ἀθήνης στοάι, ἢ μῦ βασιλικος, ἢ δὲ τῶν Ἐρμῶν ἢ δὲ Πεισιστράτους (ὅτοι Πεισιστράτους τοῦ κύριοτος: αὔτῇ δὲ γραφόντος ἐν αὐτῇ τῶν ἐν Μαραθῶν καὶ ἄλλων τῶν ἤπειρον κοινωνίᾳ).

\textsuperscript{74} See the text above, notes 11-14.

\textsuperscript{75} Hypereides is evidently using the same argument as Leptines and Aeschines. He may well be the source (similar to Aeschines but without his corruptions) from whom Plutarch, \textit{Kimos} VII, derives.
The absence from this list of the Stoa of Zeus is so surprising, that Robert has suggested that it and the Herm-Stoa are the same: this identification, which Judeich refuses, would explain the rarity of its mention under its rarer name, and must now be examined.

In Athens' means, of course, 'in classical Athens,' the Athens of the orators: after the fifth-century building is done, before the Hellenistic building begins. Since it does not include the Alphitopolis or the (fourth-century?) Stoa by the Asklepieion, the statement is not exhaustive for the whole city, and we cannot with perfect safety assume that it is exhaustive even for the Agora, where in fact these three lay. The spade will doubtless tell us soon whether there were in fact three considerable Stoai of classical date in the Agora, or more than three: if there were only three, then the identity of the Herm-Stoa with the Stoa of Zeus is certain. For from Pausanias and all our other sources, the three classical Stoai in the Agora are well known: Basileios, Poikile, and Zeus. All are frequently mentioned in literature: and they appear in a list which seems to be similar to our scholiast's in Harpokration, s.v. Basileioi stoai:

The Stoa of Zeus has been identified in situ (AJA. xxxvi, p. 383). It is alongside the Basileios, as we know from this passage and from Eustathios on Odyssey 1. 395, and from Pausanias, I. 3. 1-3. It was a good place for watching the Agora, Xen. Oecon. VII. 1-2, XII. 1-2; you could see ambassadors on their way to the Bouleuterion, [Plat.] Erxiaia 392a: you were out of the Agora's traffic, Plat. Theages 121a: it was one of the two public buildings in which Diogenes the Cynic chose to live,' Diog. Laert. VI. 2. 22. It contained (in the fourth century) Euphranor's three pictures, the Twelve Gods, Theseus and Democracy, the Cavalry at Mantinea (Overbeck, Ant. Schriftenquellen, 1704, 1790-1796).

3. The History of the Stoa.

When was it built? There is a note, deriving from Didymos, and preserved in various forms in Harpokration and Suidas, s.v. Ελευθερος Ζεύς, Et. M. s.v. Ελευθερος, schol. Plat. Erxh. 392a, schol. Paus. I. 3. 2 [see note 86 below], which has been often referred (e.g. by von Damaszewski) to

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17 This is well known for the Basileios and the Poikile: it is made certain for the Herm-Stoa by Aesch. Ill. 186.
18 It is just possible that the Herm-Stoa was destroyed and replaced by Attalos' Stoa: προστηκε in Aesch. Ill. 186 (spoken from the Heliaia, south of Attalos' Stoa?) might be held to confirm this. If so, traces of the fifth-century building should be discoverable.—Hoeber in Pauly-Wissowa, Art. Stoa, col. 19-20, suggests that the Herm-Stoa is the same as the Poikile! He has evidently overlooked Aesch. Ill. 186, where the Dikasts are invited to walk in imagination from one to the other.
20 The three Stoai in Aristoph. Ekkeias. 684-6 are evidently the Basileios and Zeus (το τοπ στους) and the Alphitopolis. [If the initials B Θ K conceal nicknames, we can hardly hope to guess them.] The last (if Judeich rightly identifies it with the Makra) is not in the Agora but westward of it, between the Dromos and the 'Theseum' hill: Judeich, Topogr., 365. It is a group of three, on the west edge, or westward, of the Agora.
21 Dodd, dideo: the Επιθεμα has ποιονδοκος, Suidas s.v. has ποιονδοκος.
the building of this Stoa, but in fact refers to the naming of Eleutherios Zeus, whose statue stood in front of the Stoa (Paus. I. 3. 2). The version of best authority is Harpokration's:

'Eleuthērios Zeous: 'Ημερήσια πονοσ τού μεν τοιν ως, ὤ τον διακρισαθαι, ἣ ἐπικαλεθεὶς γέγονε τοῦ Ἐλευθέρου προσαγωγώς, διὰ τοῦτο ἐξελευθερώσα τὴν θεάν οὐκοδομησάς τὴν πλῆθος αὐτοῦ. Ὁ δὲ Διδύμος ἤτοι ἄρατι καὶ τὸν εἶδον γαρ Ἐλευθέρος ἔδιδε τῷ τῶν Ἕλληνων ἐπαλαγήζηται τοὺς Ἀθηναίοις. ὅτι ἕπιγραφήσατο μὲν Σωτῆρ, ἑνομάζεται δὲ καὶ Ἐλευθέρος, ἤτοι καὶ Μένανδρος.

Judeich interprets this evidence as follows (Topogr. 73): 'To Zeus Soter (or, as he was later also called, Eleutherios) the city erected, in gratitude for his help in the Persian danger, a statue in the Agora: behind which later a Stoa was built.' This is true in fact, I believe; yet hardly represents what Didymos says. Zeus [Soter] received his [extra] title of Eleutherios on a given occasion, which I take to be subsequent to the first erection of his statue Διὶ Σωτῆρι [Menander, who says explicitly 82 that Eleutherios was an extra title, is taken by Harpokration to agree with Didymos]. Ergo, the riddance from τὰ Μηδικά 83 which earned the title Eleutherios is later than the salvation 84 which earned the title Soter.

Two third-century inscriptions (IG. III. 689 and 690) contain decrees in honour of the Priest of Zeus Soter and Athena Soteira, and are ordered to be displayed πρὸς τὴν στοάν τοῦ Διὸς. 84 It is evident that Zeus Soter is the cult title, and he is associated in cult with Athena Soteira. There can be little doubt (compare, for example, the oracle in Herodotos VII. 141) that this cult of the Two Saviours dates from the recovery of the city from the Persians in 479: σωτηρία is a more desperate matter than ἔλευθερία, 85 and Athens had been faced with destruction, not mere subjection. On what subsequent occasion did Zeus receive the popular addition of Eleutherios, already borne by him at Plataea since 479? 86 After the Peace of Kallias?

It will serve concreteness and brevity best, if I here state frankly my full hypothesis, which is a development of von Domaszewski's.

I take the Stoa of Zeus and the Herm-Stoa to be the same: the Stoa was erected after the Euryomedon, in 468, 87 and contained the Euryomedon-Herm (whose epigram reads as if written in the exaltation of the moment):

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82 Neither Menander nor Didymos (as quoted) says explicitly that the title Eleutherios was added later. It is possible that from the first the cult title was Soter, the popular title Eleutherios. Yet I find this unlikely.
83 The parallel citations have τὰ Μηδικά ἐπφροτοῦ σχολ. Plat. 592a, τὰ τῶν Ἕλληνων δοῦλων [καὶ ἐπικαλεθὼς Ελ. M.] ἑπικαλεθήσατο Σωτηρία. I suppose Harpokration to be nearest to Didymos' words: Suidas and E. M. by their variations seem to be referring the phrase to 473 B.C.
84 Sir: not τῶν Ἐλευθέρων.
85 Cf. Thuc. V. 111. 2, VIII. 59. 3, Lysias, XII. 69.
86 Thus H. 71. 2 (cf. schol. Plat. Eyn. 392a, where for Καρό read Λασάρο, and for Καρπιειν in schol. Paus. I. 3. 2, 'Lapsino'). The 'Simonideum' epigram was, I imagine, inscribed later: πολὺ πολὺ 'Ἐλευθέρων ἔτεις ἐπέφησεν λόγῳ βασιλεύον Ελευθέρος (Simon. 107 Dicht).
87 Jfr. in the year following the battle. The date 469 for the Euryomedon I take from Plut. Kameos VIII. 7-9: it seems to me almost certain that the honour conferred on the Strategos at the Diomysia of 468 was consequent upon that victory. See Weisacker, Untersuch. über Plut. biogr. Technik (Heft 2 of Problemati, 1931), 61-64. I cannot follow Weisacker in details, but his main thesis, that Plutarch is by temperament a moralist and by purpose an historian, and consequently chooses his material 'eidoslogisch' and presents it (falsely) 'chronographisch,' seems to me true and illuminating. [The Euryomedon date is discussed by F. Täger, Ein Beitrag zur Gesch. d. Pest., Stuttgart, 1932.]
it was called the Stoa of Zeus from the pre-existing statue of Zeus Soter in front of it. Diodoros is thus correct in saying that the Demos made a monument to the God (τῷ θεῷ sc. Zeus Soter) out of a tithe of the Eurymedon spoils, and thereon inscribed [Q]: he is incorrect in adding, at this date, [R] also. In 449, after the Peace of Kallias and Kimon’s death, the monument was re-formed (much as Hieron re-formed Gelon’s monument at Delphi, after the Battle of Kyme) and the Eion-Herm and the Cyprus-Herm were added: it was made a monument of the Persian war since Athens took the hegemony, and its Zeus received the extra title Ἐλευθέρως (διὰ τὸ τῶν Μηδίκων ἀπαλλαγῆς τούς Ἀθηναίοις, as Didymos says). The emulaton with the Spartan foundation of Zeus Eleutheros at Plataea is conscious, and (like the dedication of the Nike Temple) typical of Athens’ determination to treat the Peace as a climax of glory. I think it probable that the text of Kallias’ Treaty was displayed in this Stoa.

Later, the Decree establishing the Second League was placed in front of it (IG. II². 43) when Sparta’s failure as Hegemon was to be stressed. Finally, when Athens and Sparta were friends again, the service rendered to Sparta by the Athenian cavalry at Mantinea was painted on its walls (Paus. I. 3, 4, Plut. De glor. Ath. 2).

4. Hermai.

Demosthenes, when speaking of the Herm-epigrams, does not say ‘the Herm-Stoa,’ but simply ἐπιγράψατος ἐν τῷ Ἐρμαῦτος. The question therefore rises, whether the Herm-Stoa was not sometimes called simply οἱ Ἐρμαῖ; and since ‘the Hermai in the Agora’ are often spoken of, should we ever take this phrase to refer to the Herm-Stoa?

From Harpokration’s quotation from ‘Menekles or Kallikrates’ which is given above, p. 89, it is clear that οἱ Ἐρμαῖ does not always mean ‘the Herm-Stoa’:

‘The area called the Hermai stretches from the Poikile and from the Basileios: it has this name because there are many Hermai there, dedicated by magistrates and others.’

The topographical puzzle which this notice presents, I leave to be resolved by the spade: but (since this Area cannot be the same as the Stoa) it seems to me possible that we have to distinguish two separate senses of οἱ Ἐρμαῖ.

1. The Area is clearly in question in ps.-Plutarch’s Life of Andokides (Vit. X. Or. 834d), where he says, quoting Kratippos (fr. 3, Jacoby), that the mutilators νύκτωρ τοῦ πέρι τὴν ἁγοράν Ἐρμαῖ περικόσμαν, ὡς Κράτιππος

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88 Sparta had freed her thousands, but Athens her tens of thousands.

89 I have this hypothetical judgment chiefly on the tone of Iokrates’ Panegyrikos: esp. such passages as ch. 179, where he seems to have his eye on the Eurymedon-Herm, whilst contrasting the Kallias and Antalkidas treaties. It is typical too, I think, that the Decree of Aristotles (IG. II². 43), which directly challenged the Antalkidas Treaty, was placed beside this Stoa. [Peace of Antalkidas 386, Panegyrikos 380, Decree of Aristotles 379.] It was, in fact, designed as the Athenian counterpart to the Spartan memorial at Plataea, to symbolise Athenian hegemony in rivalry to Spartan. Note that in IG. II². 43, line 63, the title Eleutherios is used: contrast IG. II². 694 and 690 (note 84 above).
2. When 'the Hermai' appears to indicate a point, should we not perhaps understand thereby the Stoa? The cardinal instance is Xenophon, Hippiarch. III. 2: he is describing his ideal cavalry procession: εἶ, δοὺν (sc. θεόν) λεπά καὶ ἄγαλματα ἐν τῇ ἄγορᾳ έστι, ταῦτα ἄρξανει απὸ τῶν 'Ερμῶν κύκλῳ — περιελάσσοντες τιμῶντες τὸ θεοῦ — — ἔπειδὰν δὲ πάλιν πρὸς τὸ τὸν 'Ερμαίος γένονται περιελασσότες, ἐντεῦθεν — εἶπα τάχος ἀνίναι τούτῳ ὅππος μέχρι τοῦ 'Ελευθερίου. The cavalymen begin and end their circuit of the Agora at the Hermai' that is, at a given point. Must not this be the Stoa, rather than οἱ περὶ τὴν ἄγοραν 'Ερμαίος? It would follow that the Stoa is likewise meant in the lines of Mnesimachos quoted by Athenaeus, 402f: the slave is instructed to invite the young riding-pupils to dinner:

οὐδὲν εἶναι ἄγοραν πρὸς τοῦ 'Ερμάος
οὐδὲν προσφοράς οἷον φύλάρχοι,
τοῦτο τε μαθήται τούτων ἄραινον
οὐδὲν ἄνασαβίνειν ἔτη τούτῳ ἦπποισι
μελετήσαι Φεῖδοι καὶ κατασκαβίνειν
οἷος οὖς φόραζον;

The 'Barber's Shop by the Hermai' where the Phratry of the Dekeleiaics have their resort (Lysias, XXIII. 3: cf. IG. II. 1237, lines 63–4, ClQu. 25, p. 135) should also, in that case, be sought near the Herm-Stoa (since 'the Hermai' indicates a point); and finally, the 'Grand-stand,' erected by the infatuated Demetrios to enable his lady to watch the Panathenaia, is most easily conceived as overtopping the roof of the Herm-Stoa (μετεωρότερον τῶν 'Ερμῶν, Athen. 407f), and so commanding a view of the whole Agora.99

D. *The Poems in Aeschines, in [E], [S] and [T].*

It remains to discuss, how Aeschines came to associate the Eion-epigram [E], with [S] and [T]. First, I quote the poems (omitted above, p. 88):

[= H. v. Gaertringen, Epigr. 34: he has inverted the order. The poems are also given in Plut. Kimon. VII. 4–6, whose text I have followed in places. The chief variants are: [E] 3 κρατερὸν Aesch., [S] 2 μεγάλον αρετὸν Plut., [S] 4 αμφὶ περὶ ξυνω ὁδῷ and δὴ δίνῃ έχειν Plut., [T] 2 αὖ μεγίζων Aesch., [T] 3 πῦκα χαλκοχιτίνων Aesch., [T] 4 ξύχον ὁντα Plut., [T] 6 κοσμηταῖον Plut.—Aeschines' readings, when inferior, are very banal, but he is not always inferior: I imagine he is right, e.g., in [S] 4 init. I believe

99 For the appearance and functions of Herma, see L. Curtius, *Die antike Herme* (Munich Dissertation, Leipzig, 1903), S. Eltem, *Art. Hermai* in Pauly-Wissowa, K. Lullies, *Die Typen der griechischen Herme* (Heft 3 in Königberger Kunstgeschichtliche Forschungen, 1931). From the use of Herma in Cic. De legibus 2. 26, 63, and *ἱστογλογασία* in Plut. *Herm. 213a, it is possible that the word had sometimes a more general sense than we give it (see Lullies, op. cit. 59 sq.), and the Hermes in the Agora may have included various types of small sculpture.—Judeich rightly complains that there is no evidence at all for von Dussewski's thesis of ten Tribal Hermes in the Agora (*Topogr.* 336, note 2).
both versions have suffered from quotation by an orator, and Plutarch is very likely following Hypereides (see note 76)

\[E\] Ĥν ἄρα κάσεινοι ταλακάρδιοι οἱ ποτὲ Μῆθὼν πασίν ἔπ. 'Ητοῖν Στρυμόνασ ἄμφι ροζά
λιμὸν τ' αἰθῶνα κρεμέρον τ' ἐπάγωντες Ἀρης πρῶτοι δύσμενῶν θύρον ἀμήξυνην.

\[S\] ἡμεμόνεσσι δὲ μισθοῦ 'Ἀθηναῖοι τάδ' ἐδωκαν ἄντ' ἐνεργεία καὶ μεγάλη ἀρετής:
μᾶλλον τις τάδ' ἠδυν καὶ ἐπιστομεῖν ἐθελήσει ἄμφι ξυνότι πράγμασθι μόχθων ἔξειν.

\[T\] ἐκ ποτὲ τῆσδε πολέμου ἄμφι 'Ατρείδης Μενεσθεύς
ὑγείτο σάθευν Τροικόν ἐν πεδίοιν,
δόν ποθ' Ὀμήρου ἐφη Δαυιδόν πῦκα θαρρηκτάνιν
cοσμητὴρα μάχησ ἔξοχον ἄνδρα μολείν
οὕτως οὐδὲν δεικές Ἀθηναίοι καλεῖσθαι
cοσμητὰς πολέμου τ' ἄμφι καὶ ἱμερέσθα.

No one will suggest that Aeschines copied the poems straight from the Herms. Epigraphic verses circulated in book-form long before Aeschines wrote; 102 and that these particular poems had been used earlier, to point the same moral, we know because—

(1) Demosthenes (XX. 112) says, twenty-five years earlier, that 'the inscription on the Herms' was a favourite argument against the undue bestowal of honours;

(2) Plutarch (Kimon VII), quoting the same three poems in the same context, has some variant readings which are superior to Aeschines' (v. supra). It is evident that Aeschines quoted from memory: 103 Plutarch derives from some parallel source (possibly Hypereides, see note 76).

These facts make it likely that the three poems were associated together before Aeschines used them in the Ktesiphon. His error, in fact, is transferred back to an earlier moraliser: it is an orator's τόρσος. Error it is: 104 nothing is gained by rearranging the poems as, e.g., Meyer and H. v. Gaertringen have done, putting [T] first. Κάσεινοι in [E] is said with reference, not to Menestheus, but to the victors of later battles.

As for [T]: its place is, I think, the Poikile, where the Sack of Troy and Battle of Marathon 105 were painted side by side (Paus. I. 15. 2–3). That [S] stood somewhere in the Agora is guaranteed by the parody 106 quoted

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101 Cf. Solon, fr. 5, line 3 (Dichil), ἀνάθεσθαι: ' no injury,' 102 for those whom they lead. I think we should amend, 'Ἀθηναῖοι καλεῖσθαι.
103 The evidence in Glotta, IX. 100. See note 35 above.
104 His actor's training had no doubt given him a fluent and inexact memory. Χαλκοχρήστων in [T] 3 is clearly an actor's extemporisation: so is the commonplace κρατοῦν in [E] 3.
105 See the first discussion of [E].
106 The virtues of Menestheus were suited to a pitched battle rather than a siege.
107 This was inscribed on some herm γραφάνει, i.e. with three-stroke sigma, etc. It cannot therefore be a mere quotation from comedy?
by Harpokration (see p. 89 above): it may quite well have stood on the combined three-Herm memorial, as von Domaszewski suggests, but equally well on some other monument.—I suggest (purely exempli gratia for concreteness' sake: many other hypotheses are possible) that in the book of inscriptive poems, from which the Moraliser quoted, the epigrams stood in this order—

\[
\begin{align*}
[Q] & \xi \delta \sigma t \varepsilon \nu \rho \omega \pi \tau \eta \\
[R] & \psi \sigma i \delta e \gamma \alpha \rho \psi \iota \nu \kappa \upsilon \pi \tau \rho \rho \omega \\
[E] & \hbar \nu \delta \pi \kappa \alpha \kappa \acute{\epsilon} \nu \iota \iota \\
[S] & \hnu \mu \nu \acute{\epsilon} \nu \varsigma \acute{\epsilon} \iota \mu \iota \alpha \theta \upsilon \\
[T] & \chi \varepsilon \kappa \tau \pi \tau \acute{o} \nu \tau \pi \delta \lambda \upsilon \sigma \\
\end{align*}
\]

and that, for some reason unknown, the Moraliser started his three poems with [E] instead of [Q]. The book will have contained the verse inscriptions of the Agora, proceeding (like Aeschines' audience, III. 186) from the Herm-Stoa to the Poikile. After [T] no doubt came other poems from the Poikile: e.g.:

\[
[U] \text{ Επιλύων προμαχούνται Αθηναίοι Μαραθώνιοι χρυσοφόρους Μήδιων ηστόρεσαν δύναμιν.}^{98}
\]

III. THE WAR MONUMENT IN THE MEGARIAN AGORA.

Pausanias tells us that in Megara the heroes of the Persian War were actually buried in the Agora (I. 43. 3): and his statement is to some extent confirmed by a curious inscription of the fourth or fifth century A.D. containing a copy of their 'Simonidean epitaph' [Tod, Sel. Gk. Hist. Inscr. 20, Simonides fr. 96 Diehl]. The inscription, which is in a semi-cursive hand, is practically a 'manuscript,' and I therefore purge its itacisms, add rough breathings and subscript iotas, omit a redundant letter in line 2 of the poem, and supply or indicate the lacunas:

\[
[V] \text{ Ἐλλαδὶ καὶ Μεγαρεύσιν ἐλευθέρων αἰμαρ ἀσείν λείμουν βασιτου μοίραν ἐδεξιμέθα} \\
\text{τοῖς μὲν ὑπ' Ἐυμοῖκων καὶ Πολύμπος ἐνδα καλεῖται} \\
\text{ἀγνασα δικαιὸς τοῖς τοῖς τιμεῖται} \\
\text{τοῖς ἐν εἰρήνην Ἱσθιακῶν} \\
\text{κόρας ἐπ' ἐνεκτῷ ὑπομονεῖοι λέγουσαι} \\
\text{άστικα δι' ἀμωμεν οὖν} \\
\text{Νικηφόρων λαοδικῶν ἀγαριν.}
\]

\footnote{97 I see no reason for dropping the last couplet whether of [S] or [T], as von Domaszewski wishes. On the other hand, I find the first line of [S] very difficult: what is τοῖς? I could understand, e.g., Νικηφόρων ἀμωμεν Αἴτων τοῖς έλευσι, as an inscription of 449 dedicating the whole monument to Kimon's memory: but one cannot start rewriting the poems. Τὸς may refer to something quite different, possibly in the Basileios or Poikile.}

\footnote{98 Lycurg. Lectr. 109: Simonides, 88 Diehl: H. v. Gaerteningen, Hist. gr. Epigr. 12. Perhaps too, if (as is possible) Polygnotos signed his Attic 'Sack of Troy' in the same way as his Delphian, we may add Simonides 112 Diehl (= Plut. X. 27. 4), γεγαίνειν Πολύμπος θάνατο γίνοντας 'Ἀγας οπηκτόροι περισθείν Μαραθώνιον.'}
The third pentameter is missing. The poem is too good for that to have been the poet's intention: the readiest explanation is that this line began with the same letters as both its neighbours. It is less easy to see what battle is omitted: for Herodotos' careful list gives no Megarians at Thermopylae (VII. 202), and probably there were no battle casualties among the ten thousand at Tempe (VII. 173): otherwise one or both of these could well have filled the space. However, I let θοι 86 stand, since there may have been skirmish casualties at Tempe, and it is just possible there may have been Megarians at Thermopylae: Herodotos only gives 3100 Peloponneseans, but epigram [A] (above) says 4000 and may have counted Megarians. [Yet I think Herodotos' silence in VII. 202 a great difficulty: Megara is not really Peloponnese and epigram [A] may have counted Boeotians.] Boeckh's supplement υπόν Φειδιάσσαν εξοδεύσαντες Ἀρη is padding, of which this very spare poem has else not one word, except perhaps the epithets of Artemis in line 4: the reference to the disastrous cavalry battle in couplet 4 is strictly ad rem (Hdt. IX. 69).—In the last couplet earlier editors supply Μεγαρηγος: ξυνοι mends the metre and, I think, the sense too. In the last line I write λαοδικων 'ν for earlier editors' λαοδικον (the inscription omits all subscript iotas and elision marks, and does not separate the words), and this goes some way to meet Mr. Tod's just criticism of the couplet as inscribed.

We owe our copy to 'Helladios the high-priest,' who says the epigram had perished with time (απολομενοι τῳ χρονῳ) and he had it inscribed (ἐπηγραφηνα ἐποιησε, not re-inscribed.) It seems to me clear he copied it, not from the old inscription, but from a book. The copy is careless and misspelt, yet it found no difficulties in the presumably archaic spelling of the original: it must be taken from a transcription in Koine. Helladios adds Συμωνίδης εποιησε, and this too is clearly from a book: it is unlikely that Simonides signed his inscribed verses (though Ion of Samos did, Dittenb. Syll. 115; and so perhaps did Hipparchos the tyrant, [Plat.] Hipparch. 228b–229a, cf. IG. 12. 837). The local antiquaries of Megara (we may suppose) knew and preserved those poems in the Simonides' collection which referred to their town: the ascription to Simonides has no more authority than the Anthology ascriptions.—The first couplet (as so often) can stand alone and is in the great style: I do not feel sure we are therefore to regard the other couplets as a later addition: they are so spare in style, and so actual, and the memory of Plataea so vivid.

The Megarians killed in that cavalry charge at Plataia were buried on the spot (Hdt. IX. 85; cf. Thuc. III. 58), not in the Megarian Agora. Were any buried in the Agora? Pausanias says so: Helladios, speaking of των εν τῳ Περσικῳ πολεμῳ αποθανουτων και ευταναθε κειμενων ἤρωων, does θω more than repeat the same 'Megarian antiquaries' tradition. But the poem nowhere says κειμενα (which stood on even the Isthmian cenotaph, Plut. De malig. Herod. 870f): nēdum τηδε κειμενα: was it not rather a cenotaph,

---

99 Astor: (as regularly, e.g., in Pindar) means the heroes', fellow-citizens; Μεγαρηγος is redundant and clumsy. ξυνοι, besides its obvious fitness, has in this context a further emotional fitness, 'we are all Megarians together': cf. e.g., Pind. Pyth. IX. 93 [Oli. VII. 90–3, Pyth. XI. 52–4].
IV. A HELLENISTIC MONUMENT OF THE EURYMEDON.

The third-century poems found on a statue base at Samos, celebrating the achievements of Maiandrios in the Eurymedon sea-battle, were published by Klaffenbach in AM. 51 (1926), 26 sqq.; the supplements by Wилamowitz served admirably to indicate the general purport of the two poems inscribed. Perhaps no more is required, for the gaps are so large that no supplement can pretend to restore the actual words. If I yet presume to offer some alternative supplements, it is because of a technical epigraphic problem involved: for Hiller von Gaertringen has suggested that the poems were inscribed as prose, like the poems of Wilhelmina Stich (AM. 51 [1926], 155). This, though inevitable with Wilamowitz’s supplements, has rightly been treated as in fact impossible, by Buschor (Philologus, N.F. 40 [1931], 424 sqq.).—Buschor’s excellent photograph (which I reproduce by the courtesy of the Editors of Philologus, Fig. 2) shows clearly that the first quatrain was inscribed in rasura, presumably later than the second quatrain, and as a separate poem. Buschor reports, moreover, that the top face of the stone has the remains of an early fifth-century list of names in two columns (I reproduce Buschor’s photograph with the same acknowledgment, Fig. 3): which may well be a contemporary list of the Samians who fell in the battle. He infers that the Hellenistic Maiandrios-monument is a re-shaping of a monument (of some sort) contemporary with the battle.

Further minor difficulties in Wilamowitz’ supplements are—

(1) The last word in verse 2. Κατηψη is impossible, since ωοχη (in the phrase εστησαντο ωοχη) cannot carry an epithet: Wilamowitz has therefore later substituted ποιει, which (though abundantly true) is not very good. I think we want a participle.

(2) Maiandrios’ exploits were in the sea-battle, which was prob-

100 Klaffenbach dates the writing (by comparison with the Samian Berrnild inscription, AM. 44 [1919], 21) to about 250 B.C. The poems are simple, quite out of the Kallimachos or Anadyne-Mnasalas tradition. I imagine they are provincial.

101 The list can hardly have been long enough to contain all who fought.—I note that among the patronymic genitives in the first column EMOVITTO cannot be Δηποπηρο, since the H is used for e; rather, Δηποπηρο.

102 Conceivably we should restore, e.g., εν ταλαι—

103 J.H.S.—VOL. LIII.
ably the less important half of the whole affair: should we infer he was killed before the landing? If so, it must be mentioned.

I have had one more determining principle: since the ships are called Μηδιεν συμμηκτεις, I have inferred that the poet regarded the sea-fight as a victory over Phoenicians.

Fig. 2.—Inscribed base from Samos.

Fig. 3.—Inscribed base from Samos.

[WJ]

1-2: [πλειστα κακ Ασσυριος]
[σκληρα παθειν Τυριος] Μαιανδριος ευτ ετι καλω εστησαντο μαχην Ευρυ-
μεδοντι πορων
3-4: ευ ζωην ημεισεν αριστευσα γαρ εκεινη νουθετην παντων κλεως εδει
αθανατον

To judge by the Attic epitaph ([M] 3 οφει, αχητας, πετα τι κα τοντοι τινι νηθ), and the account in Plutarch, Κίόνια, XIII. 2. Cf. Meyer, Fasch. II. 6 sq., and see note 65 above.

If the original fifth-century monument contained a list of fallen (note 101, supra), Maiandrios' name may have been among them. Did a memento (of Maiandrios?) surmount the original monument (cf. Hdt. VIII. 121, and the Note on Akrotoria)?
It will be seen how much I have taken from Wilamowitz, for the second quatrains, especially: οκτω for διδωκα in line 5 was already suggested by Buschor. I add a few notes, and put the poems out in literary form:—


Line 3. Cf. Aeschylus fr. 99, lines 5-6, γυνη δει ημιενα παρθενου σεβας ημεινα: then ζετ in line 4 (as in θεσαι χαριν: cf. Plato Laws 820ε του θεμενου = mortgagees) will carry on the figure.

Lines 3-4. If Maiandrios was not killed, we might perhaps supply πορευν | εν τασι ζηλωτοσ: cf. IG. I². 655 (= H. v. Gaertringen, Hist. gr. Epigr. 25), [τα]σι [Δευ]λισσο[νισε][τοι]. Yet I think the γαρ clause presupposes his death.

Line 4. κλεος (for κλαος) seems clear from the photograph.

Line 5. άλων means, of course, destroyed, not captured: here as in [R] 2. Cf. άλως, Aesch. Ag. 689.

Line 6. See the Note on Akroteria.

Line 8. Wilamowitz’ φαουθω is attractive, and I have doubted if πελάγει was applicable to a battle so close off shore. But cf. [C] 2, of the sea off Artemision.

[W²] [σκληρά παθειν Τυριοια] Μαιανδριος, έστι’ έτι καλος έσττμαιντο μαχην Ευρυμεδι[ουντι, πόρουν]
[εν 3ουν ημεινεν άριστη]ειςα θαρ έκινη
ναμακχη πάντων, κλεων έστε’ άθανι[ατον.

[X²] [οκτω νησα] ελευ Μαιανδριος, ου αφ’ έκαστης
άστις πρωμαν τεξει θερ’ ὑποδεξαιμενη’
[τασ δε βαθυς τηλεκλε]ιτος ὑπεδεξατο ποντοσ
κρυφθεισας, Μηδων συμμαχ[ίδος, πελάγει.

Note on Akroteria.

I asked Prof. Beazley about line 6, which I could not understand, and at the same time about the σκληρα mentioned in a series of inscriptions which catalogue the separate parts of the Gold Nikai at Athens [IG. I². 368, line 20: 369, lines 1, 5, 12, 15; II². 1502 (cf. Ferguson, Treasures, p. 92, Dinsmoor, AJA. XXXVI, p. 151)], and several fourteenth-century Traditions, of which the two most complete were recently discovered built into the west end of the Parthenon, and published by N. Kyparissis in Διλτ. XI, 1927/8, pp. 123–134]. The solution which follows I owe almost entirely to him, though I do not make him responsible. I state the solution in dogmatic form, but of course only intend it as a suggestion.
The Akroteria of the Nikai are the stern ornaments (Δρακετα) of enemy ships, kept by the victor as trophies. Such aphlasta were dedicated as spoils, along with captured arms, by the Athenians at Delphi (Tod, Sel. Gr. Hist. Inscr. 18 = Dittenb. Syll. 29; possibly for Salamis, but the occasion is uncertain):—αὐτούς ἰσθάνεια παλαιότερα τοιεὶς σταῖς καὶ τὰ ἱσταλεῖς ἐξολοθρεύει τὸν τοῦκόροσιν τοι. (Aeschylus' brother Kynegeiros was killed whilst seizing such an aphlaston at Marathon (Hdt. VI. 114).) Lysander took many to Sparta after the surrender of Samos (Xen. Hell. II. 3. 8), Alkibiades brought home 590 from his Hellestontine campaigns (Plut. Alk. XXXII. 1). The spoils sent to Delphi from Salamis were converted into a statue 12 cubits high having in his hand the akroterion of a ship (Hdt. VIII. 121). Several early classical paintings of about 480/460 show deities carrying such aphlasta: (i) Poseidon on a column-crater by the Pan Painter now in Bari (No. 4 in Beazley's Der Pan-Maler, who there cites the other paintings): (ii) Athena

on a Nolan amphora by the Nikon Painter now in London (No. 1 in Beazley's Att. V.), who appears to be chasing a girl (it is not likely that the two figures have no relation to each other), whom we may imagine to be 'Asia' (cf. epigram [R] 3); (iii) a female figure holding two aphlasta, one in each hand, on a fragment of a clay miniature votive-shield from the Akropolis (Graef and Langlotz, Akrop. Vasen, ii. Pl. 83, 1072): and (iv) on an Akropolis skyphos (fragment) of the same period and in a somewhat similar style (Akrop. Vasen, ii. Pl. 49, 516), a figure (probably male) holds an aphlaston, a figure (probably female) reaches him a wreath: by the male figure an inscription ending ΑΣ: possibly Athena crowning [Άι]ς (cf. Hdt. VIII. 121).—None of these indeed is Nike; but Nike

[106] Possibly some Argivean battle: possibly even the Euxippos, where some Chalkidian ships may have been captured. Could τὸν πολεμοῦ refer to Persians? [107] Fig. 4, for which Prof. Beazley has given me his drawing. Photograph in CV, L. London, III. 1c. Pl. 79, 2.
appears in two paintings of this period with the *aphlaston*, viz. (v) a fragment of another votive-shield from the Akropolis (Akroph. Vase, ii. Pl. 83, 107), and (vi) rather earlier, a lekythos by the Painter of the Paris Gigantomachy, now in Berlin (No. 57 in Beazley's Att. V. 110). Nike with *aphlaston* occurs also later: a flying Nike with *aphlaston* on a gem of c. 400 (BM. Cat. Pl. 9, 515 = Furtwaengler, AG. Pl. 9, 33); and on a number of late Panathenaic amphoras the figure of Nike with *aphlaston* replaces the cock on the top of the pillar: e.g. London, B 607, 608, 609 (CVA. London, III. HE. Pl. 3; and 2), Pl. 4, 2); Louvre, MN 705 (CVA. Louvre, III. Hg. Pl. 6, 4–7, 11). The London vases are of 336/5 and 333/4, that is from the period when Lykourgos was making new Gold Nikai: the Paris vase is of 321/0.

It is thus very probable that the *akroterion* which formed part of a gold Nike was an *aphlaston* 111 carried in her hand. Against this must be set the opinion of a scholiast on Demosthenes. Demosthenes, XXIV. 121, says his client's enemies shall perish, ἄνεμοι οἱ τὰ ἀκρωτία τῆς Νικης περίκοψαντες ἀπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν οὕτω γὰρ γραφεῖται Ἡ Νίκη. The plural may seem to favour him, and the fact that the two Nikai of IG. I2, 368 appear to have ὄφαρον πετάνων [p]α between them (though this is, of course, mostly supplement). On the other hand, no other gold Nike seems to have more than one *akroterion*: and the one fifth-century Nike which survived the melting-pot (which is detailed in IG. I2, 369, lines 9–13 (and therefore presumably was one of the two in IG. I2, 368), and again in Δελ. 1927/8, 48 (opposite p. 126), lines 27–41, and *Apok. 2* (opposite p. 128), lines 6–21] certainly has only one *akroterion*.113--I think the scholiast was merely guessing, and that he has guessed wrong.

The Athenians once received an oracle from Dodona commanding them τὰ ἀκρωτία τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος φυλάσσειν (Plut. Phokion, XXVIII. 2), and the subsequent occupation by Antipater of the headlands of Mounychia (ibid. XXVII. 3, XXVIII. 1) was taken to be the danger against which they had been warned. But, like all riddling oracles, there was presumably some obvious way of complying with it: if they had not protected the 'headlands,' they presumably had protected some other *akroteria*: what? Not wings, certainly: nor, I imagine, an *aphlaston* in her hand; but the goddess of Mounychia may well have had real *aphlasta*, brought home as trophies (Plut. Alk. XXXII, Diod. XVIII. 75), dedicated in her temple.

2. Maiandrios (that is, his statue) had one *aphlaston* in his [right?] hand; 112 and on his shield an *episemon* composed of eight *aphlasta*, arranged like the legs of a triskeles. The echo of ὄψιθημα in ὄψιθας of the next line cannot be accidental: his hand received the *aphlasta*, the sea received all the rest. Note that the *aphlaston*-bearing deities are especially of the Persian Wars period: Herodotos' *aphlaston*-bearing statue is of 480.

If this charge was placed on his shield because of his deeds in this battle, it does not at all follow that he survived it. Rather the contrary: his monument or his son could receive the blazon without hubris, if that was expiated already by his own death.

V. THE DELPHIC CHARIOTEER.

I take this occasion to justify, and in one point to correct, the account of the *Polyzalos* inscription which I gave in Mr. Bowra's and my translation of Pindar's *Pythian Odes* (Nonesuch Press, 1928), p. 161.

110 Prof. Beazley also tells me of a goddess with *aphlaston* on a weak-Brygau lekythos in New York, unpublished.

111 "Ἀκρωτίας can also be used of a ship's beak, and these beaks are used as trophies, Hdt. III. 59. [Such 'prows like boars' heads' can be seen, e.g. in Phbhl, Mal. and Σειστ. No. 231, 233, 259: in 231 and 259 also good *aphlasta.*] But the *akroteria* carried in the hand are always stern-ornaments. [Cf. *ἀκρωτίας πρώοις, Ἡμι. Ημ. XXXII. 10.]

112 I note that in *Apok. 1*, line 39, and *Apok. 2*, line 19, there should be a comma between οἰκειόρρυγος and οἰκειόρρυγος; they are separate items, the latter is the *χρυσόν οἰκειόρρυ γος* of IG. I2, 239, line 12. This *χρυσόν* homer is I imagine included the wings.

113 The plural might be used of the ornament of a single stern. Herodotos speaks of ἄκρατοι νοσί (VI. 114).

114 He is, so far, like the statue of Hdt. VIII.

115—There is some awkwardness in expression, if the shield had eight *aphlasta* and the hand only one; but I think this must be meant.
The inscription stands on the base of the bronze Charioteer of Delphi. The importance of an exact date for this most famous of early classical statues makes it worth while to press the matter: especially since Pómow in Syllagē does not mention the fact of the earlier inscription, and Hiller von Gaertringen in Hist. gr. Epigr. 44 declines to discuss it, and a wholly impossible restoration is quoted in SEG. III. 396.

The extant inscription is inscribed, roughly stōchedon, as follows:

\[ \text{o} \nu \zeta \alpha \lambda o \sigma \mu a \nu e \delta \eta k \]
\[ o \nu a e \xi e v o n u m a p o l \]

The top line is more regularly spaced, and in rather larger letters, than the second: in the top line the N is vertical, the Y like a Roman Y (but slightly curved), the O is made without a centre-mark; the E is not complete, but it is probable it had three horizontals, not four. In the second line, the N slopes forward, the Y is like a Roman V, the O has a centre-mark,\(^\text{114}\) the E has four horizontals. Also, \( H = \eta \) in the top line, \( O = \omega \) in the bottom line.

\[ \text{C} \wedge \text{I} \text{A} \text{N} \text{O} \text{N} \text{A} \text{E} \text{E} \text{N} \text{O} \]

\[ \text{O} \text{N} a \text{E} \text{E} \text{N} \text{O} \]

Fig. 5.—The Inscription of

The surface of the top line has, however, been specially treated, and there are still perfectly visible the traces of an earlier line which has been erased. The surface treatment extends exactly to the foot of the later letters and about 1/4 inch below the foot of the earlier letters, which stood that much higher; i.e., the letters were erased with the smallest possible margin of surface treatment, and this is one indication that the bottom line already stood there, and the eraser was at pains not to disturb it. Other indications are the more irregular spacing of line 2, and (what is decisive) the differences of script noted above between the later line 1, and line 2.\(^\text{115}\)

The restoration of the extant lines is our first problem. The line endings are certain: the line beginnings cannot be certain, yet it is at least very probable\(^\text{116}\) that we may restore approximately:

\[ [\ldots] \text{oluzalos} \mu \alpha νe\theta\eta[k\epsilon v] \]
\[ [\upsilon o\sigma \Delta e i o\mu e n e o\sigma \tau o\nu \sigma e\xi e v o n u m \text{Apol[\lambda o\nu]} \]

\(^{114}\) This shows little in the photograph. It is unmistakable on the stone or in a squeeze.

\(^{115}\) The fact that the later line 1 is inscribed more or less stōchedon with line 2, misled me (in Pythian Odes) into thinking they were inscribed together: it is, however, amply clear that line 2 is original, and the later line 1 has been adapted to it. The earlier line 1 has a four-horizontal E: we must expect its script to be identical with that of line 2.

\(^{116}\) Cf. supra, note 98, Ἀγλασφῶτος υἱός; and in H. v. Gaertringen's Hist. gr. Epigr., No. 40, Κλασσφῶτος υἱός; 38, Ναύαρα Νίκημενος; 37, Ναυαρα Νικημενος; 33, lines 3, 6; 8, line 1; 5, line 1; 4, lines 3, 4.
It is not certain whether we should restore strictly *stoichedon*: nor, supposing we should, how (h)iμι(h) δεινομένους (τ)ον should be spelt. I suggest:

\[(]\nu\ i\ k\ a\ s\ a\ s\ (h)\ i\ p\ p\ o\ i\ o\ i\ p\ o\ l\ u\ z\ a\ l\ o\ s\ \text{etc.}\]
\[(h)\ u\ o\ s\ e\ i\ ν\ o\ m\ e\ ν\ e\ o\ s\ τ\ o\ n\ \text{etc.}\]

This then is how the inscription probably looked throughout most of its life. But the original inscription naturally piques our curiosity more. By the courtesy of the German Archaeological Institute at Athens, I reproduce (Fig. 5) Keramopoulos’ photograph from *A.M.* 34, pp. 34–5; which has (as he explains) been touched up, so as to make the older inscription more visible, and therefore needs to be controlled. I cannot indeed read all the alleged letters on my squeeze, nor could I verify them all in the short time I spent on it at Delphi. Yet many I did: and the curious Geloan *gamma* (like a Roman C) is perfectly visible both on stone and squeeze (almost coinciding with the first O of *Πολυζαλος*): and this disposes for ever of all suggestions of Arkesilas, Anaxilas, etc.

The restoration of this line is now defined within narrow limits: for

\[
\text{M\ A\ N\ O\ H\ K\ E\ N\ V\ M\ A\ N\ O\ L}\]

the Delphic charioteer.

Polyzalos’ name must come in the early part of the line: I suggest [υναιμα Πολυζαλος μ (h)ον Γελος ανεθεκε Φανασι ον]. The two inscriptions will read, then:

[\(Y\) [υναιμα Πολυζαλος μ ον Γελος ανεθεκε Φανασι ον]
\[\nu\ o\ s\ \text{Deinomeneos}\ \tau\ o\ n\ \text{ae\ epsilon\ Apollo}\]]

*Me Polyzalos gave, that keeps In Gela royal state Son of Deinomenes: whom Thou, Apollo, make more great.*

[\(Z\) [υναιμα Πολυζαλος μ ον Γελος ανεθεκε Φανασι ον]
\[\nu\ o\ s\ \text{Deinomeneos}\ \tau\ o\ n\ \text{ae\ epsilon\ Apollo}\]]

*Me Polyzalos, victor with His team, did dedicate Son of Deinomenes: whom Thou, Apollo, make more great.*

Polyzalos, then, won a chariot-race at Delphi whilst he was ‘King of Gela.’ [The race was won in 490 by Xenokrates, in 486 by Megakles: so that there is no question (as Keramopoulos suggests) of Gelon having won it whilst King of Gela: \(^{117}\) yet this is the basis of the restoration printed by

\(^{117}\) I need hardly perhaps discuss here Paretti’s strange heresy that Gelon was never (or hardly ever) King of Gela. ‘Though accepted by Hackforth in the *CAH.*, it is impossible to reconcile it with Herodotos’
H. v. Gaertringen, Hist. gr. Epigr. 44.] Since Hieron won the race in 470, and Polyzalos was dead \(^{118}\) before 466, it must be either 478 or 474. Between these two dates we cannot decide with certainty; but I have shown reason in Appendix II to the Pythian Odes (pp. 162–3) to think that Polyzalos cannot have enjoyed or claimed the title 'King of Gela' as late as 474/3; in 478/7 (at the very beginning of Hieron's reign), as husband of Gelon's widow, stepfather of his child, and son-in-law of Theron, he well may have. The coalition of Theron and Polyzalos against Hieron will then come in 476, and (by the terms of the settlement then reached) Polyzalos renounced the title.\(^ {119}\)

It is likely then that the Charioteer was dedicated in 477 B.C. for a victory gained in the autumn of 478: its inscription was modified after the convention between Theron and Hieron in 476. Hieron (or a man less jealous than Hieron) might indeed take exception to the former verses; in which his brother, styling himself the King of Gela, prayed Apollo for increase.

H. T. WADE-GERY.

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\(^{118}\) This reconstruction is given in its fuller context in my Appendix II (pp. 161–4, cf. p. 64) to the Pythian Odes of Pindar. It is much to ask scholars to look at a book whose edition was limited and where there is no documentation. I hope some day to remedy these things, but this is not the place.
FRESCOES AT GALATA, CYPRUS

[PLATES VII, VIII, IX]

Cyprus has in many ages been famed for artistic achievement of many kinds, but the excellence of its mural painting from the twelfth to the sixteenth century is only now being recognised. The Asinou frescoes, probably the most remarkable of all, have recently been described, and elsewhere in the island are many others deserving attention not merely as documents but as monuments of art. Among them are the paintings here reproduced, about seven-eighths of the collection in the Theotokos church near Galata. When visiting it in October 1932 I was unable fully to note all its decoration and other features, but the present incomplete account may perhaps encourage experts to study these well-preserved examples of work in the Byzantine tradition executed by Greek artists during the period of Venetian rule (1489–1570). The church (Fig. 1) stands isolated in a grove of trees beside a mountain brook on the left of the main road leading to Galata about half a mile below that village. No houses or farm buildings are near it, but about eighty yards away is a similar and larger church (Hagia Paraskeve) erected in 1502.

The fabric, of rough unhewn stone and sun-dried brick roofed with tiles, is of the barn-like type common in the Troodos district; its plan is a parallelogram about 25 ft. long by 10 wide with rounded apse at the East end. The walls are about 9 ft. high; the only openings besides a

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1 In a paper by Archdeacon Harold Buxton read last year before the Society of Antiquaries of London. A fuller description appears in the current volume of Archæologia.

4 The plan of G. Jeffery (Hist. Monuments of Cyprus, p. 285) shows in the S. wall a window of which no trace is now visible.
narrow window in the apse are the two doors, one on the North side, one on the West. The entire inner surface of the walls is decorated, the names of donor and painter being recorded in the fresco over the North door (Fig. 2 and Pl. VII). This shows Christ enthroned, with an open book on the left knee and blessing with the right hand, between the Virgin and the Baptist, both standing. Below kneel the grey-bearded donor, his wife, infant son and three daughters; he holds a model of the church (incorrectly drawn as having a door in the S. wall) and from his right middle finger hangs the key; the wife holds a rosary, the eldest daughter an open book. In front of the donor is a shield, apparently with his arms impaling those of his wife, and between this and Christ's footstool the following inscription is painted, with many ligatures and abbreviations, in black on a white ground:

(cross)ἀνηκοδομήθηι ὁ πάν(σ)σπττος ναὸς τῆς
ἱπτερεύλιας τ(εοτό)κου καὶ δειπαρθένου Μαρίας
διὰ συνιδρομῆς κ- ἐξόδου μισερ Στεφάνου (Ζαχαρία) κ- τῆς σι-
μβους αὐτοῦ Λουείσα, κ- μακαρίσατε αὐτοῦ ἁμήν. κ- ἁμή-
ζ στορήθη διὰ ἐξόδου τοῦ μισερ Πόλου Ζαχαρία καὶ τῆς σιμβοῦ-
αὐτοῦ Μαντελέας καὶ τῶ(ν) τέκνω(ν) αὐτοῦ, (ε)εὐχαρετε αὐτοῦ δι-
ά τοῦ Κ(ύριο)ν, ἐπέλθησθ(ε) ἢ αὐτ(ῶν) ζωογραφία εἰς (τὰς) 13
Δ(εκαμβρί)ου Ἰου(κτιων) 1ε', ἀφία Χ(ριστό)ού.

Below, near the shield, in black on a red ground:

χειρ Συμεών
'Αξέντη,

'There was erected the sacred church of the most holy God-bearing and ever-virgin Mary by contribution and at cost of Messer Stefano Zacharia and of his wife Luisa, and pray ye for their happiness, amen; and it was painted at cost of Messer Polo Zacharia and of his wife Maddelena and of their children, bless ye them by the Lord.

'Their portrait was completed on the 17th December, indiction 15, 1511 of Christ.'

'Hand of Symeon son of Axentes (= Auentios).'

Since children are mentioned in the case of Paul Zacharia and not in that of Stephen, the family here depicted must be Paul's. On completing the interior of the church built by Stephen—who may have been his father or brother—Paul evidently had himself painted as donor of the finished building. The dating and signing of this dedication-scene presumably apply to it only; this panel is by the master Symeon, whereas the other scenes were probably in part executed by his pupils or assistants. The benefactors were probably kinsmen of the Venetian Nicholas Zacharia,

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4 The blazon seems to be as follows: sable, gules, a palm-tree (? ) argent; siniere, bendy of seven argent and azure, a lion rampant gules.

4 The verb μακαρίσατε implies that Stephen and his wife were dead.
who is mentioned by Machairas in connexion with the assassination in 1375 of the Prince of Antioch.⁵

On the North wall are represented the following subjects (Fig. 3 and Pl. VII), arranged in two tiers and separated by strips of red with white borders (inscriptions given within brackets);

Upper tier, beginning at W. end:

\[ \text{Fig. 2.—Inscribed fresco over the North door.} \]

(1) The Mocking (ὁ ὀμηνιάσας). Christ, with crown of thorns and reed sceptre, mocked by youths clad in white and kneeling.

(2) The Scourging (ἡ μαστίγωσις). Christ, bound to a pillar and shedding drops of blood, beaten by two men with scourges of knotted rope.

(3) The Mourning (ὁ ἐπιτάφιος ἔρημος). In front of the Cross, against which leans a ladder, Christ lying on a black-draped bier covered with a sheet; behind it Joseph, John, the Virgin and the three Maries.

(4) The Resurrection (ἡ Χριστοῦ άνάστασις). Christ stepping up out of the tomb; in front, two soldiers crouching.

(5) The descent into Hades (ἡ κατάβασις). Christ bending forward to greet Adam, who kneels with Eve behind.

(6) The prayer of Joachim (ἡ προσευχή τοῦ Ἑυσελίου). Joachim seated in a grove; in front of him, two shepherds standing; above them a winged angel, seen only above the waist, with right arm outstretched towards Joachim.

(7) The meeting of Joachim and Anna (ὁ ἄστασις Ἑυσελίου κ. Ἄννης). Within a porch, above two steps, Joachim embracing Anna.

(8) Dedication and inscription; see above.

(9) Presentation of the Virgin. In background, the Holy of Holies, marked τὰ Ἁγία τοῦ Ἁγίου. On a platform before the temple gate, the high-priest greeting the Virgin; behind her, Anna and Joachim.

Lower tier, beginning at W. end (Fig. 3):

(10) St. George (ὁ Ἁγιος Γεώργιος), with stirrups and spurs on a white horse, spearing the prostrate dragon. Above, a hand, extended in blessing from the radiated segment of a rainbow, marked χελ Χριστοῦ.

(11) Saints Constantine and Helen, both crowned.

(Wooden seats cut off the view below.)

(12) Saint Michael the archangel, with a long wand in his right hand, standing.

(13) The death of the Virgin (ἡ κοίμησις τῆς Θεοτόκου). The Virgin lying on a bed, with mourners to right and left. Behind, under a canopy with angels, Christ bearing her soul figured as a swaddled infant.

On the South wall are these scenes (Pl. VIII):

Upper tier, beginning at E. end:

(14) The Presentation in the Temple (ἡ ὑποτοποιηση).

(15) The Baptism (ἡ βάπτισις). At the base, a small figure personifying the river Jordan, and in the water many fishes.

(16) The raising of Lazarus (ἡ ξεγερσίς τοῦ Λαζάρου).

(17) The triumphal Entry (ἡ βασιλεία).

(18) The Transfiguration (ἡ μεταμόρφωσις).

(19) The Last Supper (ὁ μυστικός δείπνος).

Lower tier, beginning at E. end:

(20) St. Antony (ὁ Ἁγιος Ἀντώνιος).

(21) St. Sabas (ὁ Ἁγιος Σάβας).

(22) St. Theodosios (ὁ Ἁγιος Θεοδόσιος ὁ κυνοβιάρχης).

(23) St. Bichrianos (ὁ Ἁγιος Βιχριανός).

(24) St. Sozomenos (ὁ Ἁγιος Σωζόμενος).

(25) St. Barbara (ἡ Ἁγία Βαρβάρα).

(26) A woman saint; name not noted.

On the West wall (Pl. IX) are these scenes:

In the pediment a triangular space with three subjects (27–29): the
Bearing of the Cross, the Crucifixion and one other not noted; below, a beam with rich carving.

Upper tier, beginning at S. end:

(30) The Washing of the feet (ὁ ἔπετηρ). One of the disciples rests his right foot on a raised basin.

(31) The Agony in the garden (ἡ προσευχὴ). The figure of Christ is represented in three different attitudes.
The Betrayal (ἡ προδοσία). At the base, Peter with a sword above the prostrate Malchus.

Christ before Annas and Caiaphas (ἐνμοσθὲν τῶν ἀρχιερέων Ἄννα καὶ Καϊάφα). Christ before Pilate (ἐνμοσθὲν τοῦ Πιλάτου).

The denial of Peter (ἣ ἀρνησὶς τοῦ Πέτρου). On the wall a white cock crowing. Behind it the head of Peter twice represented.

Over the West door is painted (36) Christ’s head, with inscription τὸ ιερὸν κεφάλιον.6

Lower tier, beginning at S. end:

St. Athanasia (ἡ ἅγια Ἀθανασία). Her hands are crossed above the waist.

St. Andronikos (ὁ ἅγιος Ἀνδρόνικος). A small cross is in his right hand, his left is raised.

St. Paraskeue (ἡ ἅγια Παρασκευή). She holds an ikon representing the figure of Christ.

St. Marina (ἡ ἅγια Μαρίνα). Her left hand holds a small cross which she touches with the right.7

W. H. Buckler.

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6 The Kerchief (τὸ ιερὸν μαντήλιον), when buried beside this Tile (τὸ ιερὸν κεφάλιον), was believed to have imparted to it an impress of the face of Christ.

7 The photographs of the frescoes are by the brothers Mangoian of Nicosia.
NOTES

The Massacres of Chios.—To the review in the last number of this Journal of Mr. Philip Argenti’s The Massacres of Chios, described in contemporary diplomatic reports I would like to add a note on a little book published at Chios in 1921 by Mr. Stylianos G. Bisos, a professor in the gymnasiwm of Chios. This book is called ἡ παιγή τῆς Χιός εἰς τὸ στόχο τοῦ Χολοκαταστάσιος, and the title very exactly describes the contents. In the first part we have in ninety-five pages forty-three stories of personal experiences of the massacre. Some of these stories and anecdotes must have been written down some time before the book was published, because they are taken down from the mouths of very old people, who were children at the time and in one way or another escaped with their lives. The majority of the stories, however, are at second hand, but at good second hand; that is to say, they are the words of people who had themselves heard of the events from actual eye-witnesses. In the second part of the book full details are given of the ages and names of those who told the stories, and for those who were not themselves eye-witnesses the names of their informants. The third part contains a few poems and some popular ballads about the massacre. All the stories are written out in dialect, with explanations of the harder words.

The narrators stick closely to the details of their own experiences and make no attempt to give any general account of the disaster; the reader has no feeling that the tales have been in any way written up. The women’s stories especially give this impression of genuineness. The most that can be objected to any of them is that by constant retelling the stories have acquired a certain form and completeness. They have, in fact, gone through much the same shaping process as that to which the Sagas of Iceland were subjected in the period before they were finally written down. But in Chios this interval was not, as in Iceland, close on two centuries, but rather less than one. We are present, so to say, at the formation of a local tradition of a real event.

Not only for the vividness of the stories and their positive merit, but as historical evidence for what a Turkish massacre on a large scale really was, this little book deserves to be carefully considered.

R. M. Dawkins.

Letter-writing in verse.—In a review of Mr. M. G. Mikhailidis-Notaros’ Λαογραφική Σύμμετρα Χαράδου, published in Vol. LI (1932) of this Journal, p. 335, I noticed as remarkable and interesting his statement that people in that island, when writing to their friends and relations abroad, will often compose the letter, either entirely or at all events for the most part, in μαντακές, those distichs which, half improvised and half traditional, are sung at most of the greater occasions of village life in the Greek islands. That is to say, they avoid prose composition. Such a letter can hardly contain much news in our sense of the word: it serves, however, to transmit the feelings of the writer in the only form in which he or she has learned to express them. Of these letters the author gives a couple of recent examples. The point has a certain interest, because it has been remarked that the most primitive literary composition is apt to be in verse, and that prose is an art coming later. I was speaking of this to my friend Mr. John Mavrogordato, and he told me that Mrs. J. E. Ficker had had a Greek servant who wrote, or rather dictated, her letters in this way in verse. I borrow an account of this girl from a letter which Mrs. Ficker has very kindly put at my disposition. The girl Ελενάκι (Elizabeth) was from some mountainous part of Crete. She was about twenty-eight years old when she was in 1910 in the service of Mrs. Flicker’s mother in Paris. She was in every way a very primitive character, though she had come to Paris, where her brother was a tailor, to work as a servant because she was tired of τῇ ἅπασιν ἔργον εἶπεν, taking care of the sheep.1 Mrs. Flicker continues: ‘I only remember one letter dictated to me and it was

1 Λαογραφία is not a form of λαογραφία, but is formed from λαογράφος, for which see Χαρακτήρ, Mv 3:199 n. 3. 'Ελενάκι, l. p. 76. The word, Mrs. Flicker remarks, is now becoming rare.
all composed of ἄρτος, of which she seemed to know a very considerable number, though they were not, I believe, out of the ordinary, or at least I don’t seem to have been struck by any new note. I remember she began with the known verse:

‘Ἀσπρα ποιλή, μαύρα ποιλή, ποδ ἐκλαμμα περιβάλλειν,
though I don’t guarantee it was exactly this, as there are an infinite number of variations, and the second line was the usual “give my greetings to my sister (or mother), when you reach (or pass) my house.” The letter must have been about two pages long and was, of course, rather conventional. I meant to have found out what she knew of folk-songs, but I then left for Athens, and when I came back Elisavet had gone, after some disastrous incidents with the tailor-brother. Crete is as well known for its fine folk-poetry as Karpathos has lately become, and men may be found there in the villages who can string together these distichs for hours on end. R. M. Dawkins.

Again the temples of Ephesus.—Whoever advances a theory in opposition to the common opinion cannot expect to meet at once with consent. Therefore I value it highly that the review of my paper Die Artemistentempel von Ephesus (JHS. 1932, 130) inclines to accept my chronology of the Ephesian archaic finds, this chronology having been the main object of the paper. I would welcome the statement that a few would nowadays be unwilling to follow Rumpf in bringing the ivory figures down into the sixth century. (I myself indicated this date in AM. 1925, 30, note 41; but this assertion seems rather optimistic, considering the widespread approval extended to V. Müller’s Frühe Plastik.

It is in the interpretation of the architectural evidence that the review holds me least convincing, the complex of foundations and walls lending itself ‘more naturally’ to Hogarth’s theory of rebuildings. But is it really natural to build a temple—even if erected in a swamp—in such a manner that for at least part of the year it is inundated and in consequence inaccessible; and that without external support it is continually menaced by ruin—as would happen in the case of the ‘Basia,’ had it been an independent building? Furthermore, is it natural to construct the two foundation-walls of a temple obliquely to each other—as must have been, according to the theory, the case of B, had it been a temple? And how could one justify the dating of the ‘Basia’ far back into the seventh century, if the objects found within were deposited simultaneously with the construction and none of them can be proved to be earlier than 610 B.C. (at most)? All this, I think, recommends my theory of only one archaic temple: this theory does not neglect or contradict any of the facts so scrupulously observed and described by the explorers.

E. Löwy.

The Agamemmnon of Aeschylus.—In a notice of my edition of the Agamemmnon which appeared in the last number of the Journal (1932, 323), the reviewer says: ‘As an example (i.e. of Lawson’s many conjectures) we may mention διμόρφος δι in 560, which gives good sense and saves the grammar, but the original error cannot have been palaeographical: if διμόρφος για of the manuscripts is therefore said to have been a gloss on διμόρφος. But why should anyone want to tell us that rain comes from the sky?’

The emendation in question is not διμόρφος δι, but διμόρφος δι διον, and here are my own comments thereon: ‘I suggest therefore that διμόρφος για is a gloss which has ousted διμόρφος δι διον, and that διον was the word to which that marginal note was originally affixed.’ (Introd., p. xix): and similarly in my note on the passage, p. 126: ‘What epithet then could earn such a gloss? One, and perhaps only one—διον. I read therefore διμόρφος δι διον.’

His second example of my conjectures is given thus: ‘Lawson takes λαγίγενος = λαγίγενος as a masculine word (Byzantine λαγίγης), reads γίνεσα and so explains the gender of ηλυθα. For the use of a masculine word to denote a female hare he compares ἄρηνά αριστος, where, however, the addition of ἄρην makes all the difference.’

He omits to observe that the epithet attached to λαγίγενος is ἕρως: one would suppose that ἕρως, as an indication of sex, was sufficiently φανέρως συνεστετόν.

J. C. Lawson.

An Epidaurian stemma.—In IG. iv, fasc. 1, which comprises the inscriptions of Epidaurus, H. von Gaertringen published on p. xxi of the prolegomena a revised version of the stemma published by Franckel on p. 264 of IG. iv.
The names and relationships relevant to this note are:

Eunomus III
  66, 649
  Eunomus III
  66, 216, 224, 649, 656
  +74 b.C.

Lambda III
  216, 224, 656
  643

Eunomus III
  647/8

Euboeis IV
  Polycrates
  602

Darius
  Tiberius Claudius Nicotâtes
  659

Tiberius Claudius Nicotâtes
  101 Claudii
  status 602

Claudia Laphanta = Tiberius Claudius Sianthes
  659

Eunomus V
  659-660

Tiberius Claudius Nicotâtes
  660

Eunomus V
  659-660

Tiberius Claudius Sianthes
  101 victor
  32/33 a.d.

Fraenkel's stemma arranges these generations thus:

Eunomus III
  n. 1429

Euanthes III
  n. 932, 1126, 1429

Laphanta II
  Eunomus III
  Polykrates
  n. 1126, 1134, 1443
  n. 1403, 1427, 1433

Damasus
  Tiberius Claudius Nicotâtes
  Euanthes IV
  1438
  n. 1403

Claudia Laphanta = Tiberius Claudius Sianthes
  n. 1438

Tiberius Claudianus
  n. 1439

Both versions give to two different Eunomus, grandfather and grandson, the numeral III, so that von Gaertringen's contains six, not five, Eunomus. He differs from Fraenkel in interpolating two generations, Eunomus III—Euboeis, to whom the numeral IV is denied, between Euboeis III and Eunomus IV (= V), father of Tiberius Claudius Nicotâtes. From iv², 66 (= iv¹, 932) we know that Euboeis III held the office of dux provinciarum while M. Antonius held imperium to suppress the pirates, c. 74 b.C. Nicotâtes erected statues in honour of Claudius and Agrippina J.H.S.—VOL. LIII.

(iv², 602), i.e. between 49 and 54 a.d.: 124 years seems too long a period for only one generation to intervene between the agoranômos and Claudius' beneficiary.

A more interesting point in which the later edition differs from the earlier is the assumption of an alliance between the daughter of Agges, Claudia Lamberta (iv², 659 = iv¹, 1438), and the family of Tiberius Claudius Nicotâtes by her marriage with Tiberius Claudius Sianthes (ibid.). This assumption involves relating Nicotâtes and Sianthes as father and son. H. von Gaertringen does not refer to the evidence on which he bases this assumed relationship. If he is right, the names afford ground for speculation.

First, the Greek name Sianthes. No name beginning Σιανῆ is known to Bechtel-Fick, *Die griechischen Personennamen*. Σιανῆ appears in Laconian = ei in σίανη for ςίανη. But even if Epidauran names could be connected with Laconian, Σιανῆ would be scarcely less strange than Σιανῆ. If this word's strange beginning excites suspicion, no less does its familiar end. This man's ancestors include four named Eunomus,¹ and this name alternates with Eunomos in successive generations. Although Σιανῆ occurs on two documents (iv¹, 659, 660 = iv², 1438, 1439), we may reasonably prefer to regard it as a mistake for Σιανῆ to recording a new and improbable name.

Secondly, if Nicotâtes and this man were father and son, we must suppose either that the son received a separate grant of Roman citizenship from Tiberius many years before his father, who undoubtedly received his from Claudius or that he was adopted by a member of the gens Julia who had received Roman citizenship from Tiberius. In the latter case the adoption probably occurred before his father became a Roman citizen, for otherwise we should expect the original nomen to appear in the form Κλαυδιανός.

The name Tiberius Claudius Nicotâtes borne by the son of this Tiberius, Κλαυδιανός and Κλαυδιανός Λαμπέρτα is interesting as being probably the earliest case recorded among Greek bearers of Roman citizenship of the use of gentile adjectives in -anos to perpetuate the nomen of the mother's family. The most famous example in Roman history is the Emperor Vespasian's name, T. Flavius Vespasianus was the son of Vespasia Polia.

On p. xxv of iv², Eunomos V should be

¹ Mr. M. N. Tod drew my attention to the significance of this fact as cumulative evidence reinforced by the prevalence of compounds of Σιανη in the stemma.
The Gauls at Delphi.—There is a small group of reliefs from late Etruscan urns which are identified as representations of the Gaulish raid upon the sanctuary of Delphi in 279 B.C. The reliefs vary a good deal in detail and no general type for the subject can be traced, but the narrow shape indicates Volterra; the material is tufa (Fig. 1).

The new urn once again presents a new version of the subject and shows only a few points of correspondence with the others of the group. The centre is occupied by three barbarians, nude save for fluttering cloaks; one has been beaten to his knees and covers himself with a long Gaulish shield; the other two endeavour to escape with their booty of vases. From right and left bearded men wearing short chitons rush to the attack; these opponents probably represent the Heroes whose appearance in defence of the shrine is noted by Pausanias (x. 23. 3); one of them is represented on the Etruscan urn and again on the new example from Chiusi.

The urn is the oldest of the three now known from Volterra, and belongs to the rare initial stage of Volterranean sculpture, before the influence of the second Perugamena school had penetrated to Etruria. Characteristic are the violent action and the crude coarse execution, coupled with a lingering respect for the laws of good Hellenic relief-work; the figures are not undercut and do not trespass beyond the relief-field. The date cannot be much later than 200 B.C. and probably lies in the third century; very similar in style is another Volterranean urn with the allied subject of a horseman charging a Gaul.

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1 Biedkowski, "Das Material der Galier," p. 105.
3 Doro Levi in N.S., 1931, p. 495, fig. 14.
4 Biedkowski, fig. 133; Körte, III, pl. cxv, 1.
The chronological plan of the Iliad: a correction. In my paper on The Last Book of the Iliad, in JHS. 1902, pp. 283-6, I commented on the chronological plan of the poem, and gave the 'programme of days' as follows—

- 9 — 1 — 12 — 3 — Embassy — 9 — 12 — 1 — 9 — 1, and referred to Mr. J. U. Powell as having called my attention to this 'symmetrical time chart.' But I must have partly misunderstood Mr. Powell, and I certainly misrepresented the facts, as Miss Melian Stawell has been so good as to point out to me; and I have to thank the Editors for giving me the earliest opportunity for correcting my mistake, and commenting on some curious light which the correction itself throws on the composition of Book XXIV.

To facilitate reference to the text, the relevant passages are tabulated on p. 116.

In the first place, I should have made it clear that the 'Embassy' does not occur between two nights, but during the night following the day of the κόλος ωϊκης.

Thus, between the night (I. 605) following the 'twelve days' ἐκ τοῦ (493) and the night after the κόλος ωϊκης, there are four days, not three. In the night after the κόλος ωϊκης occur the Embassy and the Dolonœia. After that central night containing the Embassy (not 'one pair of nights' embracing the Embassy,' as I wrote on p. 296) come (i) the day of Patroclus' death, (ii) the day of Hector's death, when his body was first dragged, (iii) the day of Patroclus' burning, the fire lasting all night, (iv) the day of mound-building and funeral-games. For my former reckoning of the central period as seven days (3 — Embassy — 3) is therefore to be substituted a period of eight days (4 — the Embassy—Dolonœia night — 4) ending with the night after which the distress of the Gods at Achilles' doings is first mentioned in XXIV. 23.

It was not unnatural to reckon the 'twelve days' in XXIV. 31 from that night, after which the Gods' distress is first mentioned. But in XXIV. 107 Zeus says that the Gods have been in dispute over it for nine days, ἐνενέκρινα ζωντα, and if we reckon back nine days from the dawn of the 'twelfth day,' we are still three days short of the first occasion when Achilles dragged Hector's body—ἀφέν οὖν ἐφήνα, XXII. 393, namely (in reverse order), the days (i) of the funeral games, (ii) of the burning of Patroclus, (iii) of the death of Hector. The 'twelve days' of the Gods' distress include, that is, the 'nine days' of their dispute, but also three of the four days following the Embassy—Dolonœia night.

In XXIV, 31, the 'twelve days' are reckoned ἐκ τοῦ, and the poet leaves us to make our own calculations as to this ἐκ τοῦ starting-point. Is it accidental, or design, that when in I. 493 the other period of 'twelve days,' for the Gods' absence among the Ethiopians, is reckoned likewise ἐκ τοῦ, there is a similar overlap of reckonings? On the 'tenth day,' namely, the morrow of the 'nine days' of Apollo's vengeance (I. 533), comes Thetis to Achilles (359) and says (424) that Zeus departed 'yesterday,' καθαρός ἥδε, and all the gods with him, and will not return till the twelfth day, either from 'yesterday,' the ninth day of pestilence, or from this tenth day on which Thetis is speaking. This accounts for the cessation of Apollo's vengeance, if he too left for the Ethiopian feast after his ninth day's shooting; though it does not quite account for his being within prayer-shot of Chrysa (457, 474) or his sending a favourable wind between Chrysa and the Plain of Troy (479). Now the 'tenth day' of I. 54-475 is followed by an eleventh for the return journey from Chrysa, I. 477-487, and at first sight it is only on the 'twelfth day,' και τοῦ—from the return from Chrysa—that Zeus and the Gods returned to Olympus, θεῖς παντὶ ἡτέραν ἐφελλόν ὁ δῆμος αὐτῶν. But the words of Thetis show clearly that the 'tenth' and 'eleventh' days are included in the 'twelve,' and και τοῦ refers, therefore, as in XXIV. 31, to the first day on which the whole episode began; in I. the visit to the Ethiopians, in XXIV. the daily dragging of Hector's body.

I was therefore mistaken in reckoning a single-day interval between the 'nine days' of Apollo's vengeance and the 'twelve days' of the Gods' visit to the Ethiopians.

This correction in turn bears on Miss Stawell's observation that there is no single-day interval between the 'twelfth day' of XXIV. 31, and the first of the 'nine days' for which Priam asks Achilles in XXIV. 664, as I had wrongly reckoned on p. 285, though the diagram on p. 286 (fig. 8) is correct.

That 'twelfth day' is a long and busy one. At dawn (XXIV. 107) Zeus decides to put an end to the scandal about Hector's body. When Thetis arrives at Achilles' camp, his men were still preparing breakfast (124), ἅπαντα ἀντέχον, (ὑπὸ τοῦ, cf. Odyssey XVI. 9). She has the whole day for her long talk with Achilles (142), before Priam was met by Hermes after dark (331, ἀπο ἑως καὶ ἕως τῆς ἱερᾶς γαϊδαρίας), when the horses had already been watered at the river (350), which also does not happen in Greece till nightfall. That the 'twelve days' are reckoned from the death of Hector is now
THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE ILIAD.

IX DAYS

34. Chryses retires and prays to Apollo.
35. Nine Days' vengeance of Apollo.
36. [Dawn] of the tenth day: assembly: quarrel.
38. Odysseus sets sail for Chrysa.
42. The Gods went yesterday to the Ethiopian feast.
47. [Sunset] at Chrysa.
47a. Odysseus returns from Chrysa.
47b. Dawn: Odysseus returns from Chrysa.
[Twelve Days] from I. 424, after the ninth day of vengeance.

XII DAYS

488. Achilles μαθηματικός (imperfect tense) during the remainder of the twelve days.
493. Dawn of the twelfth day, he woke, referring back to 425.
660. Sunset of the twelfth day.

II.
48. Dawn of the first of the three days.

VII.
293. Evening: 413 meal: 331. ἦλθεν ἐναερίουs proposed for the morning 680. ήστη.
372. Proposal to send herald ἀδημοῦ.
361. Dawn: herald goes and returns: 421. σαράι of the second day.
432. Evening: dispersal to tents after the burning.
435. Dawn (ἐσόμενος ἄρχει) of the third of the three days.
465. Sunset, after building of wall.
476. πανόραμα ἐναερίου.

VIII.
1. Dawn of day of σάκος ὑπέρ, followed by night of 'Embassy' and 'Dolonneia.'
485. Sunset: 486. τοκίων; 554. πανόραμα.

IX.
206. στρατιώ: . . . φυλάκεις ἄρα: 9. 'Embassy' proposed.
662. Phoenix lies down till dawn: 662-3: 713 other sleepers.

X.
2. πανόραμα: the 'Dolonneia' takes place at night.

XI.
215. Dawn of the day on which Patroclus is killed.

XII.
255. Polydamas' advice: 253. ἰδίως ἐπετέρω.
315. Achaeans, πανόραμα (also 351).

XIII.
1. Dawn of the day on which Hector is killed, and first insulted after death, δια τοῦ ἀρχαύος: this went on for twelve days, so Hermes says, XXIV. 413.

XXII.
52. Achilles sleeps: 58. the ghost of Patroclus.
109. Dawn of the building of the pyre for Patroclus.
192. [Evening]: winds summoned to hastes the burning.

XXIII.
217. πανόραμα: 218. πανόραμα.
232. Achilles sleeps, but is roused 291.

XXIV.
1-3. [Evening]: λύτοι β' ἄροι... τοι μεθύσαντες ὑποτετρα, ὑποτετρα.

XII DAYS

23. The Gods saw, and were distressed [during eleven days].
31. Dawn of the twelfth day, he woke: including days (ii), (iii), (iv), (v).
107. The dispute of the Gods ἐκπαίδευσ: reckoned from XXIV. 23, when their distress is first mentioned, but Hector's body had then already been dragged on three days reckoned from XXII. 395.
677. Torch light in Achilles' camp.
678. Achilles and his men sleep, πανόραμα.
695. Dawn of the thirteenth day from Hector's death; Priam returns to Troy (219): this is the first of the nine days of mourning (664).

IX DAYS

277. ὀψεὶ 8' ἑκάστρον, the building of the pyre begins: and lasts nine days (784).

NINE DAYS end.

785. Dawn of the tenth day.

792. Burning of Hector, lasting (as usual) overnight.

798. Dawn of the seventh day: the pyre, still burning, is quenched.

811. Dawn of the twelfth day (anticipated) when fighting will begin again.
stated explicitly by Hermes (413), who is supposed to have left camp during this 'twelfth day.' We note that there was another reason why Zeus had intervened that morning, because Hermes also knows that Achilles' period of mourning is over and that ἡδαίμον, i.e. on the thirteenth day, fighting will begin again. This is what made necessary some fresh provision for an armistice for the burial of Hector.

The 'twelfth' night is also a busy one. When Priam arrives at Achilles' camp, dinner is over (473); Achilles proposes to show him the body ὦν τί ἵνα παραινήσῃ (600); torches are brought later (647), and Achilles and his men sleep πανόρμητα (678). But Priam, aroused by Hermes, reaches Troy at dawn (693) on the thirteenth day.

This thirteenth day is, however, the first of the 'nine days' for which Priam had asked (664). For if Priam had not hastened the Trojans (713), they would have spent a whole day in tumultuary wailing outside the town before the formal obsequies began. But Priam knew what he had bargained with Achilles (664) and that there was no time to lose (781), πιᾶσαν δικαιώνει μόνοις τοὺς, when fighting was to be resumed (667). And forthwith (718) the body was taken into the city and the formal obsequies began.

Finally, whereas I reckoned only one day after the 'nine days,' balancing one day before the 'nine days' in I. 53, Miss Stawell observes that there are two; the tenth day is occupied by the burning of Hector (783); and on the eleventh the burial mound is built (797–800) and the funeral feast closes that day (802–3). On the twelfth day, as Priam bargained, fighting was to begin again; but our Iliad ends, ἔδωκε τῷ Ἀχilles.

There is, however, here a curious anomaly. If the fighting was not to begin till the twelfth day, why were scouts posted (799–800) for fear of an Achaean attack while the mound was being built? Schol Ven A. (Dindorf, 1877, IV, p. 301) merely notes that it was στρατηγοῦντο καὶ παρακάλουσαν τωλὶ. But why only on this eleventh day? or did they not trust Achaean to count correctly?

It looks, nevertheless, as if there had been some change of plan; as if once-upon-a-time there had been only a nine-days mourning and one day, without formal truce, for the burial outside the walls; and as if Priam's bargain with its recurrence of the twofold rhythm (9 + 3 = 12) had been superimposed on less symmetrical material; not, of course, necessarily by any subsequent poet, but in the course of one man's mind.

J. L. Myres.
NOTICES OF BOOKS

Katalog der Bibliothek des deutsch. archäolog. Instituts in Rom. By A. MAU.
I repeat the bird’s-eye view of this catalogue from JHS. 1932, 166:—

1930. Supplement to this. 30 m. (reviewed, JHS. 1932, 163).
1932. Vol. II in two parts. 54 and 45.50 m.

It is on this last item that the following remarks are offered:—

You cannot have everything. To work accurately and on a vast scale you must be content to be behind the times. The reader will find in these two magnificent volumes the literature on the remains of classical antiquity, classified firstly under material and secondly under content, up to the year 1925 and no further. The editors add the formal limitation, “so far as it was in our possession in April 1928.” They need hardly have troubled. No formal limitation ever excluded less.

The arrangement of this two-part re-issue of MAU’s Vol. II (1902) follows its predecessor as closely as possible. But pre-history has been confined to pre-historic Greece and Italy, Egypt and the East appear only as contributory to these; Cretan and Mycenaean archaeology have been brought together under one section (pp. 17-30), Staatsaktentümer have been in large measure replaced by a section entitled Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft (pp. 1540-1590), and Numismatics are to have a supplementary volume to themselves.

The first volume, of 950 pp., deals with antiquities classified by their material. The preliminary general section, occupying the first fifty pages of the book, shows clearly how intensive has been the study of the earliest and latest phases of antiquity in comparison with the “Classical Age.”

The section on Architecture which follows includes a thirty-pages list of books on alphabised classes of monuments as amphitheatres, aqueducts, basilicas, etc.

Under Sculpture the more important sections are 99 pp. devoted to alphabetised sculptors and 74 pp. to alphabetised sculptures. Immense and, I think, successful pains have been given to this difficult chapter, in which of course the alphabetising of the unnamed is the crux. Apollo, Athene, Athene, Frauenmutter, Kinder, Köpfe may sound too comprehensive headings, but the copious flow of cross-references to these brings the explorer to port. It is only on this point of the cross-reference that the non-German searcher is at some disadvantage in using this catalogue. But the German authors have at least given us a liberal choice of likely headings.

Reliefs have a section to themselves. The work of sub-division here seems very well done. Books on Greek and Roman gravestones occupy ten pages each.

Bronzes are treated separately. In this catalogue, which repeats the bronzes (a) under sculptors, (b) under museums, and (c) under their mythological content, no one can complain of the divorce of bronze from marble.

But this brings to mind a point of view perhaps worth placing on record. It concerns the way in which expert museum knowledge is presented to the general public. Our experts on sculpture are, naturally, museum officials. It comes their way to know by practical experience where the monuments are and what they are made of, aspects which change seldom or are unchangeable. But their labours are used by a very large class of readers whose interest is more in the subject and the treatment. Take the great portrait of the prize-fighter waiting his turn in the ring. To most of us this is first of all a bloodstained page of Roman life and then a superb design. That is it made of bronze comes next, while we only know where it is by ‘general knowledge’ or a chance visit to the Terme. A better instance might be found in the marvels of Minoan art. The first interest is their subject and design. Whether they are of stone, steatite, bronze, ivory, stucco or china comes later, if at all. The Hellenic Society owns a brilliant little photograph of a young Minoan officer at drill—a low relief from H. Triada. I wonder how many of our experts
themselves could say from the photograph what the material is. Yet he will tend to be cata-
logued under statuette. This is no question of popularising archaeology in the invidious sense: it is a question of presenting authoritative know-
ledge in the way most comprehensible to busy men working in allied fields.

The material in the sections on bronzes and terra-cottas is set out with great exactitude. The scale can be judged from the fact that the books on primitive Sardinian bronzes take a whole page, those on forged terra-cottas another.

The section on Gems covers 27 pp., and is a mine of learning in itself. A catalogue must keep its rules, but the 5 pp. on individual gems would be more useful in alphabetical than in chronological order.

In the section on Painting the 35 pp. devoted to books on wall-painting alone show the intensive study that has been given to a subject of which the interest is, after all, in the main second-hand. But to the mythologist the alphabetical list of subjects is particularly valuable.

There are 25 pp. devoted to works on Mosaic. Without controverting Mr. Hinks’s picture of mosaic-study as the Cinderella of archaeology, it would seem that a beginning has been made.

For the 72 pp. of books on ancient Vase-painting the compilers are indebted to Fräulein Elizabeth Rastrow. The most important sections are 18 pp. devoted to individual black-figured vases and 49 pp. to red-figured. These are impressive figures, but it is the fact that it is no light task to find an individual vase in these sections. One has first to be sure to which of the thirty shapes enumerated the vase belongs. Then the entries under the alphabetised shapes are (for accession purposes) given in chronological sequence, an arrangement which, un-
helped by dates in clarendon type, does not leap to the eye. But it is fair to say that the greater part of the vases reappear according to their subject matter in Part 2, pp. 1007-1102. It should be noted that Roman pottery is not included in this section, which is confined to vase-painting. It is treated separately under Handwerk on pp. 834-839.

Throughout these sections on art frequent references will be found to the individual plates of Brunn-Bruckmann, Furtwängler-Reichhold and Herrmann. This, owing to the excellence of the reproductions given in these works, is to take the reader straight to the monuments. The Hellenic Library will shortly possess separate indices to these works, but to include them in the main library catalogues, as has been done here, is at present beyond our resources.

The second half of the catalogue deals mainly with antiquities classified according to their content. Under the heading of Religion and Mythology is included a noteworthy section running into nearly a hundred pages of books on alphabetised cults. Mithras alone occupies 6 pp.

Portraiture, which in this catalogue is dis-
associated from sculpture, covers 30 pp., of which alphabetised Greek and Roman portraits each receive 13 pp.

The massive section on Epigraphy is worthy of the countrymen of the progenitors of the great Corpora which are followed in the geographical arrangement. But we are given in addition useful classifications according to their content and material. Of these, Greek inscriptions take eight headings and Latin twenty-three. Chris-
tian epigraphy (Greek and Latin together) is treated separately at the end of this section.

In the section dealing with Antiquities in the
more restricted sense, the compilers have been able, owing to the mass of material available, to use a chronological treatment, e.g. there are separate sections for the republican and imperial armies of Rome. It should be noted that Worship appears in this section and not under Religion and Mythology. The erudition covered by the 12 pp. of books on metrology is impres-
sive. The heading Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft con-
tains an alphabetised list of books on antiquities, in which a greater part of those given in the earlier edition under the heading of Staatsaltertümner have been included. This is a must inter-
esting section, and should be widely read. It tends to obscure the old division between Public and Private Antiquities, long in use and never satisfactory. This section, and the catalogue, concludes with 47 pp. on Christian antiquities.

It has not been found possible to repeat the
admirably printed authors’ index which made Man’s earlier edition at once a subject and an authors’ catalogue. This, we are glad to hear, will form a subsequent separate volume. In the meantime, Dr. Gerhard Reincke gives us a Schlagwortregister of 37 double-columned pp. These contain perhaps 6000 alphabetised refer-
ences (each with a bracketed explanation of the char-
acter of the entry) to the principal subjects in the catalogue. Anyone who has followed these notes will have seen that it necessarily takes a little time to familiarise oneself with the lay-out of this great work. Dr. Reincke gives us an admirable short cut.

In the last number of the Journal I made out a list of the points on which I thought the typography of the catalogue was susceptible of improvement, especially for the help of non-
German users. These criticisms stand, but the
scale and date of the new volumes precluded alteration.

A foreign user is diffident of apportioning praise in the case of a work of many hands. Perhaps Dr. Matz will kindly accept for himself and pass on to his fellow-workers the Societies' appreciative thanks for this catalogue. We expected a landmark in bibliography, and are not disappointed.

J. P.

Beiträge zur Morphologie Griechenlands.

Forty-five years ago Dr. Philippson began those journeys in Greece which made him the acknowledged authority on the geological structure of the country. His Peloponnes (1892), and subsequent Memoirs on Northern Greece and the Cyclades, have become classical, and his brilliant survey of Mediterranean conditions of life generally (Das Mittelmeerget, 1905) has done more than any other book to give ancient history its due foundation in modern geography. Now he has found occasion to revisit Greece, and review his own work in the light of subsequent progress in tectonic studies, and especially of Dépéré's Observations sur l'histoire géologique... de Corinth (1913) and Maull's Beiträge zur Morphologie des Peloponnese (1921) in the same series as the present memoir.

About half of this is devoted to the Peloponnesus, or rather to the special problems of certain districts therein, coastal and inland, with a summary review of its tectonic history, the sequence of up-folding, levelling by marine action, the collapse and subsidence of troughs and basins, and the deposition of more recent sediments in and over this older scenery, in intervals of quiescence. Then follow shorter sections on Attica and on the traces of former coast-lines and terraces, on the inland basins of Boeotia and Phocis, on the shaping of Parnassus, on eastern Thessaly, Olympus, and the Salonica lowland. A concluding chapter assesses the parts played respectively by crust-folding, denudation, upheaval, and collapse, in creating the peculiar land-forms and scenery of Greece. In the light of geological experience elsewhere, and especially of Penck's interpretation of subsided basins as due rather to flexure than to fracture and faulting, Dr. Philippson is inclined to attribute much less to effects of the great crust-movements of oligocene times, and much more to gentler changes of sea and land levels and subsequent oscillations and collapses within the folded mountain region. Even the comparatively recent fillings of subsid ed troughs are not necessarily deposits within them, but are sometimes demonstrably contemporary with outliers capping the ridges which bound them.

A word of admiration must be added for Mrs. Philippson's eloquent photographs of characteristic landscapes and formations.

J. L. M.


Miss Hansen in this unpretentious book endeavours to give a straightforward summary of the culture of prehistoric Thessaly together with brief accounts of the parallel archaeological evidence from Macedonia and the Danube, from Southern Greece, and from Troy. She epitomises too the opinions of other writers who have sought various points of contact. Her knowledge of the question is not derived from books alone, but she has travelled widely in Thessaly and herself collected on the mounds potsherds some of which she illustrates. Her work is planned as an introduction to the subject, for which purpose it is well suited. In particular she has simplified the classification of the pottery, and by placing in the Second Period the Third Period wares which mark the transition from the Neolithic Period to the Bronze Age has reduced the number of periods. There are a few errors which will be obvious to the expert and the serious student should still refer in all cases to the original reports of the excavations.

In a subject of this kind, especially since no prehistorical excavations of any importance have been undertaken in Thessaly itself since the publication of Prehistoric Thessaly in 1912 till Béguignon's recent work in the Pharsalus district, there is much material for argument, but little chance of arriving at certainty. Mr. Heurtley's excavation of the prehistoric mound on the south Bank of the Haliacmon near Serfis (Antiquaries' Journal, XII, pp. 227 ff.) has thrown fresh light on the northern limit of the Thessalian culture and incidentally satisfactorily defined the position of the Grey ware (178) which Mr. Thompson and I noted as occurring at the transition from the First to the Second Periods (Prehistoric Thessaly, p. 22), a point apparently overlooked by the author. The other work of Mr. Heurtley and his colleagues in Macedonia, especially the recognition of the character of the Macedonian Neolithic culture, is extremely important and might have
been described in more detail, for the evidence of excavations in questions like this is of more value than the opinions of handbooks. The statement that the connexion of Dimeni ware and the pottery of the Black Earth Region is established seems premature. There is a distinct likeness between the two as far as patterns are concerned, but there are marked differences too. Further in the intervening area, in Macedonia and Thrace, there is practically no sign, except for Dikeli Tash, of the extension of the Dimeni culture northwards nor of the Black Earth culture southwards. Again, in Corinthia and in Argolis pottery of the Second Period and of a Dimeni type has been found. It is better for the present to consider the identity of the Dimeni and the Black Earth cultures as not proven. The recent discoveries of Neolithic wares in the Peloponnese make one incline to regard the whole of Greece, Thessaly included, as one Neolithic province with a great number of local variations. This Neolithic culture has, of course, nothing to do with that of the islands and Crete. The dating of the Second Period cannot yet be fixed, but the evidence of Lianokladi where some Second Period ware was found in the first stratum suggests that the Second Period began about the same time as the Early Helladic Period in the south. Further excavation at Lianokladi and at Hagia Marina should throw more light on such chronological problems. The Third Thessalian Period, which to some extent overlaps the Second, introduces other complications and questions of Danubian and Anatolian connections and influences arise. Here again no definite conclusion can be reached because the material is still too scanty. It is always a fascinating task to attempt to trace things to one central source, but experience shows that multiple independent sources are more likely and that therefore the pursuit of likenesses should be cautiously followed. The reconstruction of prehistoric migration or trade from ceramic resemblances is at times apt to be carried too far. Sicily should certainly now not be regarded as connected with Thessaly, but the case of Apulia still remains open.

Miss Hansen rightly adopts Professor Blegen's suggestion that the Thessalian Bronze Age should be considered as parallel to that of the south and divided according to the corresponding Helladic periods. The Urfiraia ware from Lianokladi and Tsani Magula, the cist tombs and Minyan and matt-painted ware from Dimeni and Sesklo all support this. The black on red matt-painted ware of Lianokladi III, which is contemporary with Minyan, should probably be considered as the local variety of matt-painted ware.

The origin of the Neolithic culture of Thessaly I is still obscure and the suggestions given on p. 148 f. are not convincing. At all events makers of the early wares of the First Neolithic Period were in a comparatively high state of culture and so far no gradual development from earlier times up to this standard has been discovered in Thessaly itself. Further scientific excavation is undoubtedly needed and one could indicate half a dozen sites in different districts which might well give valuable information.

In her account of the roads into Thessaly Miss Hansen overlooks the direct road from Grevena via Velemisthi to Kalabaka and the route through Othrys by way of Nartjakion. It is unfortunate for her that several important publications should have appeared too late for her use in the present book, such as Mr. Heurtley's reports of his latest excavations in Macedonia, the paper by him and Mr. Skeat on the Marmarian pottery, Dr. Hubert Schmidt's book on Cucuteni, and Professor Vassits' recent work on Vinça.

A. J. B. W.


Such a handbook as this was badly wanted, and Mr. Pendlebury's work could hardly be bettered. Into his preface he has worked a sketch of the excavations and restorations, a table of Minoan chronology, and some hints on bibliography. Then comes a brief account of the history of the buildings and rebuildings of the Palace, after which the tour round the Palace begins. At the end we are taken rapidly round the other Knossan sites—the Little Palace, the Villa, the houses at the South-East, the South House, Viaduct and Caravanserai, the Temple Tomb, and the Royal Tomb at Isopata. Plans of several of these are included, while of the Palace itself we are given not only a large folding map, but plans of the restored first floor and of the earlier palace. There is, very properly, a portrait of Sir Arthur Evans by way of frontispiece, and other plates illustrate particular sites or restorations.


The Cretan bronze reliefs dealt with by Kunze have long formed an isolated and neglected group. Their place of origin and their date have always been matter for debate, and
NOTICES OF BOOKS

the whole complex of problems which confront any attempt to analyse their style has never previously been faced. Kunze has made a clean sweep of all problems of this kind, and from being one of the most obscure and difficult of all groups of works of the early archaic period, they are now both easily accessible, and in most respects intelligible to anyone who will apply himself to Kunze's monograph.

It need hardly be said that the principal reason for the obsccurity in which the Cretan Bronzes have lain so long is that a satisfactory study of them implies not simply a minute knowledge of early Greek art, but also a mastery of the relevant departments of Oriental and Eastern archaeology. Kunze's ability to cover the whole of this ground is demonstrated throughout his book, and the result is a contribution of first-rate importance to our knowledge, not only of early Cretan art, but of the late geometric and early orientalising styles in Greece. The book has other excellent qualities; it is unusually clear, both in thought and expression, and it is pleasantly free from the tendency to exaggeration which uncertainty and over-confidence in the presentation of theories are alike apt to produce. The photographs, almost all of which are the author's, are quite astonishingly good, and it should be added that in addition to his written study of the bronzes, Kunze has greatly increased the material by making up whole groups of fragments which had never previously been joined together.

The arguments for the Cretan origin of the bronzes are unanswerable, and though in some cases the style, regarded as a whole, has little of what is normally called archaic Greek character, the unrelenting analysis to which Kunze has subjected them leaves no room for further argument on the subject. The result of this analysis is an accumulation of specifically Greek and non-oriental detail which excludes any alternative theory; moreover, apart from details of subject matter and rendering, there emerge, in the composition also, certain Greek features—and this, surprisingly, even in cases like the Hunting Shield where at first sight we seem to be confronted with the most uncompromising material. In speaking of this aspect of the style (which, to the less accustomed eye, seems to present the strongest obstacle to the connection of the Cretan Bronzes with archaic Greek work) Kunze even says (p. 86) that, among others, the shield from Palaikastro, the Tympanon, and the Hunting Shield show a sure sense for decorative composition which places them on a level with the best decorative metal work of the period—with works such as the

Olympia corselets (cf. pp. 87, 108). This, I must confess, I cannot follow—but fortunately a difference of opinion in a matter of this kind does not affect one's view of the arguments of the book, or of the soundness of the judgment which it displays.

As to the chronology, Kunze holds that many of the Cretan Bronzes were made at a time when the geometric style was still unchallenged in the greater part of Greece. Though at first difficult to accept, this view is probably fully justified, though I doubt whether we can maintain that any of them are as early as the ninth century. Kunze uses two principal arguments for establishing this chronology; first, comparison with a series of gold reliefs, some of which have been found in graves with Attic vases of pure geometric style—and secondly the evidence of tomb-groups at Arkades, in Crete. He obviously has an exceptional understanding of geometric art, and I should be the last to assert that his attribution of the Attic vases in question to the ninth century is impossible. On the other hand, I think it is possible to maintain that this date may be too early (and I should add that Kunze wisely does not insist on the exactitude of the absolute chronology of this early period); and this seems to me to be indicated by the evidence for the date of later examples of the group. For the Rhodian vases which were found with these are surely not, as is stated, early examples of the Rhodian series; they belong to the later phase of the pre-incision style—to the period of the Lévy-vase in the Louvre, for example, which can hardly be earlier than the middle of the seventh century. If the lower date is brought down so far into the seventh century, the upper can scarcely be over a hundred and fifty years earlier. Now we have specific evidence that in Crete 'early' orientalising styles did persist, as they seem not to have persisted elsewhere, far into the seventh century; this is clear from the pithos-burials at Arkades, where very primitive Cretan vases are found with Corinthian (for example, Anuario, X-XII, p. 151, Figs. 152-4; p. 104, Figs. 78, 80), and equally from a chamber-tomb at Knossos which contained late Protocorinthian, and Cretan vases of various dates, but none of a style which would otherwise have been attributed to the middle of the seventh century. It is possible therefore that an independent fabric, like that of the Cretan Bronzes, also continued to a relatively late date in that century.

The bronzes dealt with in this book are subjected, as I have said, to an exhaustive and convincing analysis. It is impossible in the course of a brief review to give an idea of the
thoroughness with which this formidable undertaking has been carried out, and it would be absurd to pretend that even after a careful study I could do it full justice. From a general point of view the most remarkable chapter is the last, in which the earliest evidences of oriental influence on geometric Greece are admirably summarised; an authoritative statement on this subject has long been overdue. The last sections deal with two groups of works which are of particular importance on this connexion—the bronze sirens (some oriental, some Greek) which were attached to large dini, and the very early gold reliefs, already mentioned, some of which have been found in geometric graves.

It seems ungrateful, when one has learnt so much from a book, to draw attention to points of detail in which there seems to be room for a difference of opinion. But in a book in which the treatment of detail plays so important a part it is perhaps not out of place to do so. I append therefore a few comments of this nature, none of which, as will be seen, is of any real significance.

On p. 62 it is said that there is no certain example in Greece of the plastic decoration of a shield outside Crete. True, but it would have been worth while to mention that shields of this type are very common on black-figured vases, and are not infrequent on red-figured also—and must therefore have been made at a fairly late date.

P. 157, note 22. The stylisation of the shoulder on the Protocorinthian aryballos in the Louvre is not modern. For this, compare further the lion on the New York Nessos amphora. Complete encircling of the shoulder is further very common at Corinth from the early Corinthian period onwards, a fact which supports Kunze's theory that this detail is oriental in origin.

P. 169. Grazing griffins or griffon birds: add an aryballos from Messina (NaS. 1929, 43) and a shield recently found at Perachora.

Pp. 173-4. The bronze reliefs in Berlin are surely not Greek, but Etruscan, both in style, and in spirit, and are further not earlier than the second quarter of the sixth century.

P. 253. The comments on the ivory priestess from Ephesus raise the whole question of the chronology of early Ionian art. Kunze says that the priestesses cannot be later than 550, implying that this is the lowest possible limit. Though 700 is no doubt too early a date, I do not know what is to become of Ionian works such as the Berlin head of a woman with a scarf over her hair, if the ivory is as late as 550. And surely it is strange to object to a date in the second half of the seventh century on the ground that the ivory is 'pure Ionian Greek'; it seems to me still to have a certain trace of oriental character (as has some later Ionian sculpture, like the so-called 'Sleeping Head'), though obviously much less than several of the earliest Ephesian ivories; and conversely cannot a figure so 'purely Greek' as this have been made in Ionia in the seventh century? Is not the sphinx from Ephesus, despite the oriental hair, equally purely Greek in style?

P. 262, note 58. Export of Cycladic geometric pottery: there are other Theran, and some Siphnian, geometric or probably geometric sherds from the Acropolis (unpublished), and Theran and other Cycladic from Perachora.

Finally, add to the index an important reference to the Nessos amphora in New York (p. 254, note 23).

H. G. G. P.
NOTICES OF BOOKS

parenthesis provides an antique example of false perspective, the width diminishing as it nears the Propylaea; its market, colonnades, and vaulted shops, the Propylaea, the Basilica and behind it a stoa with shops; this seems to have been a fish-market, as the shops are fitted with tanks. This building is Greek, the others all belong to the Roman period and yielded little of Hellenic date; Professor Stillwell ruefully comments on the disconcerting ease with which the Corinthian stone lent itself to reworking. For this reason also their complicated history throughout Imperial times was hard to disentangle; in the Propylaea no less than five building periods are recognised. It is no small feat to have set out in little more than a hundred pages the story of these fragmentary and superimposed structures with such completeness of detail and such lucidity of expression. The portfolio of plates is of convenient form; particularly useful are the comparative plans of the excavation field at different stages of the work.

Kos: Vol. I. Asklepion. By Paul Schanzmann, with introduction by Rudolf Herzog. Pp. 78; 40 figs., 57 plates, 1 map. Berlin: Heinrich Keller, 1932. 62 m. Nasiona Téou is really Nasiona to Αἴεας, and the Αἴεας was the grove of cypress trees which later developed into the Asklepieion. This identification of Herzog supported the view which he shared with Paton that the famous sanctuary was to be looked for in the neighbourhood of the monastery of the Nasion and not, as had been conjectured by less adventurous minds, close to the town of Kos. The excavations, inaugurated and conducted by Herzog in the face of innumerable difficulties between the years 1897 and 1907, proved the choice of a site to be a correct one. Beneath sloping ground lay a series of terraces, with the foundations of buildings devoted to cult and cure, erected between the second century B.C. and the third century A.D. Various obstacles delayed the final publication, and when it became once more possible after the war, fresh excavations by Schanzmann combined with final revision of the previous results by Herzog were found to be a necessary prelude to this book. The task of writing has, therefore, been divided, Herzog being responsible for the history of the site and its literary references, Schanzmann for the description of architectural details. This division has one drawback: that the reader tends to conceive the buildings apart from their functions. In other ways it is satisfactory. Herzog's useful study contains, besides classical references, some early travellers’ tales worth preserving. Schanzmann meanwhile deals thoroughly and efficiently with the mass of architectural detail. Much to be commended is the arrangement in paragraphs which makes the confusing material accessible for study or reference; still more commendable are the chronological tables and summary of dating evidence in Chap. XIX, where literary, epigraphic and architectural evidence contribute to set in order a series of buildings, some interesting, some featureless. The Byzantine church, on the other hand, remains undated, though our rapid progress in this branch of study may soon enable experts to place the remains of its decoration in their proper context.

Drawings, plans and reconstructions are carried out with great accuracy and completeness. They are, however, unnecessarily complicated: irrelevant formulae, like the hatching used to indicate the earth, distract attention from what is important: the tone is often too dark; the reduction sometimes too great. Moreover, it is difficult, owing to insufficient lettering, to refer from text to general plans and vice versa. The photographs, on the other hand, are perfect.

Two more volumes are promised, which will deal with finds, the minor excavations on the island, and the monuments left by the Knights of St John.

W. L.

Municipalité d'Alexandrie: le musée gréco-romain, 1925-1931. By E. Breccia. Pp. 102; 63 plates, 17 figures. Bergamo: Istituto italiano d'arti grafiche, 1932. After a prolonged interval the issue of the valuable reports of the Museum of Alexandria has been resumed and the accumulated results of the intervening years provide material for a handsome and valuable volume which includes not only many important accessions to the Museum, but a long list of excavation reports in and around the city. The most thrilling chapter is the story of the attempt to find the tomb of Alexander the Great under the Mosque of Nebi Daniel; as is known, the excavation proved a failure, but Dr Breccia remains firm in his belief that the Tomb was situated in this area. Amongst other discoveries we note a tomb in the Western Necropolis which contained a sarcophagus in the form of a bed, set in a niche bordered by sculptured columns and richly decorated with paintings (Pl. XXV). Additions to the Museum include a number
of fine mosaics, which will be the subject of a separate publication; one signed by Sophilus represents a city (?Alexandria) wearing a helmet in the form of a warship. There are also good sculptures, notably a bronze head of Hadrian, and interesting vases. Altogether a worthy record of Dr. Breccia's efforts to recover and to preserve what remains of ancient Alexandria.


This excavation report deals with the sanctuary of Asklepios at Pergamon, founded in the fourth century before Christ, destroyed by Prusias II of Bithynia in 156 B.C., rebuilt and destined to become in the second century of our era one of the famous shrines of the ancient world. To this period of prosperity belong the buildings now described, though traces of older structures were encountered. The sanctuary consists of a large courtyard containing the holy well, surrounded by colonnades and approached through a forecourt and a monumental gateway. Attached were a small but richly adorned theatre and a hall devoted to the cult of the Emperor Hadrian; more unusual is the Temple of Asklepios, a circular domed building with a portico, which instantly recalls the Pantheon of Rome; this seems to be the earliest instance of the circular domed type so far encountered in Asia Minor. All these buildings were erected shortly before the visit of Aelius Aristides in 146 A.D.; somewhat later is a second circular building, in two stories with a tiled roof, which probably served as a hospital. The numerous inscriptions found are remarkable in being all of honorary character with no reference to the cult; wonders cures recorded by grateful patients are conspicuously absent. First among them ranks the astonishing cursus honorium of C. Julius Quadratus Bassus, who is identified with the previously-known C. Antius A. Julius Quadratus, one of the earliest Asians to become consul at Rome; it is now further shown that he was commander in the Second Dacian War and governor of Dacia until his death in the reign of Hadrian, who ordered his body to be returned to Pergamon. The whole of the second half of the Report is devoted to the discussion, by Prof. W. Weber, of this most important document; it is strange that a man so outstanding throughout Trajan's reign should have entirely disappeared from written history.


The title of Professor Rostovtzeff's latest book fails to explain itself readily to the uninitiated. Professor Rostovtzeff has with it coined a new term to describe a particular type of ancient community called into existence by the life of the immemorial desert trade-routes on the frontier between the Greco-Roman and the Oriental worlds. On this loose thread the book is constructed. Introduced via an able and stimulating sketch of the historical significance of those routes, which linked India with the West, we make the acquaintance in turn of Petra, Jerash, Palmyra and Dura, in lucid and readable chapters which summarise provisionally what latter-day research has made of them. This at first sight arbitrary selection represents those which offer most remains for study; Seleucia, e.g., has only begun to be excavated, ancient Damascus and Aleppo have scarcely been mapped. An additional justification lies in that the author describes all from autopsia, indeed speaks of Dura with especial competence as its excavator. These essays were based on light travel-sketches published elsewhere; the occasional conversational manner resulting from that fact leads at times to levels of the poorest taste when a Mesopotamian cella is said to have been surrounded 'to its great surprise' with a Greek colonnade; or when Zenobia is labelled with the caption of the 'caravan queen.' Further, when we are told on p. 77 of the caravanersais at the gates of Jerash, that 'it was only after assuming clean, elegant and civilised attire that the visitor made his way into the clean and elegant city,' we excuse the author's ipse dixit in allowance for his warm imagination. But the statement on p. 64, how 'Rome permitted these barbarians [the Jews] to destroy everybody and everything Hellenistic with the greatest steadfastness and cruelty,' is a caricature of the facts.

Nevertheless, the book is stimulating and valuable to the scholar, the general reader and the traveller in the East. Passing over much, with the American discovery at Dura of a frescoed church datable to before 250 A.D. we rise to a subject of the most unbounded interest and importance. The queer blends of various pagan cults receive merited attention; of the names of two of the queerest, Aplad and Azzanathkona from Dura, we await explanations from the Orientalists. Professor Rostovtzeff's view that the Khasme at Petra is
a Temple of the Tyche of the city deserves notice.

There are a few misprints; the map of Palmyra is unsatisfactory, that of Dura lacks a compass mark. The translation is adequate, the photographs well-chosen and good, and the admirably arranged bibliography most useful.

R. D. B.

**Das Theater in Megalopolis.** By E. FIECHTER  
(Forschungsinstitut für klassische Philologie und  
Archäologie in Leipzig: Antike griechische  
Theaterbauten, Heft 4). Pp. 90; 6 plates  
and 23 illustrations. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1931. 6 m.

This excellent and well-illustrated study is based on two short visits by Fiechter and Finck, in 1925 and 1929, for the purpose of checking earlier publications and adding detail about important features. Digging was confined to a little clearance and exposure of doubtful elements. Fiechter pays a warm tribute to Schultz and to the Hellenic Society’s publication of 1892, but accepts some important corrections made by Bulle in his *Untersuchungen an Griechischen Theatern*, 1918, especially with regard to the skanotheka. Fiechter did not examine any part of the Thersilion except the south porch and the wall behind it, on which he throws a little light. An interesting and convincing section establishes certain geometric figures used in laying out the theatre in relation to the earlier Thersilion, especially the square inscribed in the semicircle.

Fiechter’s final conclusions may be thus summarised. (1) The Thersilion was built c. 360–350, probably without a porch, the porch being added a few years later, and the south wall modified. (2) The theatre was laid out c. 350–330, with orchestra, but without proskenion or stage buildings, being designed only for dancing and choral performances. (3) Between c. 330 and the destruction of 222, and probably in the first half of the third century, the skanotheka was built in the west parados, in order to accommodate a solid wooden stage-building on wheels, which could be quickly hauled out and replaced. Fiechter holds that the older line of stone blocks, with holes for wooden posts, which lies under the later line that carried the stone proskenion, supported a low wooden screen to hide the unsightly lower part of this movable stage-building while it was in use. (4) The destruction of 222 ruined the skanotheka, and the permanent stone proskenion was built several years later, perhaps in the middle of the second century; the stage buildings probably stood on the substructure of the ruined Thersilion porch. (5) A Roman stage was introduced at a later period impossible to define.

These results agree with Bulle’s, except for the following points. In Bulle’s view (op. cit., pp. 97 to 108) the older blocks under the proskenion are later than the destruction of 222, and were probably laid shortly after 200, to carry a low wooden stage of the phyx type, and the stone proskenion cannot be earlier than the second half of the second century, and may be as late as Domitian. Bulle also holds that the Thersilion porch was rebuilt after 222, though it was down again before the stone proskenion was constructed.

D. S. R.

**Die inneren Propyläen von Eleusis.** By Hans HöRMANN. (Denkmäler Antiker Architektur,  
Band 1) Pp. 124; frontispiece, 60 figs.,  
52 plates. Berlin and Leipzig: W. de  
Gruyter, 1932. 77.85 m.

This admirable monograph is the first of a series of studies of particular monuments undertaken by the German Archaeological Institute. Fresh accounts of the Theseum and of the temples of Angora and Aizanoi are promised, and also the first real publication of the Gorgon temple of Corinth.

The Inner Propylaea of Eleusis have a peculiar interest for Englishmen, since they once embodied the famous 'Ceres' of the Fitzwilliam Museum, which Clarke tore from a lamenting populace, to be honoured by Porson with both a Greek and a Latin inscription. They are also very important as one of the most perfect dateable monuments of the last days of the Republic. They were begun in the year before Pharsalus by Appius Claudius Pulcher.

It is impossible to attempt here to describe Hörmann’s minutely detailed investigations, but his main conclusions may be roughly indicated. He differs from Libertini (Ann. R. Scuol. At. 11, 1916, 207 ff.) in many points, and above all in this, that he distinguishes from the original design two drastic remodellings, which chiefly affected the inner side, where the Caryatids stood. These statues were at first close to the cross-wall, on each side of the single door, but about the time of Antoninus Pius, shortly before the large Outer Propylaea were built, they were moved forward. They now carried a flat roof, and were flanked by ceremonial tanks. This second stage has a general resemblance to Libertini’s restoration. Finally, perhaps in the third century, the tanks were removed, and two side-doors were roughly knocked through the cross-wall. The outer side,
NOTICES OF BOOKS

with its projecting Corinthian-Doric porch, suffered much less change.

The book contains many valuable general discussions, and forms a welcome and important contribution to our knowledge of this type of building.

D. S. R.


The limits of Dr. Diepolder’s admirable book are prescribed, on the one hand by the revival of figured gravestones after the repeal of a decree (perhaps a decree of Cleisthenes), which seems to have prohibited them for a while; on the other by the decree of Demetrios in 317, which prohibited them for good. The stele of Aristion, for example, belongs to the time before the first decree, and there is nothing for fifty years after that.

The revival seems, on grounds of style, to have begun in the forties: it takes its cue from the flourishing island school of the time, several of whose works have survived—the form usually a single figure of the dead in a tall narrow panel. But the Attic sculptors soon developed this into a two-figure relief, the dead grasping the hand of a relative, a motive destined to be dominant for more than a hundred years. There is a prototype, the lovely arcaic fragment at Aegina; but for Diepolder this is hero-worship still, on the Laconian model, even if softened by the hand-clasp. The hand-clasp, in its later appearances at least, is surely to be interpreted as a gesture of farewell; and many of the actions on grave-reliefs, Athenian and otherwise, have, as Forsdyke remarks, a like meaning: the girl from Paros in New York says good-bye to her pigeons; Hegeso puts away her jewels, they are of no use to her now.

The revival of grave-reliefs in Athens must almost have coincided with the artistic expansion under Pericles, and in the British Museum relief of Xanthippus holding a foot we already see the age of the Parthenon and the manner of the frieze; in the exquisite girl holding a lekythos, in New York—a rare example of the dead with an object of funerary cult, rare in its plasticity and warmth—the spirit of some of the figures in the east pediment. With Hegeso we have reached the time of the Nike Balustrade.

It seems a mistake to divide the book neatly at the end of the fifth century, as if fashions changed with the imaginary first of January in the imaginary year three hundred and ninety-nine; but it is a mistake shared by hundreds of archaeologists and historians, and now, alas, inveterate; and it is here rendered less vicious than usual because of the careful documentation by treaty-headings and other dated monuments which ought to blur this unreal method of reckoning. How much of the Pheidian age is there not in the magnificent relief of Sostratos: how much that is timeless? Its archaeological date, if we must date it, cannot be far off 375. The reliefs of this time, many of them now showing three people before a deep porch, have still that unity, both plastic and spiritual, which results from the organic growth of a single idea. But the tendency in the last three decades of their existence is for this unity to be loosened: the groups come to be made up of separate concepts assembled for their value as masses in the composition. The figures are not only more strongly individualised but more emotional, as in the relief from the Ilius, where the sentiment is restrained, or in the Aristonatus, where it is rampant; and this growth of emotional expression is one of the factors in the break-up of the classical relief style. The decree of Demetrios did not in reality put an end to the Greek grave-relief altogether as it did to the Attic; some later ones have character; but the statement may be forgiven in a peroration.

The excellent illustrations, which contain many familiar and necessary pieces, contain also many that are not so familiar but equally good, and by their careful choice not only consolidate the scientific results, but also make the book very attractive, and convenient for study.

B. A.


A review of a book which contains 250 detached essays by various hands and which has taken thirty years to complete is out of the question. But it would be a great pity not to bring to the Society's notice the fact that this milestone in Messrs. Bruckmann's great undertaking has now been passed. For this text to the last 250 plates, now that it is bound up, is the largest and most sumptuous work on ancient sculpture of the century. Many of the articles are unsigned, many bear the names and initials of those to whom we are accustomed to look for patient research and clear statement; all repay reading. The text illustrations, especially in the more recent numbers, are of the utmost clarity and beauty. As they frequently give details of the main plates on a larger scale,
or complete pictures of the main subject taken from different points of view, their value to the student is very great. The following figures give some idea of the scale of the work. No. 601, the 'Perseus' head in the British Museum, has 24 pp. text and 13 illustration; No. 631, the Terme copy of the discobolis (one of several articles on the Myronian figure), 11 pp. with 13 figs.; No. 649, the young wounded warrior of the Ny Carlsberg Museum, 19 pp. with 17 figs.; and No. 731, the Dresden Silenus group, 9 pp. and 10 figs.

The work as now bound up is not very easy to consult, as the triple index provided [(a) numerical sequence of plates as issued, (b) museum index, (c) chronological and stylistic arrangement] is divided into five portions, one for every 50 plates. But, with the help of the general alphabetical index of the whole series of 750 plates, which has been recently made on cards for the Hellenic Library, any one of the articles in the book becomes immediately accessible. Probably all owners of the Denkmäler have provided themselves with something of the kind.

As to the selection of subjects, no criticism is valid, as no one knows what the ultimate scope of the collection will be. But the impression does arise in working through the plates that only a very large collection would justify the inclusion of some of the objects figured. But this is all to the good if it means that the series, as we all hope, will be continued indefinitely.

The great plates are doubtless worth a commentary of dignified proportions, but the format chosen does seem unduly large. We are confronted with a book of reference measuring 17½ by 10½ inches and containing perhaps 300 pp. (there is no serial numbering). This makes a heavy work to handle, and makes one think that the margins (top, side and bottom, 2½, 2½, and 4½ inches respectively) are excessive. But if a librarian is privileged to grumble over the make-up of the book, lovers of sculpture will have nothing but praise for its contents. J. P.


This book is a reprint of articles which appeared in the Cambridge Ancient History. As these articles have since their appearance been regarded in this country as the ultimate authority on Greek sculpture and painting to the end of the Hellenistic period, so far as this was possible for works of such small compass, there is no need to criticise the text in detail. Yet I find it increasingly hard to believe that there is any connexion between the dedication of Cheramydes and the Naxian sphinx, when I am confronted with a new plate of her side by side with a Samian terracotta and a marble head from Ephesus. There are a number of excellent new pictures, including two plates of coins and a plate of gems. The new (and doubtful) Attic kouros in New York is set beside the kouros from Sounium. I have counted twenty-four new pictures in Professor Beazley's section and none in Professor Ashmole's: this is a pity; it is not pleasant to see again the blurred outlines and black backgrounds of the Cambridge Ancient History. The bibliography has been remodelled and brought up to date. Lovers of ancient art will be grateful for an attractive and brilliant book. T. B. L. W.


This is the latest publication in the Beazley-Jacobsthal series, Bildeskünstliche Vassen. The pictures are clear and beautifully produced. The author describes these rather unpleasing vases sympathetically, and divides them into six groups, the first nearest to Ionian and the sixth nearest to Etruscan art. The groups are loosely connected together, there is no question of all the vases of one group being by the same hand, nor can I find any chronological sequence. Group 2 is said to have a descendant group 3, and groups 4 and 5 a descendant group 6. But whereas no. 3 of group 2 has a highly developed system of folds, no. 7 of group 3 has no folds at all, nor has no. 5 of group 6. The whole question of dating is very difficult; but there is no reason to suppose that in the rendering of drapery these painters were ahead of their contemporaries in Athens, any more than the painter of the Caeretan hydriae was. Therefore, although the earliest Pontic vases may go back to 550 B.C., the latest, e.g. no. 4 of group 6, may well be later than 500 B.C., but this would have to be worked out carefully in comparison with the Caeretan hydriae and the Andocides painter. P. 18, there is no useful comparison between the decorative griffins of the Pontic vase and the pectoral griffins of the Caeretan hydria; p. 22, 95(e) "Früher Sammlung Hauer" is now Leipzig T.329; this list could be lengthened. T. B. L. W.


There was certainly room for the general introduction to Greek coins, intermediate in
NOTICES OF BOOKS

size and intention between slighter works such as Milne’s *Greek Coinage* and Head’s *encyclopaedic Historia*, which is here provided in the sixth of Messrs. Methuen’s useful series of Handbooks of Archaeology. After a chapter (which would have been the better for judicious pruning) on currency and money in prehistoric times, the author proceeds to the discussion of the principal coinages. The arrangement adopted is a combined geographical and chronological one, which has the advantage of presenting successive cross-sections of the coinage in the main areas. The treatment of the earlier periods down to Alexander the Great is rightly far more detailed than that of the Hellenistic age though these later sections might have been made as short and less sketchy; Egypt in particular is summarily dealt with, no mention being made of the effect of the shifting ratios of the precious metals on the currency nor of the deeply interesting problems involved in the bronze coinage, for which at least a reference might have been given to T. Reinach’s magisterial essay (in *REG* 1928). Metrology provides the skeleton of Greek numismatics and it is impossible to avoid touching on the relative articulation of the different issues however much, in our present uncertainties, we might wish to bolt the cupboard door. Here we may applaud the clean break which is made away from the intricacies of the Babylonian school without necessarily accepting the ingenious reconstructions offered in their place.

S., elaborating theories already advanced in his *Athen*, *its History and Coinage*, postulates (1) a copper talent of the value of an ox as the currency unit of the Aegean basin in prehistoric times, which survived as the Euboic talent, and which, in the weight of its gold or electrum equivalents respectively, provided the standards known to us as the Euboic-Attic and the Milesian; (2) an iron bar (obulus), in the Peloponnesus (six to the handful, drachma), which, in its silver equivalent, provided the weight for the obol and drachma of the standard introduced by Phidias at Aegina. These important theories offer simple and attractive explanations for the two principal weight standards, especially for the Aegian, which has always obstinately refused to fit into any general scheme. At the same time the evidence on which they rest at present is too slender to admit of certainty, and for the copper talent the wide variation in the weights of existing ingots is an added difficulty. As for other standards, e.g. those of Thrace-Macedonian districts, until accurate data of the normal weights have been obtained by means of the frequency table it would perhaps have been better to treat them as he treats the Chian-Rhodian—to state the range of weights and to avoid speculation as to their origin. The account of the early electrum coinage of Asia Minor is interesting. S. further expands Babelon’s view that most of the states of Milesian weight, apart from those of the Lydian kings, came from the mint of Miletus, the varying types being the badges of successive ‘magistrates’; this may well be right, for constant change of type is characteristic of later Asiatic electrum coinages—Cyzicus, Phocaea, and Mytilene.

Several notable departures from orthodoxy call for mention. Following his previous published work, S. assigns important series of archaic coins of Aeginetic standard to Megara and to pre-Solonian Athens. The coins assigned to Megara are of three quite different types—goat with dolphin, dolphin rider, and pair of dolphins. In view of its early importance Megara is very likely to have had an archaic coinage; but one on this scale is out of proportion, apart from the unlikelihood of a constant change of type. Such change is an Asiatic practice, followed it is true in pre-Paistatid Athens, but alien to the group of mints to which these coins belong. One of them may well belong to Megara, perhaps the goat and dolphin formerly considered Parian, but not three—Thera has a good claim to the pair of dolphins on several grounds, and most of the extant coins with this type come from the Santorin Find. The stater assigned to Athens, the type of which is an amphora, is usually thought to be of Andros. The transference to Athens is based on the alleged correspondence of the amphora type and its incuse reverse with those of an undoubted Solonian didrachm. But the two amphorae differ in shape, the Solonian having a bigger belly, shorter neck with collar, and slimmer lip with the handles set higher up; while the incuse presents as many points of difference as of likeness. To make the argument valid the correspondences (especially of the amphora) should be exact. It would be most interesting to find an Attic stater of Aeginetic weight struck before Solon (we know that Aeginetan states circulated there freely), but the evidence for this one is not satisfactory. For the famous Athenian decadrachms which most numismatists regard as pieces struck in commemoration of the Persian wars, S. again advances the explanation offered in his work on Athens—that they were struck in the three or four years before 483 B.C. for convenience in distributing the proceeds of the mines of Laurium among the citizens. The point is of considerable interest, and the explanation, if correct, gives support to his view that
other decadrachms, e.g. the Demaretion, the Porus decadrachm of Alexander, etc., were struck primarily for currency and not as commemorative pieces. The evidence adduced is numismatic and literary. The decadrachms are accompanied by an exceptional issue of dirhams: this denomination, otherwise unknown at Athens, is here held to have been issued in order to facilitate the distribution of sums of ten drachms—two tetradrachms and one dirham making up the required amount. But if, exceptionally, decadrachms are issued, where tetradrachms are the normal currency, it is only natural to strike dirhams in order to facilitate exchange between single pieces of ten drachms and sums composed of multiples of four drachms. Thus Alexander’s other decadrachm from the Babylonian mint, a quite exceptional piece, is accompanied by an equally exceptional dirham with the same monograms. Here there is no question of special payments of ten drachms, nor is there any reason why there should be at Athens. The literary evidence shows that during the period in question the Athenians divided up among themselves the profits of their mines from time to time, though there is nothing to show that they did so annually like the Siphnians (not Seriphians as is stated on p. 92). Further, there is nothing to show that the dividend was regularly ten drachms; on the contrary, it is only reasonable to suppose that it fluctuated with the output of the mines, as may be inferred from the words of Herodotus describing the last distribution [the Athenians], διδομένοι ὁμοιότητας δώσα δραχμάς (not τοὺς δέκα δραχμάς). But if the amount was not regularly ten drachms there is no point in a special issue of decadrachms extending over three or more years. Most numismatists will still prefer to regard the decadrachm, as well as the Demaretion and Alexander medallions, as primarily commemorative in intention.

The fourth-century coinage of Sicily has long been a problem. In the fifth century money poured from various mints and notably from Syracuse in great abundance. In the fourth century the stream dried up except for the Carthaginian camp and local coinage and the tail-end of the decadrachm issue of Syracuse. It offers a remarkable problem that we can point to practically no money, apart from the decadrachms just mentioned, as struck by Dionysius I to meet the enormous military expenditure which he must have incurred in the Carthaginian wars. It is not till the time of Agathocles that we get a plentiful silver coinage again issuing from Syracuse. To the older numismatists who placed the bulk of the decadrachms and signed tetradrachms of the fine period in the first half of the fourth century there was no difficulty. Now that we know that these should be pushed back into the last quarter of the fifth, there is a gap covering the reign of Dionysius I which it is difficult to account for. S. would fill the gap in three ways: (1) By antedating the plentiful electrum coinage with Apolline types now given to Dionysius II or Dion: this may possibly be correct, though in style these coins have more in common with the Corinthian staters of Timoleon than with anything earlier. (2) By assigning to the Syracusean mint some of the finest uninscribed Siculo-Punic tetradrachms with horse and palm-tree types, which are explained as being struck for the benefit of renegade Carthaginian mercenaries. This, which is a priori very unlikely, seems definitely ruled out by the fact that one at least of the finest obverse dies is combined with a later reverse bearing the normal Punic camp legend AEN MACINAT. (3) By pushing back to Dionysius I the series of chariot tetradrachms which, though they do not bear his name, are currently regarded as the first coinage of Agathocles. It is true that these coins correspond closely in their types to the latest decadrachms, and especially to the tetradrachm from the school of Euainetus with which the earlier coinage closes; but fabric and style are very different. In this connexion the beautiful tetradrachm of Morgantina with exactly the same detailed correspondence of types should be considered. It must be placed well into the fourth century if indeed it be not the fruit of Agathocles’ activity in that city at the opening of his career, but style and fabric mark it as earlier than the coins now proposed for Dionysius. Finally, precisely the same monogram, coupled with the triscles, which is found regularly on the reverses of these coins, occurs on one issue of the Victory coinage of Agathocles which bears his name. There cannot be a gap of half a century or anything like it between two issues thus linked, and the virtual intermission of Sicilian coinage in the first half of the fourth century must still await an explanation.

Apart from the continued attribution of early coins of Chalcis in Euboea to the Philaids of the Chersonese in spite of Gaebler’s convincing demonstration to the contrary (which is dismissed in a mere footnote), these are the main deviations from accepted tradition, and attention has necessarily been concentrated on them here. For the rest, the book, which is lively and easily written, if rather too positive in statement from time to time, gives a clear account of the results of modern research. It is well calculated to
interest those who realise the possibilities of numismatics and desire to begin a serious study of the subject, and the numerous plates, which, with few exceptions, are excellent, add greatly to its value from this point of view.


This collection of essays by Swedish scholars is handsomely produced with abundant illustration and contains important material of varied interest; the German, French, Italian and English languages are used, our tongue being the medium chosen by the majority of the writers on Hellenic subjects. About half the volume deals with Roman history or monuments of Rome; these papers it is not necessary to enumerate here, with the exception perhaps of Andreén’s publication of terracottas from Ardea and Feger’s study of the Corinthian capital and of its Greek prototypes in the late Republican period.

Among the Hellenic papers we mention first Persson’s reproduction and amended translation of the late Mycenaean inscription on a jar-rim found at Aine in 1926; using the Cypriote syllabary as a basis of decipherment, he supposes the inscription to be a metrical dedication, the earliest Greek inscription known. Another debatable ground of prehistory is covered by Valmin, who asserts the continuity of tradition from the Mycenaean tholos-tomb to the Homeric tumulus and to later hero-cults. The recent Swedish activity in Cyprus is naturally well represented, by three papers, of which Gjerstad’s lengthy comparative study of the planning of the palace at Vouni (see JHS. 1929, p. 236) calls for first mention; the earlier phase of the palace is Cypriote based on Anatolian precedents, the second presents Hellenic traits. Sjöquist publishes tombs of the Iron Age; the pottery shows the familiar medley, but he attempts to differentiate successive burials on the basis of Gjerstad’s recent type-series of Cypriote pottery. It is a pity that single burial-groups which would confirm this classification seem so hard to obtain in Cyprus. Sculptures from a series of temples at Soli are published by Westholm; they include several types of unfamiliar character.

Four papers deal with historic Greece; Hansell studies the history of the temple-court, Kjellberg an Aeolic capital from Larissa, the latest example of this interesting architectural form. Seitz analyses the statue of a kneeling youth from Subiaco (now in the Terme Museum at Rome); he concludes that it is a fragment from a group of Lycaon supplicating Achilles and assigns it to the age of Hadrian. Finally, Wiken discusses the position of Kerke, mentioned as a transport-point on the mummy tickets of the Fayûm.


With their eighty-one contributors and nearly a thousand pages of text, these two fine volumes contain material which will interest specialists in almost every branch of classical studies. The following list may serve to call attention to the subjects treated; space compels us reluctantly to omit many important discussions which do not come within the province of this Journal.

Prehistoric Archaeology. In point of date the first place is occupied by E. Pottier’s discussion of the pictographic value of the design on Susian pottery. F. Chapouthier studies three engraved gems from Mallia, of M.M. I date; on one of them he finds a prototype for the classical Gorgonion. From Mallia also come two clay vases published by F. Demargne; one is a rhyton in the form of a woman with hands below the breasts, closely resembling a well-known vase from Mochlos; the other is a jug on which a similar design is incised; this recalls the later type of Baubo. R. Dussaud publishes Mycenaean ivory fragments from Egypt, now in the Louvre; the chief piece is a relief showing a combat between a bull and a griffin. J. Sundwall identifies the Minoan sign for ‘talent,’ or some similar unit of value.

Architecture and Sculpture. R. Vallois analyses the earliest stratum of remains of the Artemision of Ephesus, finding a similar arrangement of altar and base on the sarcophagus of Hagia Triada; he further proposes to place the architect Paionius of Ephesus in the sixth century. R. Demangel discusses the influence of vase-painting on architecture, and J. Charbonneaux the influence of masks upon sculptural types. É. Michon publishes a grave-relief in the Louvre, inscribed ἘΠΟΥΚΡΑΤΗΣ ΦΕΙΔΩΝΟΣ ΕΡΧΙΕΥΣ. F. Poulsen identifies a head in Athens and a second in Copenhagen as portraits of Attalos II and Attalos III of Pergamon. A hunting scene with a representative of the Thracian Horseman, who, exceptionally, is winged, on a frieze found recently at Constantza is discussed by G. Cantacuzene. A. Salač compares the seated Boxer of the Terme with a statue at Constanti-
nople described in an epigram of Christodotus. Finally, two curious Iberian sculptures, one 'a frieze of metopes,' the other a quadruped doubtfully identified as a bear, are contributed by the late Pierre Paris.

Vases, etc. H. Jeannaire considers that the design on a Dipylon vase at Copenhagen represents an initiatory scene. C. Dugas points out that ΑΜΑΕΙΣ on certain vases is not a true signature, but merely a fancy name for an Egyptian. A. P. B. vases in the Louvre with Persians fleeing from the Gorgons, Pegasus and Chrysaor, is described by A. Merlin.

Inscriptions. F. E. Adcock discusses IG. V. 1, 1, an account of a Lacedaemonian tribute-levying expedition of 427 B.C. A. B. West makes additions to a Parthenon Treasure-Record, IG. 17, 287. N. Vulč publishes two new records of bequests to Alkomen in Macedonia. A. Wilhelm reconsiders the inscription from Iasos, BCH. VIII, 453, no. 2. H. T. Wade-Gery examines boundary stones, ὄροι. G. Daux publishes a new and longish inscription from Delphi in honour of an embassy from Sardis. A. Plassart edits the fragments of a long inscription from Thespiae, relating to a local volunteer corps of 170 A.D. M. Rostovtzeff studies the caravan-inscriptions of Palmyra.

Papyri. P. Collart supplies the beginning to P. Ryland 170, from a fragment in the Reinach collection. P. Geneva 123, studied by V. Martin, gives the names of Roman landed proprietors in Egypt in the Flavian period. G. de Sanctis discusses the fragment at Vienna containing a record of the capitation of Olympia.

Literature. L. Bodin finds in the Panegyric of Isocrates traces of borrowing from the speech of the Athenian delegates to Sparta of Thucydides, I, 73. E. Legrand examines Plutarch's reasons for attacking Herodotus. G. Mathieu studies the reasons for the hostility between Plato and Isocrates manifested in the Euthydemus, which he assigns to the end of the year 380. L. Méridier considers problems of the Hippolytus of Euripides; the reason for Theseus's absence, the relation of the play to that of Sophocles. Another Euripidean subject is treated by G. Murray, who reconstructs the missing plays of the Trojan trilogy.

Philology. P. Chantraine studies Greek words grouped around μηδαμός, μηδενάς, etc., and κόπας, of prehellenic origin; with this may be grouped the paper by A. Meillet, dealing with the Greek names for king or chief. O. Navarre denies that the particle δι is used by Homer in a temporal sense and J. Vendrye examines the adverbial form τω μετά. T. Zielinski explains the resemblances between Achilles and Jason by propounding new derivations; Achilles is the hero of the Achaeans, Jason of the Ionians.

Religion and Philology. F. Cumont finds that the opening of the Sothic year was observed in Syria as well as in Egypt. G. Méautis studies the traces in Plutarch of survivals of the Orphic tradition and of Orphic communities. G. Picard derives the mitra sometimes worn by Dionysos from Minoan times. A. Rivaud denies Pythagorean influence in Plato's Republic.

Law. Here are two studies of Athenian legal problems; by P. Mazoin on the procedure adopted by Deinomithes in the case of the Embassy, and P. Roussel's analysis of Antiphon πρὸ τοῦ ἑορταζον γόνος; also C. Lécrin's notes on διόρθωσις and διάσωσις.

History. A. Ayseur examines at length the constitution of the Achaean assembly held at Argos, 188 B.C. V. Chapot suggests that our ideas of the colonising activities of Alexander the Great are greatly exaggerated. P. Cloché studies the relations between Athens and the Thracian king Keraunetos in the years 357-352 B.C. R. Cohen finds an explanation for the failure of Nikias before Syracuse in the fact that he was unable to forget that he was the author of the peace of 421. W. S. Ferguson restates the case for placing the condemnation of Antiphan at the fall of the Four Hundred. M. Holleaux distinguishes between Perseus the general and Perseus the son of Philip V of Macedon. J. L. Myres studies the account of the reforms of Cleisthenes as found in Herodotus. A. Puech compares the three versions of the battle of Salamis to be found in Aeschylus, Herodotus, and Diodorus. G. Radet follows in detail the final campaign of Alexander in pursuit of Darius. W. W. Tarn explains the passage in the Monumentum Ancyranum which cites Tiridates and the younger Phraates as fugitive kings of Parthia.

Economic History. A. Andréades emphasises the importance of customs duties in the budgets of Ptolemaic history. M. Cary examines the sources whence Greece obtained silver: Asia Minor from prehistoric days, then Spain, later Siphnos and Laurium. M. Lacroix presents a long study of foreigners at Delos, and E. Ziebarth reviews the commercial history of Rhodes.


This is a collection of miscellaneous essays which not only hover round the outskirts of Greek life but sometimes come very near to the centre of things. Some deal mainly with the material side of Greek civilisation. The Greek
on the Sea; Diet in History; Metallurgy and Democracy; The Wandering Greek.

Others except less widely-read authors such as Strabo and The Antiquaries. Others discuss Greek social life and education (The Manners of a Gentleman; The Boy and the Theorist). Others, again, take a glance at Greek religion (Foreign Gods; The Daemon Environment).

The two concluding chapters proffer advice on The Study of Ancient History and explain The Vitality of Greece.

Within this wide range of subjects Mr. Glover moves with a studied inconsequence, which may at times bewilder the staid reader, but will leave on all a final impression of an exhilarating joy-ride. Yet alongside of entertaining stories about elephants that could write (like a certain famous horse, Hans), his book contains much serious teaching after the fashion of an ancient satira at its best. As an example of Mr. Glover's flashes of searching truth we might quote from p. 113:—Is it not true that genius does best in an oldish but not too old community, where things are set and established, but not so set that the young mind cannot revolt, where he is controlled by tradition but inspired by Nature, where, like the best Greeks, he can make a blend of law and liberty, obey and revolt in the same moment, use and transcend the great tradition? Or from p. 119:—The only dangerous heresy is orthodoxy. But the whole chapter on Greek education, and the chapters on Greek Sea-life, on Greek Vitality and on Foreign Gods, will repay a more careful reading.

In a work that positively discourages meticulous precision the searcher for small errors of fact will naturally come by his own. The source of prehistoric amber was in Jutland rather than in the Baltic (p. 9). The statement that the Greeks made no improvement in agricultural technique (p. 34) is hardly fair to Theophrastus and the Hellenistic practitioners of scientific farming. Alexander's haul of treasure in the East did not amount to hundreds of millions of pounds (p. 74): recent estimates fix it at 170-180,000 talents, say forty million pounds. The statement that Caesar was the foster-child of Greece and derived his political ideas from that quarter (p. 299) is not easy to square with the known facts of his career. Lastly, the theory that coinage caused the industrial revolution of early Greece (pp. 66 ff.) will not bear close examination. The characteristic symptoms of a capitalist economy are equally to be found in ancient Carthage or Judaea or Babylon, which had little or no coinage.

But criticism of this kind is no more damaging to Mr. Glover than to Herodotus or Plutarch. His book may not add much to our permanenm store of knowledge; but it will open new windows in our minds and give them a thorough ventilation.

M. C.


In a period as brilliant as the fifth century, Everyday Things might seem less easy to find than in the archaic period. This may be the reason why our authors have not adhered strictly to their time limit. Nevertheless, their new book is in many ways a great improvement on its predecessor, and they have made excellent use of the more homely passages in authors such as Plato and Xenophon.

Much space is devoted to public buildings, in particular those on the Acropolis and at Delphi. A section follows on town planning and private houses, represented by Priene: here a strong warning should have been given that the fifth century could not have produced anything equally sumptuous. Other sections include a variety of attractive subjects, such as furniture, vase painting, shipping, farming and daily life, though there is no reference to education. A few errors should be noted: Hegesia for Hegeso on p. 79, and 'black and white' for 'black and red' on p. 80: moreover, the fifth-century Greek did not travel by chariot (p. 104). Finally comes a résumé of Thucydides, who suffers less under this treatment than Herodotus did in the previous book.

Like the subject-matter, the illustrations have improved. Free adaptations from Greek vases are now omitted, and the sketch of the Acropolis is charming. A good map, however, is needed, since the one on the frontispiece ornaments the seas but gives no idea of the main features of Greek topography.

If another volume follows, it will find in the Hellenistic age a quantity of material suitable for studies of daily life. In view of this, may we beg the authors to improve their style? It is sometimes curiously facetious, even cheap; and it always gives the impression of having been intended for very small children; yet boys and girls, so often apostrophised, should appreciate sound English if they are to understand the beauty of Greek art.


A very pleasant little book; and, let it be added, a most useful collection of material. Miss
NOTICES OF BOOKS

Klein has visited most of the principal museums of Europe and America, noting several hundreds of objects which illustrate child-life in ancient Greece; she has strung these together under appropriate headings to make a connected history of the Greek child; and she gives us over a hundred and fifty pictures, the most complete series that we possess. It begins with a terracotta at Athens, showing twins lying side by side in their cradle, quaint cones protecting their heads; then we are taken through play-times and schooldays down to the last scene, where on a beautiful white lekythos in New York we see a little urchin bravely stepping into Charon's boat, trudging his go-cart beside him. The book will be indispensable to students of ancient life, and it deserves reading for its own sake. That at more than one point some intensive investigation might yield interesting results is obvious, but it is a merit, not a fault, of Miss Klein's unpretentious text to have suggested these possibilities for future research.


The first volume of this work was reviewed in JHS. 49, 289. The book is a collection of those passages from the Greek dramatists which happen in some way to mention an object of art, or even of everyday life. The present volume is devoted to sculpture, which is interpreted in a very wide sense; part one deals mainly with formal sculpture, but part two ranges from gems down to kitchen pots and pans. On the literary side the author gives proof of enthusiasm and energy, and it is a pity that he did not invoke the assistance of an archaeologist to save him from many wild statements: for instance, on the first page of part two. In Italy, as far as our knowledge extends, the first metal workers were the Etruscans... the people that put their stamp most completely on the arts and crafts of the Orient (and the rest of the world) were the Phœnicians. After this Etrusco-Phœnicia is disconcerting to see a mirror inscribed with the names of Aplon, Semla, Phaphulus (fig. 38) assigned to 'Corinth or Sicily' on p. 534.


The Science of Architectural Epigraphy has been, Prof. Ferguson observes with just pride (Preface, p. viii), perfected in the main by American scholars. Himself, working without the privilege of sorting stones in the Epigraphical Museum at Athens, he modestly disclaims this science: too modestly, for his work has the scientific rigour, the scrupulous exactness, the constructive grasp, which we have come to expect from American epigraphists. But he is more than a scientist whose laboratory technique it is a privilege to watch; he is also an historian of the first order. This makes the strength, and at the same time the weakness, of his book. The scientist-plus-interpreter runs two dangers, that he sees his facts wrong, that he interprets them wrong. He can but arm himself against the first by scientific candour, against the second by imagination and a sense of the actual; for to decline such inquiry is to shut his eyes on life. Prof. Ferguson is armed against both dangers exceptionally well, and whatever detailed adjustments he may have to make (for some, see the current number of the AJP.), I believe his main account of the successive financial shifts of Athens during the Ionian War will stand.

The Panathenaic period 410-406 stands out as vital: in 412 the Iron Reserve was still available, but exhausted before 410. At the beginning of the vital quadriennium, the victory of Kyzikos repaired the empire's fortunes: not only was there money for current expenses, but the reserve of Sacred Money was reconstituted (IG. I, 109) and can be drawn on in the following year (IG. I, 301) for a great military effort, which unhappily was not decisive. By 407/6, operations of war demand support from the Sacred Money, which is now revenue only, the reserve is exhausted: at the Panathenaic stocktaking of 406, they resolved at last to mint the Nikai and the sacred vessels. The hopes raised by Kyzikos have slowly evaporated; the agony has begun.

This new clarity is due, chiefly, to Prof. Ferguson's brilliant placing of IG. I, 301 in the year 409/8. This document contains almost
certainly the name of Perikles as general, it speaks of an expedition to Peloponnesus, and of gold received that year from Skapte Hyle exactly equivalent to the Thasian quota. These data led me (Num. Chron. 1930, p. 17, JHS. 1930, pp. 292 seq.) to date it to the early years of the Archidamian War: Prof. Ferguson points out that in 409/8, young Perikles is in public life, an expedition was sent to relieve Pylos, and Athens was recovering the Thasian peraia. The recognition of these things enables him to put the document into what I am convinced is its right financial context, and to draw the important historical conclusions of his third and fourth chapters.

His treatment of the Kallias Decree is interesting, but I think less convincing. The ‘crucial lines’ (p. 153) are lines 50–52 (= 19–21 of Face B) which order the creation of a ‘reserve on which the state could draw without borrowing and paying interest’; ‘this purely secular reserve, created by decree in 434 B.C., was created in fact after the Peace of Nikias.’ The Hellenotamiai, in fact, are to deposit (and after 421 did deposit) a παρασφαλή with the Tamiai. Can the active παρασφαλή bear this sense? Certainly, if the money is to remain the property of the depositor, the middle is more natural and more usual. (My statement in JHS. LI, p. 72, ‘the money will not belong to Athena,’ is too dogmatic: Kolbe, in SB. Berlin, 1933, II, p. 5, discusses the use of παρασφαλή, παρασφαλήζω, etc., with a far more adequate range of illustration; yet he quotes no instance, and I can find none, where the deposit remains the property (not τῶν παρασφαλήων but τῶν παρασφαλήων).) I fancy that lines 20–21 of Kallias’ Second Decree have not yet been correctly restored: it is hard anyway to believe that so drastic a change of financial policy as Prof. Ferguson reads in them was stowed so inconspicuously away. I take this opportunity to retract my plea (JHS. LI) that the year 422 should be preferred to (the only other possibility) 434. The arguments adduced by Ferguson in ‘Athenian War Finance’ (Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 63, February 1932), p. 10, have convinced me that the State cannot easily have put some thousands of talents out to ordinary commerce, in time of war, nor realised so large a sum rapidly after the Peace.

There is no need to praise Prof. Meritt’s ‘laboratory work,’ which, at once brilliant and sober, is a pattern for all workers in this field. The richness of his new book is astonishing.

The Attic financial documents of the sixth century are laid before us in admirable large-scale photographs and ‘red and black’ fac-similes (showing the extant letters black, the supplements red): on this basis almost all of the dozen large texts he chiefly deals with receive a form which makes earlier publications obsolete. The purpose of the book is to present the material; the historical conclusions are incidental, but this incidental wealth is extraordinary. I note, for example, the dating of IG. I, 105 (the decree in honour of Archelaos) to 407/6 (p. 114), the mention of Konon in IG. I, 304 a (p. 127): historical constataions of similar value abound throughout the book.

I note a few particular points. The new text of the Samian war accounts (IG. I, 293) given on page 47 is clearly right in principle; that is, in referring the first sum to Byzantium, the next two to the two years of Samian war, and the last to the Byzantium-Samos total: yet the stochedon line of 93 letters is improbably, almost incredibly, long, nor is the phrasing of most of the supplements at all inevitable. Line 13 is the hardest to reduce: the omission of the demotic λογοτοισιν is, however, just possible and would reduce the line to 83 letters: Αθήναις could then be omitted in line 6. In the inscription recording the Samian settlement (p. 51, fig. 7 = IG. I, 50) I would like to record a convincing suggestion made to me by Prof. Woodward for the difficult fourth line of the list of generals, viz. [Καλλ.||πάρτονοι ὃς]|]|μισσιν. In the accounts for 432/1 (IG. I, 298; see pages 71 seqq. and Plate I), in line 5, we should, I think, read (after παρασφαλή) [τῷ ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ Ἐσχετ[η]] δενοτικον μανον δενοτικον δεκαταιον δεκαταιον εἰς 585—685, etc.]: that is to say, we should identify this first payment of 432/1 with the salling of Αρχέρατος μετ’ ἅλλων?, Thuc. I, 57, § 6. None of the objections to this simple solution of a famous ἀποτίκη appears to me valid. The figure διά in Thurydidas is certainly wrong and Διώδος almost the easiest correction. This does not give us too many generals of 432/1 serving in the northern area; only five; since Kallias μίστος φόρος in Thuc. I, 61, § 1 means ‘Kallias as commander over four colleagues’; Kallias brought one colleague with him and took command over the three already there. [Διότικον φόρος in Thuc. I, 15, § 1 clearly does not imply that Perikles had his nine subordinate colleagues in company; not, I think, does the same phrase in Thuc. I, 116, § 1.]. The destination of Eukrates and the other generals in line 5 is [τῷ Μακεδονίᾳ: if
the absence of the name Poteidaia from this phrase means anything, it means surely [not, as Kolbe suggests and Meritt, p. 68, accepts, that the battle of Poteidaia has not yet been fought, but] that Poteidaia is not yet a military objective, i.e. has not yet revealed. Poteidaia revolted about the same day that Archestratos sailed (Thuc. I, 58, § 1): no one who sailed later than Archestratos should be still designated as Marshalled, and it cannot be suggested that Eukrates sailed earlier than Archestratos [since eventually there are no ships in the north beyond Archestratos' 30 and Kaillas' 40, Thuc. I, 61, § 4]: stage, they sailed in. It is the usage of this document to put the leading general's name last; in line 31 Karkinos stands last, while in line 36 we read Καρκινως [Θεόκλεις εν Κερνώσικευσί, i.e.], and in Thuc. II, 23, § 2 Karkinos stands first. For the dates: since Aristaeus reached Poteidaia 40 days after the Revolt (I, 60, § 3), and Archestratos sailed about the same time as the Revolt (I, 58, § 1) and Kaillas about the same time as Aristaeus (I, 61, § 1-3), we may suppose Archestratos sailed some time in August, Kaillas in September, and the battle was fought in October. The important result of this dating, if it be correct, is that the northern campaign of 432 did not begin till after midsummer.

On p. 96 note the exceedingly interesting text in IG. I', 304, line 34: δὲ Τιμίου υπολαχηγατητα[ν] ἐν Νονιναϊτο[ν]. I am not quite easy about the stop which this requires at the beginning of line 35. In Mustoysidis' unintelligible transcript of IG. I', 300, line 9 (p. 64), I would like to suggest that the Ια is misread for [E]λα, and that we restore [πρ]α[ματ]η, and as it possibly χρησιμοτεχνα:[]. Charioides was killed in Sicily in 427/6 (Thuc. III, 90, § 2), and this fits with Meritt's dating of the account (p. 68) to the quinquennium 430/346.

These two books bring us so near to a complete picture of the inscribed accounts of the Tamaiti during the Peloponnesian War, that it is worth while taking stock of what we now know: especially since some of the suggestions offered by Ferguson p. 26, note 1, and p. 75, note 3, differ from those of Meritt, p. 64. The great stele, IG. I', 302, 296-7-8 (Meritt, Plate I), certainly contained the expenses of 432/1 on the front, 414/3 on the back, and the first two months of 411/0 on the side. Ferguson suggests that IG. I', 307 belongs to 413/2 and stood below 297 on the back of this stele; Meritt suggests 307 may be from the back of 301. Prof. Meritt has since called my attention to the fact that 307 has letters on its (right hand) side-face, which on Ferguson's hypothesis will belong to the same face as 298: the spacing of the letters is almost identical with those of 298, but the character (especially of sigma) seems to me rather different. I think on the whole it slightly strengthens Ferguson's case. I would ascribe another fragment to this stele, namely, IG. I', 303: whose spacing and character is identical with 296, but since it contains the demotic Κωστους it cannot well belong to 432/1. It comes, I suggest, from an account inscribed below 296, on the same face, presumably for the year 431/0. It is, I believe, from the right-hand edge of the stone, a very small portion of the margin being, I think, intact.

431/0 will then no longer be available for IG. I', 294+299+308, and we must accept Meritt's second alternative (p. 86) and date this account in 428/7 (sige of Mytilene). Another fragment from the quinquennium 430-426 is IG. I', 300 (pp. 66-68). It is unfortunate this stone is lost and we cannot compare the scripts: but I suggest the quinquennium had a quinquennial account (like 324 and 302), and I strongly suspect that IG. I', 634 is from its top right-hand corner [ἐν Ἀσανίνην ἐκ] [ἐκ] [ἐκ]: the rather poor photograph in JHS. L. p. 289, fig. 3, shows how identical it is in script with 294+299+308. The main obstacle (not perhaps fatal) is that εκσανσεα sounds like a statement of Logistai, whereas the word ωροσαι in 300 and 294+299+308 clearly points to a statement of Tamaiti.

The statement of the Logistai of 422 (IG. I', 324, Meritt, Plate xii) probably took the place of a Tamaiti's statement for the quinquennium 426-422. The accounts for the quinquennium 422-418 (if any) are quite lost: 418-414 is IG. I', 302: 414/3 is certainly, and perhaps the rest of the quinquennium 414-410, is on the great stele IG. I', 296-7-8-[+ 307 + 309]-. The next quinquennium 410-406 was on the two stones 304 (410/9 and 407/6) and 301 (409/8 and probably 408/7): Ferguson, pp. 28 seq., Meritt, p. 116). There remain only 303, 305 and the fragments published as IG. II', 1686 and 1687. Ferguson confirms the date 406/5 for 305 (pp. 75 seq.) and fixes part at least of 1686 to 405/4 (i.e. the Siege: he brilliantly interprets the distributions of grain there mentioned, as the siege-time substitute for the diobelia); and I believe, after examining the stones, that IG. II', 1686, 1687 and IG. I', 303 are all from the same stele. We thus get the following very tentative table:
NOTICES OF BOOKS

Mr. Tod's eagerly expected Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions more than fulfills our expectations. It is in every way a new book, inheriting from its predecessor Hicks and Hill no more than the plan and much of the selection. By this inheritance, the book is in the nature of a 'show-case': the exhibits are (or deserve to be) famous, as mentioning great names (a large proportion, especially of the archaic inscriptions, do this) or raising great issues. It is no easy matter to display such pieces adequately, without burdensome pedantry on the one hand or irritating dogma on the other: few indeed are the living scholars who could have done what Mr. Tod has done. His style has a firm clarity which neither fogs the beginner's mind nor disguises the complexity of the questions; and le style c'est l'homme, it represents Mr. Tod's unsurpassed command of the literature and neat precision of mind. Especially admirable are the beautifully articulated triple lemmata, whereby the history, the appearance, the bibliography of each stone is made at once accessible: users of the book who use these lemmata freely will have been liberally introduced to the science of epigraphy.

The progress of epigraphic studies is, as Mr. Tod observes, unresting: and the pieces he deals with are full in the mid-stream of this progress, so that the literature continues to accumulate. I note, for instance, on No. 14 Audiat in BCH, 54, 1930, pp. 325 sqq., on No. 51 Kolbe in SR, Berlin, 1933, II. Mr. Tod's knowledge of this movement scientifique is unrivalled, but his two-yearly bibliographies are addressed to users of the Corpus rather than of this book. It would increase our great debt to his unselfish labours if he could find space and time, in his future surveys, for a special section that should keep up to date the lemmata of this book. They are too good to be allowed to take on the inevitable rust of time.

H. T. W. G.


This volume continues the series of publications of the American society for the excavation of Sardis, to which we are already indebted for a definitive edition of the Lydian inscriptions. Professor Robinson and Mr. Buckler have wisely decided to include not merely the inscriptions, published and unpublished, of which records were made by the American expeditions, but also those which were copied by earlier travellers. In view of the enormous number of books and periodicals in which, in default of a Corpus, the inscriptions of Asia Minor are scattered, this is a boon for which we cannot be too grateful. Wherever possible a photograph of the stone or of an impression is given; where the text depends on an old copy the original copy itself is photographed so that in all cases the reader has before him the materials on which the printed text is based. In the interpretation of the texts the editors have avoided the temptation which tends to beset epigraphists, of transferring information from one place to another, and have contented themselves in the main with referring to previous publications; in dealing with unpublished inscriptions they have confined themselves to the essentials.

The texts are classified under the following heads: I. Documents and Public Records; II. Honorific Texts; III. Religious Texts and Dedications; IV. Sepulchral Inscriptions; V. Miscellaneous Texts and Fragments. Within the various classes a chronological order is maintained as far as possible, and the editors have rendered a service to historical students in stating regularly the period to which undated inscriptions are to be assigned on epigraphic grounds. Full indices make consultation easy. In establishing the texts of the inscriptions so far as they are preserved the writers appear to have left little if anything for their successors to do. In restoration they have in one or two cases, which will be mentioned below, gone rather further than the evidence warrants. They have done so, however, out of set purpose in dealing with puzzling texts in which any suggestion is better than none. The following points in matters of detail occurred to the reviewer in the course of reading the book. N. 1, Col. II, l. 19: The inscription concludes with the phrase σωλήν πράσινον.
NOTICES OF BOOKS

Griechische Grabinschriften aus Kleinasiens.


In this paper Professor Wilhelm's keen critical insight and wide learning are applied to the consideration of a number of important Christian inscriptions from Asia Minor, most of which have been dealt with by British scholars. In the course of his discussion he takes the opportunity, as usual, of explaining and correcting a large number of texts adduced by way of illustration. A list of these will be found in the index. One or two points may be noted in regard to the major inscriptions. I. JRS. XIV (1924), p. 54. n. 57: Wilhelm correctly removes the proper name vepiokos (l. 6), but his restoration πατρως hardly does justice to the copy and introduces a stylistic finesse that seems absent from the rest of the poem, i.e. a short carry-over from one line to another. It will be noted that W. introduces this three times by conjecture, II. 6, 7, 9. In l. 15 Wilhelm rejects τελεσθαι (the reading is certain) on the ground that patronymics of this form are only masculine and assumes that τελεσθαι was intended. So also (p. 29) he hesitates to accept ἀναξος on the ground that transference of the form appropriate to the masculine to a feminine stem is incredible. It seems to the reviewer that in both cases the composes were using epic forms which they understood only imperfectly. In l. 18 there seems to be something at fault in the metrical notation of the missing syllables. II. This section deals with a number of inscriptions which have the dialogue form as introduction. III. JRS. XVII, 49 ff., n. 239. Although the bonus at Kurd Koi which bears this inscription had been seen by Perrot Ramsay and Anderson, it was not until 1926, when Cox made a masterly impression of the lines formerly despaired of, that it was possible to restore the second half of the fourth inscription, which was then definitely proved to be Christian. It has been generally assumed, and the assumption is accepted by W. (p. 27), that this stone bears the record of a

noted in the corrigenda, it is printed and produced in a way that makes it a pleasure to consult. The editors are to be congratulated on the manner in which they have accomplished this part of their task, and readers will look forward to seeing the next volume, which is to contain the testimonia and the Diaries of Robert Wood and his friends. When that has appeared Sardis will be better cared for than most cities of Asia Minor.

A. C.
family at first heathen, then, in the later generations, Christian. The basis of this assumption is the language of the first inscription, which is the conventional pagan style with references to the house of Hades, etc. Such language, however, is found in definitely Christian inscriptions and cannot be accepted as conclusive proof of paganism. It had become mere literary convention. With regard to the general sense of the inscription Wilhelm appears to be right. Ammias had died before marriage; and her death in conventional style is attributed to a desire to depart from this world. In l. 29 Wilhelm suggests ἄναστι ἐν ημείς for the inexplicable ἁναστ[σ]ίοιρα. It is unsatisfactory to assume a corruption in an obscure passage, but if corrections are to be made, ἁναστικοί might be preferable. According to W, the difficult lines 32 ff. are 'missunderstanden,' but here again he only finds his way out by an alteration of the only letters that seem clear and an interpretation that is somewhat prosaic. The father is πολύςοιος because he was too slow in going to the doctor! It seems better to interpret πολύςοιος and δραγα in relation to the complaints of the parents about the haste of their daughter to die. They are sluggards because they wished to detain her. The verb ναοδότας, if retained with ἄρης, means 'They urinated my infatuation in hastening to die.' This reading, however, makes it difficult to restore γας in the third place in the next sentence: hence the reviewer's former suggestion, τις ἐνάντιος ναοδότας (?) παραδότης, i.e. 'Complain (?) of my dying a virgin,' which is a repetition of what appears in l. 8 ff. in a slightly different form, κατά ἑαυτὸν καὶ τούτῳ καὶ παραδότης τοῦτον ἡμῖν. If ναοδότας is impossible one would expect on this view some verb meaning 'to complain of,' or 'bewail.' παραδότης would then be easily understood in a slightly different sense with ἐκδοτα. IV. Wilhelm here has some good remarks on the necessity for caution in the interpretation of Christian inscriptions, but his suggestions are not always entirely convincing. On MAMA. I, p. 157, he accepts Grégoir's correction δημοσφόρος for δημοσφόριος, and comparing it with Ι.GR. IV, 836, interprets the word to mean 'the occupation of a δημοσφόρος,' i.e. a hunter and keeper of wild beasts. This suggestion removes the inscription from the sphere of Christianity entirely, but introduces a strange incoherence. If violent measures are to be taken, δημοσφόριος or δημοσφόρος may be suggested to mean 'for he endured a life in the mountains,' which gives a parenthetical clause explanatory of παρεικαβ' ἐν τῷ δυσαμ. On MAMA. I, p. 170, the well-known inscription of Eugenius, Wilhelm suggests that παρεικαβ (l. 7) may have the weak meaning of 'trouble,' for which he brings forward evidence. It is true that the tenor of the inscription (W., p. 40) does not suggest that Eugenius was tortured as a criminal, since if that were so we should find it difficult to understand the phrase παρεικαβ' τοῦ ἐπικληθεῖν τῷ στρεφόντι, but it seems natural to suppose that he meant something more than mere annoyance. JRS. XV, 144 is rightly removed from the list of persecution inscriptions, and doubt is justly cast on CIG. 9266. V. The fifth section is one of the most interesting and convincing in the paper and is of considerable importance for the interpretation of a number of so-called crypto-Christian inscriptions. Wilhelm collects the inscriptions which bear the formula τοῦ τινος καθαρίζειν (in various forms), and proves conclusively that καθαρίζειν is the dative and that the phrase τοῦ τινος καθαρίζει is a formula of adoration independent of the prohibition which follows. Going further he makes it highly probable that καθαρίζει has a possessive meaning such as often belongs to καθαρίζει καθαρίζει in classical Greek with words of relationship in address (Ionic καθαρίζει in its possessive usage may have a different origin, from the dative of indirect object). He then connects this usage with that in which the word καθαρίζει is used with the genitive of a proper name, e.g. μὴ καθαρίζει ἰατρίου. To the examples of this interesting usage which he quotes we ought perhaps to add certain Anatolian place-names which have the name of a god followed by what may be a proper name in the genitive, as e.g. Μηνιαδόρου. The pagan parallels for this usage raise a further question with which W. does not specifically deal, that is, the question whether this and similar formulae are to be regarded as specifically Christian at all. The adoration and the threat of divine sanction seem to be pagan, cf. e.g. Xenophon, Anabasis, V, 3, 16 καθαρίζει οὖ καθαρίζει. No that it seems very probable that here as elsewhere we must regard religious terminology as common to both Christians and pagans of the same period, and must be careful to reckon monuments as definitely Christian only where the evidence is unequivocal.

It is hardly necessary to say in conclusion that these studies should be read by all who are interested in the epigraphy, particularly the Christian epigraphy, of Asia Minor. Even where Professor Wilhelm disclaims any special competence it will be understood that his ignorance would be the learning of a lesser man.

A.G.
NOTICES OF BOOKS


In this fifth part of his series of contributions to Greek epigraphy, Professor Wilhelm offers new restorations of a number of inscriptions. Though the restorations are not always certain the author is able by careful analysis and apposite illustration to further the interpretation of the documents and in some instances to correct the errors of other scholars. One or two points of general interest arise in the course of discussion. On Inscriptions of Pergamon 18 the author deals with the practice of granting to a person honoured a sacrificial animal or a sum to indemnify him for its purchase. The occurrence of this practice elsewhere proves that the sacrifice in τοις ἐν τοῖς ἔσω ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ ἐν τῷ παραβάτι (the στρατηγῷ) honoured in this decree is not, as Lacqueur had suggested, an indication that the royal cult was kept in the hands of royal nominees. In this connexion a number of suggestions are made on IG. XII, 2, 537.

The second section of the paper deals with a number of Pergamene decrees in honour of Diodorus Metrodorus and Athenaeus. In AM. XXXII, 245, l. 7, Wilhelm with probability restores the name of Quintus Caepio, whom he also finds in IGR. IV, 72 in the unusual form Κεπίος. If this suggestion is accepted the inscription, as he points out, gives evidence of the participation of Galatians in the revolt of Aristonikos. On p. 34 f. there are some interesting remarks on ὁμιλητέρια as a technical term in building which support the restoration γάρ ὁμιλητήριον in AM. XXXII, 239, l. 39. With reference to AM. XXXV, 401 ff., l. 37, there is an excursus on the use of οἰκος as ‘going’ which Wilhelm notes in Maccabees II, 14. The last section contains a number of suggestions on AM. LIV, 29, a decree of the Samians in honour of an unknown doctor.


Professor Ullman’s book belongs to the series Our Debt to Greece and Rome. Its title hardly prepares us for what is in effect an excellent survey of Western alphabetic forms from their obscure origins through Greek and Latin hands and their offshoots down to the age of printing and the modern period. Not only the layman but the professional palaeographer will welcome such a convenient and comprehensive summary, to which an appropriate selection of plates gives an added value. One statement needs correction. It is misleading to speak of a Coptic text (p. 9) on the Rosetta stone.

Sir Frederic Kenyon deals primarily with the material aspect of ancient books, and aims at making available the new knowledge which has been accumulating for the past two generations. In particular, problems connected with the transition from the roll to the codex form have had a sensational light thrown on them by the discovery of the Chester Beatty papyri, which Sir Frederic is engaged in editing, and pp. 94–110, where these are described and appraised, will be read with particular avidity by palaeographers and biblical students alike.


This volume contains six long texts from a group of documents assembled in the tax-office of Theadelphia in the reigns of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, and the editors have succeeded in extracting a good deal of useful information from the monotonous records of receipts and payments. In particular, it is interesting to see how they have been able to trace the intricacies of office procedure and to elucidate the checks on the entries relating to individual taxpayers: as a result of this they show that in the village of Theadelphia the year 128/9 was apparently a prosperous one, as less than 33 per cent. of the poll-tax was in arrear at the end of the year; while in another year, the exact date of which is lost, conditions were much worse, as only half the inhabitants liable to a tax in kind had paid in full, about 30 per cent. were partially in arrear, and about 20 per cent. had paid nothing. These and similar conclusions have involved a vast amount of spade-work in the decipherment and tabulation of the details, and the editors deserve grateful recognition of their services.

J. G. M.


The revival of the systematic publication of the papyri in the great Rainer collection at Vienna...
is very welcome, and it may be hoped that the undertaking will prosper. The most extensive of the texts included in this volume, which takes up more than a third of it, is a mathematical papyrus, presumably for use in schools, in which some (unfortunately fragmentary) introductory definitions are followed by thirty-eight geometrical exercises. The more strictly literary pieces number twenty-four, amongst which may be noted a page from an epic poem concerning Pan, two leaves of a codex inscribed respectively with hexameters and iambics, the former of which comes from a papyrace of a certain Maximus, and several fragments of a ἱστορικὸς ὅμιλος: there are also some interesting puzzles in bits of a treatise on the dithyramb. Two astrological pieces, three magical papyri, and half-a-dozen miscellaneous fragments complete the volume.

J. G. M.

Berlinische Leihgabe griechischer Papyri, I.


A collection of papyri was lent by the Berlin Museum to the University of Uppsala for study by the Greek Seminar of the University, and in this volume we have the texts of twenty-five documents out of the collection, with ample notes and commentaries. Four of the longest, which deal with the administration of the taxes in kind, were published in 1924 by K. Thunell, but revised texts and a long discussion of the contents by Dr. Kalen are now given: the other papyri have been deciphered by various scholars, but the whole work has been edited by Dr. Kalen, who is also responsible for most of the notes and for an exhaustive appendix on ρωποστηρογραφεια.

The documents are mainly of familiar types; the student, however, will find that they have been rendered much more valuable by the wealth of parallels cited in the notes. A departure from normal procedure may be found in no. 10, which shows Roman citizens having recourse to Egyptian law: no. 18, which contains a proposal to convert olive-yards into arable land, is of a class of which few examples are known: and no. 24 throws new light on the working of the system of liturgies. There are also minor items of interest to reward the reader—for instance, the archaistic use of the Macedonian month side by side with the Egyptian in no. 10, written in A.D. 120, and the exceptional mention of Marcus Aurelius as Imperator III in the dating of no. 25.

J. G. M.


The mummy-cartonnages found by Jouguet and Lefèvre at Magdoba and Ghorân proved to contain a substantial number of petitions addressed to the King, mainly dated in the last years of Euergetes and the early ones of Philopator. Forty of the documents from Magdoba were published by the finders; but several years of research among the fragments of papyrus used to form the cartonnage have enabled M. Guérard to make additions to many of these documents, with important results for the elucidation of their meaning. He has now undertaken the publication of a complete collection of these petitions from the two sites, the total number of which is 175; and in this first part there are 52 texts, with a general introduction.

The introduction summarizes the evidence available as to the form and drafting of the petitions, the procedure involved in their presentation to the local strategos, and the nature of the action taken upon them. The treatment is exhaustive and clear, and gives a good idea of the administration of justice in the villages of the Fayûm in the latter half of the third century B.C. The texts are carefully edited, with translations (except in the cases of one or two very fragmentary pieces) and very full commentaries: though a few doubtful passages remain to be explained, the work as a whole appears most satisfactory.

Incidentally, these papyri furnish a good deal of material for the investigator of the social and economic life of the villagers, and when the publication is complete it is to be hoped that this part of their contents will be abstracted and discussed as thoroughly as has been done for the more formal and legal side.

J. G. M.

Papyri graecae magicae: die griechischen Zauberpapyri. Edited and translated by KARL PREISENDANZ. Band II. Pp. xvi + 246; 3 plates. Leipzig and Berlin: B. G. Teubner, 1932. 18 m. (bound 20 m.).

The text of the G.Z.P. is now complete, and the third and concluding volume of Preisendanz's Corpus will contain only the full indices, with certain addenda, such as the London bilingual papyrus recently edited by Bell, Nock and Thompson, the magical texts from the new volume of Rainer papyri, and further documents from Michigan. The present volume includes three very long texts: the great roll in the British
NOTICES OF BOOKS

Museum, a magical miscellany headed by the interesting 'Onesimos'; and the two Leiden papyri, discovered at Memphis in 1828, the second of which contains the remarkable 'Gnostic' cosmogony. Among shorter pieces are such familiar items as the 'Curse of Arimistia,' the 'Rhodian Sea-Song,' and the pseudo-Homerian incantation from the Kardis; here too are the extensive Oslo papyri. In the section headed 'Christiches' the author breaks new ground, though he emphasises that it is only to be regarded as experimental. The fusion of Christian forms and pagan practice in these curious documents will undoubtedly repay closer study. In conclusion it need only be said that in text, translation, and commentary the high standard of Vol. I is fully maintained.

Catalogue des manuscrits alchimiques grecs:


The last of the late Prof. Zuretti's contributions to the Catalogue des MSS. Alchimiques Grecs contains seven separate tables of signs and abbreviations reproduced from mediaeval alchemical manuscripts. For convenience, the signs are arranged in columns and numbered consecutively 1–1322, but as the same sign may recur ten or a dozen times the net repertory is very much smaller. The chaotic spelling and accentuation of the originals is reproduced throughout, and though perhaps confusing at first this course was to avoid the right one, since the same errors constantly occur in the compendia themselves; in any case, this difficulty has been largely overcome by listing all abnormal spellings in the index, with cross-references to the correct form. The text is followed by a commentary restricted to points of palaeography, students of which will find much to interest them here. The index has perhaps suffered from lack of final revision; thus, references to signs nos. 68, 199, 236, 279, 387, 435, 1209, 1320, 1320 are wrongly given, while nos. 31, 241, 367, 656, 664 and 1309 (under ἀνάρμνησις) seem to be omitted altogether. There is continual discrepancy between text and index in matters of spelling and accentuation, owing partly to misprints, partly to a half-hearted attempt at normalisation the principles of which are not obvious. These are, however, only minor blemishes which can always be controlled by the excellent plates, covering the whole of the text, and these can also be referred to for the actual form of the signs, which are not always reproduced in the printed text as accurately as might be wished.


This volume, which reproduces a recent Prince Consort essay, has special reference to the constitutional development of Epirus; but it also gives a brief survey of its political history in those rare periods at which it emerges from obscurity. Its chief merit is to fit the history of Epirus more closely into the context of general Greek history, and to define more sharply the curiously limited powers of the Epirote kings. Incidentally it also corrects or amplifies current views on many small details of Hellenistic history. Some of the more contentious problems arising out of the narrative are more fully discussed in appendices, of which those on King Neoptolemus, on the Epirote constitution, on the relations between Epirus and Acarnania, and on the peace negotiations between Pyrrhus and the Romans, will particularly repay study.

On the constitutional side Mr. Cross aptly observes that the Epirote federation of the late fourth century was modelled on the Hellenic League of Philip. May we assume that the subsequent republican regime, in which the canton of the Molossi lost its long ascendancy, shows the influence of the Aetolian League, where all constituent states were reduced to a level? The author also makes a good point in tracing back the limitations of Epirote monarchy to Homeric times; and he is no doubt right in denying Justin's assertion that King Tharrypas was the author of the constitutional checks upon the monarchy. Yet there is no need to dismiss all of Tharrypas' reforms as legendary. More Lyceus. Plutarch's statement that he introduced written laws into Epirus may be allowed to stand. Mr. Cross further makes an ingenious suggestion that King Alcetas was an adoptive son of Leptines, brother of Dionysius I of Syracuse. In that case Alcetas' year of birth had better be dated later than 420 B.C.

In the historical narrative the reign of Pyrrhus I naturally forms the centre-piece. The initial negotiations between the king and the Tarentines are here discussed with good judgment, and it is plausibly argued that the sudden appearance of a certain Roman fleet off Tarentum was by arrangement with an oligarchic party in the city. But it is scarcely credible that the oligarchs intended to 'hand over' Tarentum to the Romans. By the later terms of capitulation the Tarentines did not become 'dediticii' but received a treaty.

Nobody will cavil at Mr. Cross for not discussing military details in a volume of narrow compass. On the other hand, an introductory sketch of the geography of Epirus would have
thrown light on its political history. Nature destined Epirus to be an inland country (unlike Illyria), despite its long coast; and to be a pastoral region (unlike Macedon). It therefore had a relatively sparse population and was even more townless than Macedon. These features help to explain why its kings were never able to establish a Macedonian type of monarchy.

This is a very promising first work, in which the author has made considerable improvements in our knowledge of Epirus.

M. G.


This translation of Professor Wilcken's masterly study of Alexander is very welcome, as the admirable plan and balance of the sections, the accuracy of the historical presentation, and the sober and judicious nature of the comments, make it a model which might well be followed. It is, of course, hardly to be expected that all will agree on the interpretation of Alexander's character and actions, but at any rate Professor Wilcken has given one which is clear and logical. Some slight inconsistency may perhaps be found in his estimation of the military motives underlying some of Alexander's more spectacular exploits: he appreciates that, in leading his troops to the attack in person, as for instance at the Granicus and the chief town of the Malli, Alexander was fulfilling the recognised duty of a general, and that the stubborn struggles at Tyre and Aornos were strategically imperative; but he seems to regard certain other moves, such as the crossing of the Danube and the visit to Ilium, as inspired by Alexander's romantic feelings. There were surely sound military reasons for both: in the first case Alexander, unable to dislodge the enemy from an island in the Danube by direct attack, took a substantial force over the river and occupied both banks, which naturally led to surrender of the enveloped position: the second suggests a preparation for a turning movement in case the Persians opposed the crossing of the Hellespont by the main Macedonian army at Abydos, though it was not necessary to develop the movement. That Alexander announced other reasons for these actions is probable enough: as Professor Wilcken remarks, a Macedonian king could form and carry out his own plans: but Alexander, though the initiative lay absolutely with him, evidently realised the moral value of an appeal to sentiment, and used this again and again to cloak his real military objects. If possible, Hercules, Achilles, or some other Greek hero was called into service: but where no hero was available, as at the Danube, Alexander's personal 'longing' served the purpose. The same 'longing' comes out in the story of the expedition to the oasis of Ammon, where, just as previously at the Danube and later at the Jaxartes, Alexander had reached the point which he had determined for his frontier, but wished to make his power known to the tribes beyond that point: a reconnaissance might have been misinterpreted in a military sense as an unsuccessful advance and withdrawal, so another motive was invented. It is not necessary to suppose that camouflage is a purely modern device.

While the actual translation by Canon Richards is good and pleasant to read, the notes are rather scrappy: it would have been better, if they could not be made more complete, to omit them altogether.

J. G. M.


The story told by M. Radet is so dramatically presented and so attractively worded that it is well worth reading, although we may differ from him in the interpretation which he puts on certain of the acts of Alexander, and feel some doubt concerning the trustworthiness of some of his sources. If strict logical tests are applied, some of his comparisons seem rather strained—for instance, on p. 406 Alexander's present of incense from the booty taken at Gaza to his old tutor, following on his savage treatment of Batis, is likened to the anointing of the feet of Jesus by Mary; and, just before this, he does not appear to realise that the two explanations suggested for this treatment of Batis are in conflict—if Alexander had felt a 'Greek' disgust at the appearance of a negro eunuch, he would not have exalted this creature to epic glory as a second Hector. Other inconsistencies may be noted: on p. 141 Alexander's charge at the battle of the Granicus is regarded ' non comme l'émanation d'une haute pensée militaire, mais comme une poussée de l'heroïsme atavique,' while eleven pages later we find it stated that in Alexander's mind 'la fascination du passé n'oblitére jamais le sens des nécessités militaires.' But, as the whole of the limelight is concentrated on the one figure of Alexander, these minor defects in the staging may pass unnoticed, and do not detract from the general charm of the panegyric. It may indeed be described as a modern version of the Romance of Alexander, with a tendency to psychological analysis in place of the chivalric fervour of the Middle Ages.

J. G. M.

This book, though not large, is of vital importance for Athenian chronology. It has all the characteristics one expects from Professor Ferguson's work—great learning, acute reasoning, a minute and exhaustive knowledge of the inscriptions; but there is more than that. Ferguson has made a new discovery; its full value I do not pretend to estimate offhand, but conceivably it may be only second in importance to his discovery in 1898 of 'Ferguson's law.' That showed that the prytaneis secretaries rotated according to a fixed order of the tribes; and this rotation has since been established for the priests of Asklepios and other offices (list on p. 45). Ferguson now puts forward a second method of rotation: within a tribal cycle the officials in question may not follow the fixed tribal order but may be placed by sortition, so that the tribes come in any order but no tribe more than once within the cycle. This method, he says (p. 49), 'must be thought of as substitutable at any moment for rotation in the fixed order'; he finds, e.g., that in the cycle 152/3-146/5 it applies to the secretaries and the Asklepios priests in Athens and to various priesthoods in Athenian Delos, where it was perhaps the normal method of rotation for the priesthood of Hagne Aphrodite. Here indeed is a new tool for the historian to play with.

The book itself has seemingly been evoked by Dinsoom's Archons of Athens. Ferguson pays a high and well-deserved tribute to this great work; but as regards the Athenian archon-list he only accepts Dinsoom's results for the periods 295/4-293/2 and 145/4-88/7, while (though he emphasises that he is dealing with cycles rather than archons) for the long intermediate period he produces a revised and attractive chronology of his own (Table II, Scheme A) with which much of the book is concerned, and for which he has been able to use some unpublished inscriptions. In reviewing Dinsoom's book (CR. 1932, p. 193) I indicated some difficulties in his archon-list in the middle of the third century, and pointed out that his dates for Diomedon and for Polyeuktos (the invitations to the Aetolian Soteria) were historically meaningless, and that Flacelière's dates, 253/2 and 255/4, ought to be right. Since then two fresh examinations of the stone on which IG², II, 791 is written have been made, one by Roussel and Robert (RE, 1932, p. 199) and another which Ferguson uses, and both examinations agree that the disputed letter is delta and not lambda, as Dinsoom took it to be. Helped by this examination, Ferguson starts his book by assigning Diomedon to 253/2 and thus gets firm ground; in his view (p. 75) this date is fixed both by carrying back the secretary cycles from Thrasymon in 221/0 and carrying forward the priestly cycles of Asklepios from 322/1, the two cycles thus vouching for each other. Diomedon in 253/2 entails Polyeuktos in 255/4, where he ought to be because of the peace of 253 (unlike Dinsoom). Ferguson gives full value to the peace of 251 and 255, and I trust they are now established past serious questioning); but meanwhile a new difficulty has arisen, a decree of Smyrna (Fouilles de Delphes, III, 1, 483) which prima facie puts Polyeuktos after 247. One of the best chapters in the book is the long examination and resolution of this difficulty; I think Ferguson has proved his point, that Smyrna's answer to the Aetolian invitation was long delayed, and that, moreover, it was normal, when a general request for asyla was sent out, for a block of acceptances to come in at once and then for others to struggle in at intervals; he gives instances of some long intervals. With these two archons established, things go pretty well, though I must make one reservation: when he claims (p. 177) that he is unaware of any historical data to which his present system does injustice, I feel very doubtful (as does Kirchner, Samml., 1932, p. 453) of his and Dinsoom's new dating of the Chremonidean war; but this cannot be examined in a review.

I cannot notice half of the important points in this close-packed volume, but one or two must be indicated. Ferguson now accepts 288/7 for Diokles I [the fall of Demetrius], thus ending a long debate in the only way possible; and for a single crisis at Athens circ. 103 he now substitutes a series of crises in the time before Sulla. His detection of certain archon-names as significant for the circumstances of the moment is delightful, and points to skilful management of the elections; and he brings out the importance of the tribal cycles as 'punctuation points' for public records and inventories. One strange question seems to arise out of Diomedon's date. Ferguson puts the Asklepios priest Boikos of Phyle, who has to precede Diomedon, as late as he can (254/3), but nevertheless, rotating backwards, finds that the known tribe of the priest Phyleus of Eleusis, whose date is fixed alioinde to 286/5, will not fit that year; his deduction that in the priestly cycle 288/7-277/6 his second method (sortition) was used seems (at present) the only possible one. The innovation, he says (p. 54), 'is well motivated by the
new democratic régime established in 388; and one asks at once—if the democrats dealt thus with the politically unimportant priestly cycle, what about the overlapping secretory cycle which started in the strongly democratic year 479/8? Shall we hope that sortition will one day solve that problem?

W. W. T.


His own accidental discovery, while engaged in a re-examination of the entrance to the Athenian Acropolis in 1928, of an inscribed fragment lying on to IG. II2, 649, prompted Prof. Dinsmoor to a detailed re-examination of Attic chronology during Hellenistic times, with the result, as is now widely known, that he proposes a shift in the date of several important events of third-century history. On the epigraphical side this closely-routed work has already engaged the close scrutiny of specialists (see the preceding review) and it will doubtless continue to do so for some time to come; but the astronomical theories and the views of the Attic calendar it embodies will probably take readers on to less familiar ground, and to them the following observations may be of service.

Throughout the centuries with which we are concerned—that is, from the fifth to the second century B.C.—the Greek astronomers were still engaged in their vain effort to discover the ideal lunisolar year; there is indeed nothing original in this pronouncement of Prof. Dinsmoor, but the very abundant, and often very original, evidence with which he supports it is well worth the consideration of those who in recent years have been led to believe that the Greeks, in such matters, were merely copyists of contemporary Babylonian astronomers. While fully accepting the modern view that the 'State,' at Athens, 'soon assumed the right to decide the month which should be Heratombibon and which year intercalary,' he maintains not merely that Meton's scheme was an index by which the irregularity of the public calendar could be measured, but that its improved version, the Callippic cycle, besides being employed by astronomers for dating their observations, did also come into practical use. Furthermore, he asserts, on epigraphical grounds, that the 304-years cycle of Hipparchus, more exact than any of its predecessors, so far from having been thrown out as a mere suggestion, can be shown to have been actually brought into use at the very precise date of July 31, 145 B.C. It is certainly interesting to be told that when, in inscriptions of that time, a distinction is drawn between dates κατ' ἀκροβατίαν and κατ' ῥήσιον—phrases which Prof. Dinsmoor translates as 'Old Style' and 'New Style' respectively—the scheme thus dignified as divine is really that of the great astronomer whom Pliny was afterwards to extol as consiliorum natae particeps. And another remarkable assertion is that the 16-year cycle, described by Gemellus as an improvement on the octaeteris, can be proved to have been in actual use at Delos. On a still earlier and more famous cycle, the alleged Sothic period of the Egyptians, Prof. Dinsmoor has found it possible to say something original. And of the lately-discovered solar prytanies year at Athens, he brings evidence to show that it came to an end in 411, yet that Aristotle, born a quarter of a century later, had forgotten, or never heard of, its existence.

His book indeed abounds in surprises. Did Meton really discover for himself that he had been a day out in his famous observation of the solstice in 432? If so, it is strange that we have no record of the discovery, any more than of the numerous earlier observations of the equinoxes by which Prof. Dinsmoor supposes it to have been made. One thing which the inscriptions certainly seem to make clear is that those chronologists were mistaken who supposed that, even after Meton's time, the Athenian οἰκουμήνη, or first day of the month, continued to begin with the first appearance of the crescent moon, as of course it must originally have done. It really began on the day of the conjunction, and possibly therefore the Aristophanic complaints of the moon against the calendar may be merely an exaggerated conservative protest against celebrating the new moon one, two, or three days before the new moon was seen. But it is a little difficult thus to explain the remark of Thucydides, that an eclipse took place on the οἰκουμήνη κατὰ ἀκροβατίαν, 'the only day, it is supposed, upon which such a thing can happen,' on Prof. Dinsmoor's view that the civil οἰκουμήνη was then always the same as the day of 'true' new moon.

His opinion that a judicious combination of all the available astronomical evidence and of the literary and epigraphic records should enable us to form as definite an idea of the flexible Athenian calendar as of the mechanical Egyptian, is optimistic, but without optimism such labour as this work implies could hardly be undertaken.

E. J. W.
NOTICES OF BOOKS


This stately volume of over one thousand pages, with its customary equipment of maps, bibliographies, dynastic lists and indices, is devoted mainly to Rome, which now, almost without a rival, holds the centre of the stage. There remain, however, three non-Roman countries which still demand individual treatment—Pontus (Ch. III), Judaea (Ch. IX) and Parthia (Ch. XIV). In Chapter III Professor Rostovtzeff firmly characterizes the civilisation of Pontus and does all that can be done to extract a reliable historical record from the scanty remains of the earlier period. The attempt to define the relations of the kings of Pontus to Greeks within their borders is of great importance in view of the rôle played later by Mithridates the Great. Professor Ormerod rounds off the chapter with a very vivid account of the great war in Asia and Greece from 91 to 85 B.C. In Chapter IX Dr. Bevan deals in a few clear pages with the political history and then paves the way for the coming world-importance of the Jews by a careful account of their religious and social conditions both at home and in the Diaspora. In Chapter XIV Mr. Tarn grapples with the difficult—perhaps hardly soluble—problems of early Parthian chronology and registers some definite advances on the results as yet obtained in the British Museum Catalogue of Parthian coins. He then surveys the curiously mixed civilisation of Parthia and the special military institutions of the Parthians—their mailed horsemen on their great horses and their light horse-archers. The inspired use of horse-archers by Surenas in the campaign of Carrhae makes a great story. Review of the main Roman section of the book must be left to other periodicals. It is enough to say here that this volume lives well up to the highest standard yet attained in the History.

H. M.

Fonti per la storia della religione cyrenaica.


Dr. Vitali has brought together in a compendious volume most of the available material (literary, epigraphic, numismatic, etc.) for a study of the cults of the Cyrenaica, though it is unfortunate, in view of their great importance, that some of the most recent discoveries are barely touched on. The book is divided into two parts, the first containing the sources (with an Italian translation) arranged alphabetically under the names of the deities to which they refer, the second a full commentary. The work of compilation has been carefully done and the commentary is full and on the whole judicious. The latter begins with a discussion of the fundamental question, was the nymph Cyrene Thessalian or Libyan in origin? Dr. Vitali reverts to the view, prevalent before Malten's brilliant study, that her real home is Thessaly. For the author the lion, indigenous in both places, was the link which enabled the poet of the Ehoikos, to the behest of an early Battialid, to transfer the nymph to Libya and to develop her story there. But while it is very difficult to see how the Thessalian part of the story could arise if we regard it as secondary, it is no less difficult, on the other view, to abandon the local tradition preserved, e.g. by Callimachus, himself a Cyrenaeus and such evidence as is afforded by the name of the brook Cyre, etc.—incidentally no numismatist would agree that the common coin inscription ΚΟΥΕΡΕΣ, quoted in support of the view that Cyre is a short form for Cyrene, can be anything but the initial letters of the usual ethnic. The problem still awaits a satisfactory solution. This monograph is the first of a series and it may be hoped that it will shortly be followed by others of equal merit.


This handsome volume is one of the most important and welcome contributions to scholarship that have been made for some years. August Mommsen's Feste der Stadt Athen was and is a most useful collection of material, and is not wholly displaced even now; but it had no illustrations, its explanations of the meaning of the ritual described were out of date already when it was written and are much more so now, and its arrangement according to the calendar, while in some ways convenient, had the disadvantage that in order to study the cult of any one deity it was necessary to look up half a dozen separate passages. Deunner arranges the festivals under the names of the gods, with a short section at the end on commemorative feasts and adds a good ecclesiastical calendar, so to call it, which sets down the festivals on their proper days, when these are known, and groups the rest under their months with the rubric 'unbestimmter Tag.' Furthermore, and this is of great value, he gives an excellent selection of pictorial material, mostly from vases and
above all from the *Chosothis* concerning which he has an appendix containing a hint to archaeologists. The late A. Frickenhaus meant to publish an exaustive work on the subject of these most interesting vases; Deubner has his material, on which his own descriptions are founded, and offers it to anyone who has the knowledge and industry to complete Frickenhaus's task. Another appendix gives the latest information concerning the pictorial calendar preserved in the church of S. Eleutherios.

The discussion of the festivals is characterized by acuteness, good sense and abundant scholarship, such as we have long ago learned to expect from Deubner. It is throughout brief, as befits the moderate size of the book, and saves space by omitting such matters as are of no religious interest, for example, details of the external arrangements of processions and so forth and of the athletic programme connected with the Panathenaia and other great feasts. No point of the slightest importance to the understanding of Athenian or Greek, religious life is shelved, however, and all material relevant to the solution of the numerous difficulties is drawn upon. To what purpose the author has wrestled with the problems that arise may be judged from the following examples.

On p. 999, speaking of the *Arrhephoroi* (= ἀρρηφόροι; he compares ἄρρηφοι (= ἀρρήφοι, παρά(ἐπά)χαρες and addsuce the full form of the name of the festival, ἀρρηφορία, from schol. Lucian., p. 276, 13 Rabe), he connects their ritual with the autumn sowing and (p. 131) distinguishes them from the ἱπποφόροι, whose independent existence he proves fully. On p. 22 he gives the right reason for the Pnyxteria being an ἱπποφόροι, 'weil bei der Reinigung des Bildes [of Athena] Umrat in Bewegung kommt, der die ganze Luft erfüllen und überall Schaden stiften kann,' and rightly compares the dies nefasti, June 7–13, at Rome, with the note which the calendars give us on the last day, Q.S.D.F. He does not, however, make it clear that παύνω does not mean λάω, a point of some little importance for the ritual. With regard to the eiresione, he refuses (p. 29, note 8) to be misled by the confusions of late authors into giving it a place in the Panathenaia; it belongs to the Pyanopsia and nowhere else (cf. pp. 191–2). This is but one of many places in which his common sense and critical ability save him from being misled by blunders ancient and modern. On the vexed question of the Panathenaic car, he sides (p. 33) with Puhl and Frickenhaus in supposing that it was always naval and that it was derived from the similar vehicle used at the Anthesteria, where it probably indicates the overseas origin of the Dionysiac cult. On p. 4999, he makes a diligent and ingenious, but in the reviewer's opinion not quite convincing attempt to extract consistent sense from the very puzzling scholion on Lucian, pp. 275–6 Rabe; his whole account of the *Thesmophoria* is most reasonable and at many points clearly right. His interpretation (p. 55) of the *Ναξοία* is simply that the women fasted lest any profane food should interfere with the *μάνα* they were to receive from the next day's ceremony, and sat *γυναίκαι*, which does not necessarily mean on the bare ground, because their tents or booths were very simple affairs with no furniture in them to sit upon except the litter on which they slept.

His treatment of the Mysteries (p. 694999) is very sensible and generally very plausible. I am somewhat doubtful of his statement (p. 71) that they bear 'den Stempel des weiblichen Empfin-
dungslebens' or that their secrecy has anything to do with the oppression of one race by another; not all may be convinced by his denial (p. 73) that the γυμνὸς had any magico-religious significance, or that the veiling of the initiates' heads served purely as 'ein Mittel der seelischen Konzentration' (p. 78). When he identifies the Anaktoron with the Telesterion, taking the former to mean the old Mycenaean palace at Eleusis, he has yet to show how he reconciles this with the fact (see Payne in *JHS.* lii, p. 239) that the Mycenaean megaron had already been built over before the end of the Mycenaean period (see p. 69).

As regards the Anthesteria, he disposes successfully of the suggestion that the Pithoigia had anything to do with grave-pithoi, p. 95. The νεωτα would place on the day of the Chytrai, p. 118; with regard to the whole story of Erigon, he produces good reasons for doubting whether, in its most familiar form, it goes further back than Eratosthenes. More important, and I think quite right, are his denial (p. 122) that Dionysos had anything to do with ghosts until he took over the ghost-ritual connected with the Anthesteria, and his argument that, since all Ionian cities seem to have Anthesteria, all must have had the acquaintance of Dionysos, whose feast it always is, before the Ionian migration to Asia Minor. I would merely add, that until a much later date than that his cult remained purely the affair of the lower orders. Of the dramatic festivals as such he has not much to say, since this is not a work on the history of literature; what he does say is good. When speaking of the Ochsiophoroi, he suggests (p. 143) that their 'female' clothing was nothing but the old Ionian dress. In this connexion he is a little
too elaborate on a small grammatical point, p. 144. In Proclus, as cited by Photios, Biblioth., p. 322, Bekker, there is no real difficulty about the use of προσέχος for the winner of a race; in such late Greek it can simply mean προσέχω.

Those who wish to read a genuinely critical account of the Buphonia are recommended to consult the section dealing with it, pp. 139-74; there is no space here to criticise it in detail. A little further on, p. 178, he refers Zeus’ title "θεὸς τῶν δόρων γάλακτος".

Matters about which the last word has not been said, but at least the ground is cleared by Deubner, are the complicated business of the ἄρσενος, p. 179 sqq., whom he considers scapegoat pure and simple, with no trace of human sacrifice, so far as Athens is concerned, and, to mention smaller matters, the ritual of ἐναλίος in Plutarch, Solon, 9, which he accounts for as Plurarch does (p. 218); the question, which he answers in the affirmative, p. 227, whether Ἡρακλέας Ἐπιλέως has really absorbed an old animal-spirit; and the exact meaning of γίγνεσθαι, which, with W. Schmidt, he derives (p. 229) from γίγνομεν and parallels with Lat. Parentalia. When he interprets Schol. Pind., N. ii, 19 as referring to an armed statue of Ἀίας, I cannot agree with him. On the other hand, I do not remember any account of the Apatura so good as that which he gives on pp. 232-4.

H. J. R.


This is a compilation of use to any who are studying Greek hymnology, including the beginnings of Christian poetry of this kind and the use of hymns in magic, and also to any who engage in that fascinating game, the pursuit of a literary formula throughout its history. After a short introduction dealing with the hymn as a religious and literary form, the author groups the ideas found in his material, which ranges from pseudo-Homer to Synesios, under a succession of heads, divided into two parts, 1. Die Gottessvorstellung and 2. Die Lebensauflassung. The former of these includes the formula ἀλος διερχόμεθα and others like it; the memory of hyperbole; the acknowledgment of divine power, as by the emphasis laid upon ὑπομονῆς τε, ζωῆς, δύνασθαι τῷ ἀνδρῶν ἐνεργοῖσι ποιήσας; Soph. Ant., 604; οὔ [the Virgin Mary] ἡ τῆς οὐκ ὑπάρχουσα καὶ τοῦ ἐκτός ζωητικαίνου, Oxy. pap. 2074, 34; and many passages between these], on ἐνεργέω and so forth; the declaration of man’s dependence upon deity; expressions of the attitude of the gods towards men and their activities regarding them; anthropomorphism. The latter is divided into the following sections: Leben, Glück und Freude; Familie und Staat; Ethisch-geistige Werke; Göttliches Dasein und menschliches Lebensideal.

It is thus clear that the book forms a sort of subject-index (and, so far as the reviewer has tested it, an accurate one) to these hymns. It is therefore a work to be rather consulted than read through. The weak point is the somewhat unhandy arrangement of the whole. If the user of it wants to know all that ancient hymn-writers have to say, for instance, on the honour (τοῦ ἐφευρέτου τῶν θεῶν), Soph., O.T., 215 (p. 65); but his task might easily have been made less troublesome by various quite simple devices, as marginal catch-words, cross-references, more elaborate subdivision with corresponding headings, and so forth, which would not have greatly increased the cost of printing and would have made the book more manageable. But at least the material is there, and for that the diligent author may be thanked.

H. J. R.

Before and After Socrates. By F. M. Cornford. Pp. x + 103. Cambridge University Press, 1932. 4s. 6d.

A survey of Greek philosophy within the compass of four lectures given to a popular audience might well be expected to have only a popular value and importance. But Professor Cornford’s small book is not only a masterly piece of condensation, nor only a delightful introduction to further reading; it is more, and it claims the attention of every serious student of the subject. The title indicates the author’s main point. Pre-Socratic thought (and we have it here traced back, thoroughly indeed, to its antecedents in the mind of pre-scientific man) is naturalistic, and hence inevitably becomes materialistic; Socrates discovers the soul, and henceforth the philosophy of causes must be a philosophy of ends. It is Plato (Professor Cornford is definite on this point) who, under Pythagorean influence, makes of the moral ideal of Socrates a Form with "substantial reality." With Plato the "morality of aspiration" is paramount; with Aristotle, rationalism returns. The book is full of suggestive ideas and arresting phrases; thus the Sophistic movement is termed a philosophy of adolescence. The summary of Pythagoreanism (pp. 63-69) is admirable, Possibly
the best page of all is that (p. 44) which describes Socrates as the guide and teacher of youth. Refreshing and stimulating, this is a great little book.

D. T.


This notable little book embodies, in the form of a connected biography, Professor Taylor's known views upon the activities and the thought of Socrates. The life itself occupies the greater part of the book; a last chapter briefly summarises the doctrine. The author states at the outset his position with regard to the Socrates of Aristophanes, of Xenophon and of Plato, and argues his case throughout with the utmost clearness and persuasiveness. The discussion of the accusation and trial is particularly valuable; the summary (pp. 127-8) of the death-scene is not unworthy of its original. In expounding the evolution of the Idea from the method of hypothesis, Professor Taylor does full justice to the παραπολιτικος doctrine of the Phaedo; but the παράπολις view, also clearly indicated in the earlier part of that dialogue, seems to be here passed over, and the whole question of the nature of the Idea is left somewhat vague. He makes a strong case for the historicity of the Socrates of the Phaedo, but he is doubtful about the Socrates of the Republic. So the problem of discrimination is not yet solved. The pages on Socrates' view of the soul as the 'conscious personality,' and on the ethical position which this view entails, are admirably done. The book is framed for the general reader; none the less, and for all its brevity (the print is large and the page small), it is a challenge to serious study by all those of us who still hold to the errors of the 'nineteenth century' condemned by Professor Taylor, and are not even yet prepared to cry 'τὸ πρᾶγμα διδασκόντων.'

D. T.


To perform in so small a space so large a task as the explanation to the modern world of the part played by the Greeks in the development of astronomy must be difficult; but no one more likely to perform it could well have been chosen than the author of *Aristarchus of Samos.* Sir Thomas Heath has adopted a somewhat unusual, and perhaps not wholly successful, method. His own historical exposition is confined to an Introduction of 45 pages—one-fifth only of the whole book, the rest of which is made up of extracts from ancient authors, astronomers themselves when that is possible, historians of astronomy when—as is unhappily most often the case—it is not. These extracts begin with Thales, and end not, as might have been expected, with Ptolemy, who is made to follow immediately after his own idol Hipparchus, but with writers like Strabo and Plutarch, who flourished before Ptolemy was born.

Most of Sir Thomas Heath's extracts are very happily chosen, and the translations, most of them made by himself, are very good indeed. One small criticism may here be made because, from an archaeological point of view, it is perhaps not quite so small as it looks. Why does he always translate Capricornus as 'The Horned Goat'? Surely the word ἀλεπός can no more mean this than ἄγερος means 'a horned nose,' or ἄνδρος 'a horned unit.' Its real translation is certainly 'the Goat-horned,' and it conveys the information that,
whatever shape this strange figure may have worn when the Greeks first made his acquaintance, it was certainly not that of a Goat.

One does not quite see why the famous passages from Xenophanes on the nature of the Deity should find a place here, as their bearing on astronomical history is far from obvious. Otherwise all the chosen passages about the opinions of the early sages from Thales to Anaxagoras are well worth their place. Hard as it is to reconcile, and often to understand, these accounts, no one who has not studied them can form an adequate conception of the advance made in a few centuries by Hellenic thought, from an age in which an astronomer was little more than a weather-prophet to one in which, as the well-known epigram attributed to Ptolemy says, his feet no longer touched the earth, and he felt himself in his exploration of the stellar orbits to share the immortality of the gods. Nor is Sir Thomas Heath to be blamed for allotting so much space to the difficult astronomical riddles in Plato. Their very inconsistency reflects the variety and audacity of the scientific theories which were being advanced during the philosopher's long life. Perhaps a place might have been found for so instructive and lucid a writer as Autolycus, but the passage cited from Euclid's _Phaenomena_ covers much the same ground as he. It is satisfactory to have a long extract from Ptolemy's _Almagest_ which contains the admirable clearness of that best of all 'popular' writers on astronomy. But we feel that rather more use might have been made of Cleomedes, from whose work we learn more than from Ptolemy about ancient inquiries into subjects particularly interesting to the present age—the relation of the earth to the universe, the sizes and distances of the stars.

The most interesting passages selected from Ptolemy are to be found under the heading of Hipparchus, to whom indeed Sir Thomas Heath says that 'it is doubtful whether Ptolemy himself added anything of great value except a definite theory of the motion of the five planets.' Surely rather a large exception. And one had supposed that to a mathematician Ptolemy's explanation of the moon's 'evection' would always appear as a great, if not—as De Morgan said—'the greatest triumph of ancient astronomy.' However, under Ptolemy's own name we are given only the short passages at the beginning of the _Almagest_ which deny the motion and rotation of the earth. These are indeed very interesting, especially as it took more than a thousand years to find an answer to their arguments; but probably they contain little or nothing that was original with Ptolemy, and certainly they convey no idea of his actual achievements. Of course it must be difficult to make readable extracts from tables of chords, or from even the most elegant of geometrical demonstrations; but it seems doubtful whether Sir Thomas Heath's selections, ceasing where they do, would quite enable a reader to understand how much in the way of calculation and prediction Greek astronomy at its height could perform.

If we now turn for information to the Introduction, we find Sir Thomas Heath, after showing that the hypotheses of Copernicus and of Tycho Brahe are both 'represented in Greek astronomy,' winding up with the words:

'Finally, the geometrical hypothesis of epicycles and eccentric circles, which took account of the variations in the distances of the sun, moon, and planets at different times, was elaborated and tested. It was Kepler that the Greeks failed to anticipate.' But why should any suggestion of 'failure' be made? No one thinks of saying that Galileo, who introduced the telescope into astronomy, 'failed to anticipate' the spectroscope, or that Herschel, who discovered Uranus, 'failed to anticipate' the discovery of Neptune. Surely, as Kepler could not have done his work unless Copernicus and Tycho had preceded him, so Copernicus, if Ptolemy had not been before him, would have been as incapable as Aristarchus of proving the superiority of a heliocentric scheme to a geocentric. The test of a race's achievements is not the amount by which it falls short of its successors, but the amount of the advance it has made on its predecessors. And here Sir Thomas Heath unhesitatingly adopts the modern view that the Greek debt to Babylon was 'much greater than was formerly supposed.' This conviction leads him to shake his head over the tradition that Meton invented the Metonic cycle—which cannot be proved to have been known at Babylon till after Meton's time—and even to write that 'it is a fair inference that Cleodorus imported from Babylon into Greece the knowledge of the zodiac and the constellations in it.' A fair inference from what? From a single passage in Pliny which really says that the zodiac was invented by certain Greeks. Pliny may conceivably have been wrong. Jonson may have been wrong in attributing Shakespeare's plays to Shakespeare, but to infer from his evidence to that effect that they were really written by Bacon would hardly be considered 'fair.'

The Greeks themselves always regarded the Babylonians, no less, though perhaps not more,
than the Egyptians, as their predecessors and instructors in astronomy. But from Plato's time onwards they seem to have considered themselves not merely abreast but ahead of their former teachers, even while they were making good use of Chaldaean observations, extending backwards to the middle of the eighth century. To the earlier Chaldaeans they attribute the great discovery of the eighteen-year eclipse cycle, known as the Saros. But of any improvements by the Babylonians themselves on that discovery they have told us nothing.

When Ideler, a hundred years ago, remarked that no names of individual Chaldaean astronomers had come down to us, it was of course known that Strabo, as a fact, gives the names of four. But two of these can be shown from other sources to have belonged to Hellenic times and Hellenic culture, and Ideler doubtless assumed that the others, Cidenas and Naburianus, did so too—as indeed Strabo's language suggests. Now that the cuneiform tablets have thrown light upon Kidinnu and Naburianu, proving that they were indeed worthy of the renown which Strabo says was theirs, the question arises whether they are to be regarded as the latest and greatest teachers of the old Babylonian schools, or, like Seleucus, as inspired by the new ideas which the Greeks had imported into their ancient science. By dating Kidinnu at 383 B.C., and Naburianu more than a century earlier still, the supporters of the former view try to prove their case. Yet many passages in Greek astronomical writings make it difficult to see how one can hold this view while at the same time maintaining, as its supporters do, that the Greeks were from the sixth century onwards, assiduous and docile pupils of contemporary Chaldaeans. Such, for instance, are the remarks of Hipparchus on the difficulty of observing a solstice, or of Archimedes on that of correctly measuring the sun's apparent diameter. Both astronomers feel their own inadequacy, and are aware that their Greek forerunners had been even less competent. The idea that earlier Chaldaean observations could help them here does not seem to occur to them.

Eudoxus of Cnidus is to Sir Thomas Heath, as to Schiaparelli before him, a star of the first magnitude, whose 'system of concentric spheres' must be considered 'a marvel of geometrical acumen.' Yet this great astronomer, whom we are now to consider as contemporary with Cidenas and long after Naburianus, went for the observations he required, not to Babylon, but to Egypt. And from what we know of his work it is clear that he failed to find there any recognition of the solar inequality which had been known to his own countrymen at least half a century before him. If this doctrine really came to Greece from the Chaldaeans, it seems strange that by one at least of the greatest minds in the age of Plato, the superiority of Chaldaea to Egypt should not have been recognised.

Why should not the influence of Greece upon Babylonian astronomy have been as strong as it certainly was upon the characteristic science of Babylon, astrology? The complete absence from early Greek writers of the astrological ideas which later Greece received with such avidity amounts in itself to a refutation of the belief that Babylonian doctrine was pouring into Greece during the sixth century. But, later on, two or three centuries on Greek soil were enough to transform the ancient science into a shape which, as every reader of Manilius must allow, it cannot possibly have worn in the land of its origin. And so with astronomy itself. Before the sixth century the Greeks seem to have known little about the planets, which the Babylonians had been studying for at least 1700 years. Yet we do not know that the Babylonians ever succeeded in arranging the planets in a scientific order, according to their distances, which the Greeks had done by the time of Plato. Finally, does not the originality of the Greeks reveal itself in their astronomical vocabulary? Is it not remarkable that in the many Babylonian tablets which have now been translated there are to be found so few expressions which appear as the obvious originals of such words as 'zodiac,' 'horizon,' 'node,' which have come to us, directly or indirectly, from the Greeks? Sir Thomas Heath reminds us that in the ωρος and Δεκαος, used for celestial measurements by Greek astronomers—Ptolemy seems to have discouraged this practice—we have undoubted translations from the Babylonian. But how many, if any, more such translations can be pointed out?

It would be doing Sir Thomas Heath an injustice not to end by acknowledging that his own attitude to the Greek achievements is enthusiastic enough to satisfy the warmest phil-Hellene. And few will dispute his conclusion that the two things which give to the astronomy of the Greeks its special character are, first an unrivalled speculative genius, and secondly . . . their mathematics,' though perhaps not all can fully share his conviction that the second of these things is 'a particular manifestation' of the first.

E. J. W.
La catoptromancie grecque et ses dérivés.

In this scholarly monograph M. Delatte has collected and passed in review the chief evidence of divination by the magic mirror from the time of Aristophanes till the present day. The greater portion of the book is concerned with references to catoptromancy and kindred practices from the Middle Ages to modern times, in the course of which the conclusion is established that catoptromancy is distinct from lecanomancy both as regards type and place of origin, the former being hallucinatoire and Greek, the latter ominale and Babylonian. In this chronological survey the author maintains that in the practice of divination by the mirror and other reflecting objects, when the accretions of necromancy, demonology, astrology and religion are removed, the ancient type of catoptromancy is truthfully preserved, whereas lecanomancy, through its association with hydromancy, soon lost its characteristic of merely interpreting omens. We owe the preservation of many accounts of such divination, which M. Delatte has brought to light, to ecclesiastical condemnation in the Middle Ages; in this connexion one may mention as particularly interesting the long extracts from William of Auvergne, Bishop of Paris in the thirteenth century, who, after giving a rationalist explanation of catoptromancy which approximates to the modern theory of autohyperpsis, rejects it in favour of one in which supernatural influences, playing upon the imagination of the subject, are responsible for the phenomena. Three centuries later, however, we learn that Agrippa of Nettesheim upheld the rationalist explanation and thus 'atteste une hardiesse de conception et des connaissances de physiologie et psychologie peu communes à cette èpoque.'

After finding in the forms of catoptromancy as practised by the Moslems further corroborations of his thesis, M. Delatte then passes to consider the evidence of antiquity. The oldest and most convincing witness is Aristophanes; while M. Delatte is no doubt correct in his interpretation of Ach. 1128 sqq. as a parody, not of lecanomancy, but of catoptromancy, some discussion of the question whether its topicality was due to recent introduction or early divulgation would have been effective. In claiming the divination scene of the Villa Item paintings as catoptromantic, the author goes against the weight of previous opinion, but makes out a convincing case; the sixteenth-century engraving by Hopfer is a striking if hardly admissible parallel. Much valuable information is found in the magical writings of the Byzantine Age to bridge the gulf between the Classical and Middle Ages. But while one is inclined to accept the statement that the Greeks were the only people of the ancient world to discover the use of the mirror for divination, it must not be forgotten that the argument from silence is often fallacious, especially when lacunae exist in the documentation. It only remains to say that the author has given an extremely readable and at the same time erudite account of the subject, which will make inexcusable any future inexact use of the technical names for the various forms of divination; the whole is well arranged and printed with scarcely an error (the repetition of a line on p. 33 is the most glaring), while the plates could hardly be improved.


This is an attractive and valuable edition, for which all lovers of Aeschylus should be grateful. The introduction is excellent and discusses with care and lucidity the many contested problems connected with the characterisation, structure and date of the play and its relation to the lost parts. At the outset we are met with the difficult question, Does the poet mean us to side with Zeus or Prometheus? Was Zeus a ruthless tyrant and Prometheus a harshly-used martyr? The editor pronounces emphatically in favour of the Shellian view. He explains that as a young ricer Zeus was cruel and despotic, but time and experience taught him better things. This may be so and the victim certainly appeals greatly to our sympathies, but there is much to be said on the other side which is well put by Wecklein in his edition. It cannot be said that Mr. Thomson has entirely discredited the other view.

We find in this play, as elsewhere in Aeschylus, what Mr. J. T. Sheppard and Professor Myres have shown so conclusively for Homer, that there is a distinct pattern in the structure of this drama, a balancing of the characters, episodes and speeches and a symmetry in the whole work such as was never fully realised by older editors. This symmetry extends to the lost parts and helps us to conjecture their
NOTICES OF BOOKS

153

general structure. Perhaps this side of the poet's technique had developed with the maturity of his style, as the Prometheus was, as the editor surmises, one of his latest plays, and shows signs of this maturity in other ways. One point in connexion with the poet's rival and successor the editor does not notice, the obvious resemblance in plot and conception of the Antigone to our play. Creon acts in the Antigone the part of Zeus in the Prometheus towards his heroine, and it is curious to note that there has been in the case of Sophocles' play the same divergence of opinion as to whether the author meant us to sympathise with the despot or his recalcitrant subject. In fact the patent similarities of diction and phraseology between the two plays show that Sophocles in this, one of his earliest plays, has built on Aeschylean foundations, but fails to attain to what Mr. Thomson calls the "primeval majesty" and "cosmic grandeur" of the earlier drama, in which the poet even excels his own Oresteia.

The translation has much to commend it. It is fluent and vigorous at the same time and nearly always worthy of the original. But it is not always satisfying. A tremendous line like ἄρματος ἀκαταρακτήτης φιλός is indeed almost untranslatable, but 'his cindered strength was thundered out of him' cannot be called a happy rendering, even if it is correct, nor is the famous ἀνηθήναι γάλακτος κ.τ.λ. very successfully turned by 'multitudinous gleam of smiling ocean,' for certainly γάλακτος connotes laughter as well as smile, like the σαφισμα of Catullus. There are, however, many felicities, such as 'far-fung' for ἀναπτέον and the perfect line 'How far from soverainty is servitude.' But in 'imodest' adequate for λογετήριος, or 'beauty's swift decay,' for διαφορὰ ὕπορος, which appears only to mean the ruin of Io's human form, or 'miry clay' for μορφής, and is not 'high-mouthed' an ugly equivalent for νιψάρχος, even if 'mouthed' be from the verb? In 1086 (1053) we miss the most emphatic word πάντας, 'for all that,' 'do what he will.' In 'wait upon this rock' for ἀναρίστη there is an awkward ambiguity. A word like ἱγανέλδε does not appear in ordinary dictionaries and is only intelligible through the Greek word which it stands for, and was there any call for 'unalike'?

In the matter of textual revision the editor has been mainly conservative, but we cannot share his enthusiasm for Headlam's τοῖς ἄντιπτας instead of παῖνες κ.τ.λ., the usual emendation. Even if we suppose that Typhon could be called a god, yet the word comes awkwardly after the accusative ἁχορὼν. The reading may very well have been, as Wunderlich suggested, παῖνες κ.τ.λ., a construction found in Homer and in St. Mark's Gospel (vii. 96). In the difficult passage 425 ff. the editor has allowed himself some latitude of emendation. In writing ἥθενα γιὰ τὴν αἰσχίνα he had, of course, been anticipated, but cannot the construction be rectified in a simpler manner than he suggests by the one single change of ὡμαλος γιὰ τὴν ἁμελεσίαν? The late scholiast twice uses this word, here and on line 375, and Pausanias actually uses it of Atlas. With this word to go with μορφής, the τι will be exegetical and explain ἁξαράτως by ἁχορὼν. The other emendation by Headlam which Mr. Thomson considers a plenary one, ἀνθρώοι γιὰ τὸν ἄγορον (ἄγορον), may well be correct if ἄγορος is inadmissible.

One serious fault we must find with this edition. It has no index.

C. R. H.


The first modern production of a Greek play in the original was when, more than fifty years ago, the Agamemnon was admirably staged by Oxford men, and came as a revelation to those who were privileged to see it. But a representation of the whole trilogy gives us a far greater insight into the dramatic design and poetic power of Aeschylus. This is not the place to say anything about the Greek text, which as arranged here serves its purpose well. But Mr. Sheppard's easy translation of one of the supreme dramas of the world merits more than a mere perfunctory notice. It is an admirable version, reproducing with remarkable fidelity the spirit and venire of the original without any slavish adherence to the characteristic style and expression of the author, that master of magic harmonies. It abounds in felicitous terms, such as 'at the birth-time of the bud' for κάλακας κ.τ.λ., 'let his road be carpeted with crimson,' πανπροαστερος κ.τ.λ., 'hatched from the horse in form of fighting men,' πτερος παντοτοκος, κ.τ.λ. The splendid episode of Helen leaving to her townsmen the din of warlike preparation, and 'tripping' through the gates of Troy with a dower of destruction in her hand, while her husband, woeful and forlorn, eyes the deserted marriage bed, and in the hunger of his eyes (Mr. Sheppard translates 'the stare of eyes where Aphrodite's beauty shone seems vacant') all sense of beauty is fled, is ably and adequately rendered, and no less so the touching sacrifice of Iphigenia, which TENNYSON also has immortalised.
NOTICES OF BOOKS

The chief defect of the translation seems to be that it is in "free verse" mostly, and perhaps too free, and rather more spacious and even staccato than the glowing splendour of the poet's compressed and weighty diction. In a few places colloquialisms, such as 'foot the bill,' give us a slight jar, nor does the neologism 'pevres' do anything but 'pevere' us as a substitute for ὅνω in the enumeration of an infant's natural wants. We may suppose that 'vails' is admissible for 'veils,' but it is well to keep the words distinct to avoid confusion between 'veil' and 'vail' as verbs: but is 'red' justifiable for 'άλος (p. 195), and should not 'nobleman' for γενεάνος be 'noble man' (p. 152)? On p. 62, 'By Hate, Hell's Fury, by the fiend Distraction' for 'Ἀνὴρ Ἐρίνου θ' obscures the fact (we suppose it is a fact) that 'Distraction' is meant to reproduce Ατέ. Lastly, in that grim and alliterative passage,

οί ἁπλοὶ τοῖς τόνεσιν

θῇν δ' ἡλιοῦν γὰρ

κατεχόμενα

καταράμενα.

notice should perhaps have been taken of the play on the word καταράμενα, they hold their graves (Aeschylus here reverses the usual form of the expression, which is, that the grave καταράμεν (the dead), but a foeman's soil—their freehold—encains them.

C. R. H.


This is certainly a book which ought to be read by all who are interested in the historical value or the literary work of Plutarch's Lives. It must be confessed that the English reader will find a repellent excess of portentous labels. Two of these, 'pragmatisch-chronologisch' and 'moralistisch-eklogisch,' are the ideas round which the book is constructed. The Lives show a struggle between these two forces, which corresponds to a division in Plutarch's own interests. Leo minimised the importance of the second, but it is what gives the Lives their character. Historical Quellenforschung that treats Plutarch under the negative aspect of 'bad historian' must be unsatisfactory even for its own purpose; the positive aspect of 'conscientious biographer' must be substituted.

The author applies his methods to an analysis of Pericles. It is impossible in a short review to summarise, much less to criticise this. The most interesting conclusion is that the non-chronological chapters 15-23 are deliberately intended to mask a chronological inconsistency between the sources followed before and after. Whether this is so or not, the author is on firm ground when he declares that what we have to reckon with is, 'on the one hand, hasty reading of sources, and unreadiness for research to solve difficulties of fact; on the other, a fine instinct for unity and charm, able to choose and shape out of any given material what is most favourable formally, even if the result is some falsification of facts.'


In 1930 Dr. Dürring published an edition of the Harmonics of Ptolemy which gave us for the first time a text scientifically based upon a consideration of all the available manuscript evidence. The present volume is a parallel edition of Porphyry's incomplete commentary on the Harmonics. The reputation of Ptolemy as a mathematician must have secured for his Harmonics a wide circulation, and it is not surprising that a continuous διάλεκτο (should have been written). This commentary is in itself a work of value; for, apart from the expansions and explanations of Ptolemy's text, it contains some actual fragments of pre-Ptolemaic musical treatises and is obviously based throughout on a deep and critical knowledge of Pythagorean and other acoustical theories. It is indeed tantalising that our manuscripts give no remarks beyond Harm. II, 7. Whether the author were Porphyry or Pappos or another has been the topic of a desultory controversy for two hundred years; during faces the problem squarely and not only declares himself definitely in favour of Porphyry but skilfully tracks some false ascriptions to their lairs. Hitherto the work has been available only in the rare and ponderous third tome of Wallis' Opera Mathematica (1699); and the text there given was recognised to be based on a mere handful of manuscripts which Dürring now proves to belong to an inferior class. In a long preface the editor describes and classifies his seventy manuscripts and traces the work through two Byzantine recensions. The text itself is a great improvement upon that of Wallis, and in places where Dürring has felt bound to depart from the evidence of even the best manuscripts, he seems to have sound reason on his side and his emendations carry conviction. Very great care also has been taken to define the limits of Porphyry's verbal quotations of earlier authorities, many of which have passed unnoticed in the pages of Wallis. Three useful indexes complete a volume, admirably conceived and executed, which places all students of ancient
music and acoustics deeply in Dr. Düring's debt. The author's own commentary on Prolemy which the preface foreshadows will be awaited with the highest expectations.

M.


Mr. Pallis quotes with approbation the dictum of Bentley: Nobis et ratio et res ipsa centum codicibus potiores sunt. But Bentley's own emendations to Milton's Paradise Lost serve as a warning that the art of emendation can be carried to excess. Many of the numerous emendations suggested in Mr. Pallis' notes seem to the writer of this notice at once unnecessary and improbable; but it would, after all, be unfair to compare them to the worst performances of Bentley, for, though they often do considerable violence to the text, they generally suggest a new line of thought and would, if adopted, make the task of the reader an easier one. Moreover, Mr. Pallis is right in declining to regard the text of the N. T. (from the critical standpoint) as more sacrosanct than that of any other ancient Greek author. But the objection may be urged that he takes greater liberties with the text than the average editor would feel justified in doing. For example: In Mark 1, 6, ήμι παντ να ἐλοιθαι πρός το καρπον διόγγον might possibly appeal to some as preferable to ἀδίνθις καὶ ἀκαίροις. But is it really necessary? In Matt. 7, 6, is αἱ δόξας (or δόξας) τῶν καυμάτων παύεται. Since ἀδίνθις καὶ ἀκαίροι διόγγον the former phrase respectively required, however ingenious it may be?

But it must be allowed that amongst the many conjectures there are several less hazardous than these, and attention may be drawn (very briefly) to the following:—Mark 2, 23, διαστήματα for ὅπως ποιεῖν; 4, 29, διονυσίως (i.e. grown) δι καρπον για το ποιεῖν; 7, 3, ἄρως για το ποιεῖν; 11, 13, δι κεραμεῖς ἢ οὐκ ἔρχεται (after Michelson) for δι καρπον ἢ ὄντως for περιστασεως. Matt. 9, 36, ἄρχοντες (mauled) for ἑράρχους. 10, 9, ἀγαπητές for ἀγαπητές. 11, 23, οὐ καὶ οὐκ ἔρχομαι for ἔρχομαι. 12, 43, ἐκ μαίνῃς (to yourself) for ἐκ μαίνους. 13, 3, ἐπιθυμητάς for ἐπιθυμητος. 23, 32, ὅτι καὶ ἐξετάζω (to yourself) for τοὺς εἰκονιζόμενα. 27, 19, ὅτι ἐξετάζω for τοὺς ἐξετάζωσι (so also de Bèze).

It must be remembered that Mr. Pallis, as translator of the N. T. into popular Modern Greek, is particularly well qualified to appreciate the difficulties of interpretation which arise in the original text. It may be added that the arguments he puts forward against the traditions that St. Matthew's Gospel was translated from Hebrew and St. Mark's from Latin carry conviction to the present reviewer.

But for readers of this Journal it is probable that the most interesting of the notes in this book will be those which illustrate certain features of N. T. Greek as foreshadowing M. G. usages. In this connexion attention may also be drawn to recent works such as Humbert's La disparition du datif en grec and Ljungvik's Beitrage zur Syntax der spätrömisohier Volksprache (the latter noticed in this number of the Journal). Mr. Pallis remarks on the frequent use of καί as a substitute for subordinate sentences, and on the pleonastic use of αὖτε. But besides these, the following instances may be cited: Mark 2, 7, κατά = M.G. ἐν (at random): 3, 5, ἐδρα = arm, M.G. ἐδρα; 6, 21, ἀφού = = a day of leisure: 6, 39, συμβαίνεισαι, a very common mode of indicating distribution in M.G.; 9, 39, ἐπερχομαι = on the morrow: 10, 23, προῖς = ἔπο: 12, 1, πάρος = country-ville with upper storey (Mr. Pallis illustrates by an interesting note). Matt. 3, 4, ἀφοιραν = the aforesaid (but may not αὖτε here simply = this?); 3, 15, ἐδρα ἐδρα = M.G. ἐδρα ἐδρα, stop that now: 6, 16, ἀφοιραν το πρόσωπον = spoil their faces. ἀπαντησω in M.G. = I reply; 8, 12, το ἐπερχομαι with superlative force as in M.G. = outermost; 12, 43, συμβαίνεισαι = be on holiday: 23, 32, ἐξετάζω = M.G. ἐξετάζω, pay: 26, 50, Read το πρόσωπον for το ἐπερχομαι, with sense of M.G. κατά το πρόσωπον: 27, 24, ὅσον ἔρχεται = it is no good, as M.G. δι' ἐπερχέσθαι.

It is hoped that these examples will suffice to show that Mr. Pallis' notes are valuable and that they are the outcome of a genuine effort to reach a true interpretation of difficult passages in the N. T. Readers who find the notes on St. Mark and St. Matthew interesting and helpful should consult those on St. Luke and the Acts, St. John and the Apocalypse, and on the Romans, by the same editor.


Rarely does a short preface of two pages enshrine a romance of literature; but Dr. Gerland has achieved that distinction. He had with much difficulty found the money needed for publication (mainly from his own private means, partly from a promised contribution from the Berlin Academy), and the MS. was ready to go to the printer in 1919. War put an end to all scientific
enterprises. Difficulties were increased after the war; other duties called him, and Harnack’s opposition in the Academy, serious before, was intensified. Early in 1924 his own private fortune was reduced to worthless paper. In spring 1927, a serious illness threatened; August Heisenberg procured for him a year’s leave of absence from duty; and scientific work again became possible. In Autumn 1929, in the reading-room of the University of Munich, he met Father V. Laurent of the Assumptionists at Kadi-Kenil on the Bosphorus, who at once asked about the Notitiae. Father Louis Petit (of the same body) formerly had been engaged on an edition of the Notitiae; but, finding that Gelzer was engaged on the same task, he had provisionally retired from his work, and placed all his rich collections at Gelzer’s service, and on Gelzer’s death in July 1906 at Gerland’s. In answer to Father Laurent Gerland recounted the situation, and said that the way was now open for the Assumptionists to resume their enterprise; but Father Laurent assured him that the Assumptionists would, if his manuscript was approved, print it as Gerland’s work at their expense.

Thus, after interruption for eighteen years and the loss of his private means, his MS. began to see the light in 1931. In the interval E. Schwartz has been at work on the Council lists, and the results of both are in complete agreement; Gerland recognises that my humble efforts in the same direction have brought me very near his data; formerly I regarded Justinian (527–565) as creator of the ecclesiastical order in rank and sighed for a Notitia of his reign. Now I have carried the order of rank back to Theodosius II (408–450, v. Byzantium VI, 1931, p. 33). Gerland takes it back to Theodosius I (379–395).

By the courtesy of Dr. Gerland a copy of Part I, containing the Einleitung, reached me in 1931; but I am unable to say how the work is proceeding. There is an ominous hint of illness in the Preface. We have been waiting since 1891 for this work, by Gelzer first, then Gerland; my letters from Gelzer during ten years all related to this enterprise. He was the leader in the study of the Eastern lists of Bishops at Councils and in the Notitiae. Even C. de Boor had not wrought such a work as Gelzer, though his three articles in the Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, XII and XIV, are a splendid prospectus of method in the subject. Gelzer’s collections were given by his widow to the Berlin Academy. Gerland proposed to the Academy to complete Gelzer’s undertaking, and an agreement was concluded on April 21, 1908, that he should finish the work in five years at his own expense and risk, aided by a contribution from the Academy towards the cost of printing (‘einen für damalige Zeiten namhaften Druckzuschnitt’). Gelzer knew that the lists of Bishops present at Church Councils were a useful aid to fix chronology and spelling of the Bishops. The signatures of the Bishops are the best authority for the names of their sees, and for the pronunciation. Gerland, as the scope of the work widened, found that without a trustworthy publication of the Council lists a chronologically correct order of the Notitiae was impossible. Such has been my experience. I have spent many hundreds of hours over the often inaccurate Acta Concil., and many days in the libraries of Oxford, Paris, and London. The accurate publications of lists in Acta and of various Notitiae by Gelzer, Parthey, C. H. Turner were a basis for work, but showed how much remained to do. Errors in older editions are numerous and appalling. Until the work of Gerland is completely published there can be no definitive work on the topography of Asia Minor. All the many hundreds of lists that I have compiled contain errors taken from the old editions of the Acta and other documents.

In those lists the signatures of the Bishops with their own hand (if they were able to write, which was not always the case) should furnish an admirable basis for the form of the names; but the names are spelt with such extraordinary diversity that often one reads one’s hair in despair. Dr. Gerland informs me that not much can be hoped from MSS. of the lists; but C. H. Turner’s admirable edition of the Nicene Latin lists shows how much may be done by skilled editing, and how much we have lost through his premature death. Gerland recognises in his preface and in a review in Byz. Zschr., 1931, the value of Turner’s work.

The value for history and topography of the Notitiae is not generally appreciated. My old friend Professor A. Körte expressed himself very sceptically about these empty lists of Bishops and Archbishops and Metropolitans and Patriarchs and Bishops in partibus, etc. The lists are a series of sketch maps of the state of the country in successive centuries. History among the people expressed itself ecclesiastically. De Boor, one of the best authorities on the early Byzantine Empire, quotes from an English traveller the statement that the Byzantine lists are the only sure basis for the topography of Asia Minor (Zschr. f. Kirch., XII, p. 304). Each Bishops can be traced through the centuries with its changes in dignity and in name, sometimes in its birth and death.

I take some short examples. (1) Nakoleis was formerly thought to be the scene of the epoch-making defeat of the Arabs in 749, because the tomb of Seidi Ghazi, the slain Arab general, was shown there. He was killed in a battle fought at
Akroenos, which was interpreted as a later name of Nakoleia. But the Notitia mention repeatedly both Nakoleia and Akroenos, and refuse the identification. Why should an Arab general remain in a Turkish shrine? His coffin is 13 feet long: his wife lies in a coffin beside him 9 feet long: she was a Christian Princess: the situation of his grave was revealed to the Sultan Ala-ed-din in the thirteenth century. We are in the region of myth: Ala-ed-din is enshrined in the Arabian Nights as Aladdin, and his tomb is no more historical than his wonderful lamp. Nakoleia was raised to be Autokephalos after c. 830, and later to be Metropolis.

(2) Neapolis, centre of the Kilianian plain, was made Autokephalos before 830. Gerland's work will tell the date more accurately. Presumably after Antioch, the metropolis of Pisidia was destroyed in 713, and before a new city grew up near it, Neapolis was released from subordination to a non-existent Metropolis. In my Cit. and Bish., Ch. VII, I have followed Strabo and mislabeled the Kilianian plain: new much epigraphic evidence places it round Neapolis.

(3) Misthia was an ordinary Bishopric of Lycaonia in the seventh century. Later it became an Autokephalos Archibishopric. Why should such an obscure town and castle be elevated? Notitia X explains, giving the name as Misthia and Colonisa (i.e. Colonisa Parlaia in Pisidia). They are two strong forts, twelve miles from each other (Misthia a great castle on the west side of Fassiler, Parlaia at the S.E. corner of the lake Karalis at Bey Shehter), lying across the great Via Pisidica: the pair were conjoined to constitute a barrier against the Arab raids along this important route to the west coast, and among a nation which thought ecclesiastically, the two guardian forts were made an Archibishopric. About 900 Misthia was besieged but not captured by the Arabs (see Hist. Geogr., p. 333): Murali gives the date as 897, but his quotations do not prove that date, and Mr. S. Runciman writes that 900 is more probable.

(4) A group of five Bishoprics lying along an important road and Kleisoura from Banaz plain to Kayistros plain (Xen., Anab. 1, 2) was separated from Pacatiana in the earlier Notitiae, but restored to it in the middle and later Notitiae (i.e. before 830). That Kleisoura lost importance in the seventh century, because it was not used by the Arabs (except in 740) and ceased to need special ecclesiastical rank and heavenly protection.

(5) Most remarkable of all, as the Empire grew weak, the number of Metropolitan Bishoprics increased by scores, as if the highest grade of ecclesiastical rank were a protection to the decaying State. The Church was the Empire, and is so still to the Greek mind. The Hellenes claim Cyprus at the present day. It never was under Greek rule, but it was under the Emperors of Constantinople and part of the Eastern ecclesiastical system.

These and many other facts will be cleared up and dated when Gerland's work is all published. Hitherto we have had to grope in the dust and the darkness.

W. M. R.


One of the most characteristic, as it is one of the most interesting, features of Byzantine Egypt was the growth and activity of the semi-feudal estates, which played so important a part in the life of the country. Semi-feudal they are to be called rather than feudal, for, as Dr. Hardy points out in this work, the structure of Egyptian administrative and economic life, despite many similarities to the feudalism of the mediaeval West, showed not less obvious differences from it. This important subject must have attracted the attention of all who have worked on the papryi of the Byzantine period, and particular problems or particular documents have been dealt with by editors and others, but there has hitherto been no adequate treatment of the great estates as a whole. In the present volume Dr. Hardy admirably fills this long-standing gap in papyrological literature. He shows a commendable mastery of the material, which he handles critically and with discretion; and the result is a work which will be a quite indispensable handbook to all workers in the field of Byzantine Egypt and will be of great utility to Byzantinists generally. Naturally there are points in which doubts are possible as to the correctness of Dr. Hardy's interpretation of his evidence, but in most cases his judgments are sound. There are too many misprints for a volume of this size.


The Byzantine Despotate of the Morea was one of the strongest reactions against Frankish rule over Greece, and in the last century of the dwindling Byzantine Empire one of its most important parts, and ultimately, like the Empire of Trebizond, its survivor. Lampros intended to write the history of this medieval Greek principality, but the documents in the four volumes of his Παλαιολογικά και Πιλοτανικά are all that has been published of his
NOTICES OF BOOKS

projected work. Based upon these, Recoura’s new edition of the Assises de Romans, Darío’s monograph on Mouchli and recent articles by specialists, the present volume is a valuable and erudite, but not very lifelike, account of the political history of the Despotat; the author reserves the description of its social life, institutions, art, and literature for another volume, which should be the more interesting, especially if M. Millet could be induced to publish his long-awaited magnum opus on Mistrà. The present history is divided into three parts: the period from 1262 to 1348, when imperial governors ruled the Byzantine province in the Morea, recovered from the Franks; that from 1348 to 1383, when the Cantacuzenes governed the Despotat; and that from 1383 to 1460, when it was administered by one or more of their rivals, the Palaiologoi, until the all-conquering Turks swept the latter and their petty domestic chattels away. The story of their exile fills the last chapter. The historical value of the Despotat was its contribution to the maintenance of Hellenism during the Frankish period, but it is an example of the common misfortune of classical, medieval, and modern Greece—the lack of unity even in the face of a common enemy, a defect emphasised in the medieval Morea by the intrigues of the feudal Greek aristocracy and the opportunistic policy of Venice, acting upon the supposed interests of her commerce. Coron and Monod were more important than Christendom and Moslems to the short-sighted statesmen of the Lagoons. On the Greek side, while in the first period there was no fixed government, in the third the ruler was usually a diplomat rather than a statesman. One gallant figure illuminates the darkness—that of the heroic defender of Salamisikon. As to details, the naval battle of the Echinades between John VIII and Carlo Tocco, revealed by Lamprou’s documents, finds its proper place as the last success of the Byzantine fleet, and the civil war of 1439 is derived from the conflict between the Turkophil Demetrios and the Latinophil Thomas. May we not conjecture that Sette Pozzi, the scene of the naval battle of 1263, which is stated to have been near Hydra, is an Italian corruption of η τον ανάθωμα, for there are numerous parallels in medieval Greek geography? On the geographical side this volume lacks a map, showing the castles and political divisions of the Morea, but it contains an ample bibliography. In a few cases, however, the books are cited in translations. It is unfair to judge the style of an author writing in a language not his own and that language—French.

W. M.

1 JHS. L. 369.


This is a useful study of some characteristic features of later Greek from the Hellenistic period onwards, based chiefly on papyri, but not neglecting the texts of Hellenistic and Byzantine authors. It will be of special interest to the student of Modern Greek, who, though well aware that the Greek of the New Testament, for instance, contains some germs of distinctively M.G. constructions, will find here many instructive examples from the papyri of the Roman and Byzantine periods which illustrate the transition to popular Modern Greek.

Some of the more striking examples may be mentioned. The pleonastic use of the pronoun in M.G. is anticipated by the pleonastic use of αὐτὸς as far back as Roman times, e.g. in such a sentence as τὸ αὐτὸ διὰ τοῦ πλησίου τοῦ αὐτοῦ, while the use of αὐτοῦ with the meaning αὐτὸς is found in the N.T. and in papyri. In the case of prepositions, the increased use of ἐπάνω with the accusative is noteworthy, to the exclusion of ἐπὶ, ὑπὲρ, ἐπί, πρὸς, ἀνά, etc., a feature to be observed in M.G. in phrases like γὰρ διὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐπικαθέναι γὰρ ναὸν. The English 'for,' in its widest popular usage, covers much the same ground. We can trace by the aid of the numerous examples given by Mr. Ljungvik from the papyri and other sources the gradual disappearance of the infinitive from Greek; it is replaced not merely by τὸ (ἐπὶ in M.G.) and ὅτι, but also by an increased use of asyndeta. The δῶμα ἐπὶ τό κόμπο τοῦ Matt. 7. 4 is really paratactic, but it is the precursor of the M.G. διὰ with the Subj. The mixed examples, where after a verb of request both infinitive and subjective follow, are especially interesting. As in M.G., there is in Hellenistic and later Greek a great extension of the use of καί, which takes the place of subordinate sentences to express 'because,' 'consequently,' etc.; it further outstains final and relative subordinate clauses, and sometimes participial constructions. Such a use is very common in M.G., e.g. in sentences such as ἔδωκα τὸν καταδίωκον, ἐξερήσατο καὶ ἠρπάσατο τὸ φιλικὸν καὶ ἔχθρα. Phrases like 'I will go and see' in English show that this paratactic tendency is by no means confined to popular Greek, but its use in Greek is certainly more extensive than in English.

The present study forms a useful supplement to Humbert’s La disposition du datif en grec, noticed in JHS. LII. 319.
NOTICES OF BOOKS


A history of the pronunciation of Greek in schools ought to be dull, but this book is not. It is quite possible to read page after page without any flagging of the attention, in spite of the names and dates peppered into the text so liberally. This is partly due to the lively quarrels of scholars, but partly to their everingenious arguments; their laboured definitions, and, I may add, to their eloquent ways of ignoring simple facts. And we see Latin and Greek pronunciation entangled with politics in one place and religion in another; for it was the Reformation which caused the Italian pronunciation of Latin to be discarded here, and the English sounds to be given to the letters, so that before long English Latin was unintelligible on the Continent.

When Greek was first learnt in the West, the teachers were Greeks, and it was pronounced as the Greek teachers pronounced their definitions language. Ascham says of the results: "all sounds in Greek are now exactly the same, reduced, that is to say, to a like thin and slender character ... so that all one can hear is a feeble piping like that of sparrows, or an unpleasant hissing like that of snakes." The confusion thus caused soon made scholars consider, and it was not long before they understood that the pronunciation had changed, and sought to find out what it was in ancient times. There were Erasmians before Erasmus; but it was he who first made the question a practical one, by his brilliant Dialogus on the subject, and a small coterie of scholars whom he brought together for discussion. The controversy which followed, and the quarrel of Gardiner and Cheke, are well enough known; but it is usually forgotten that Erasmus was as careful with the Greek accent as with the quantity: tone, quantity, and quality were his three points. And Cheke also insisted upon Greek accent as a musical tone. There was endless arguing on this question: the most ingenious person of all, Vossius, made the unknown quantity, both tone and stress. Cheke seems to have acted up to his principles in his lectures, but Erasmus did not; he only used the 'Erasmian' in private, and in public conformed to custom, in order to be understood. The battle which ensued, ending with the victory of Erasmian in the schools of Europe, raged about quantity and quality, but accent soon fell into the background. There is still plenty of theorising about accent, but so far as can be seen from this book, no practice. But really it is quite easy to use tone-accent and yet preserve quantity, as anyone may hear from an Indian Vedic ode recited in the traditional way, and it offers no difficulty at all to schoolboys, if they are so taught from the first. Erasmus's parallel is as amusing as it is convincing: "Vel ah asinis licet hab dicere, discere, qui rudente, corripient acutam vocem, imam producunt." It is impossible to follow the ramifications of the story, which is so full of details. Each reader will seek out the part he is interested in. In England we see the Erasmian cause conquering in name, but really the Greek practice was just dragged at the heels of the Latin: as Latin words were pronounced exactly as if they were English, so Greek, and in Greek the quality of the vowels was corrupted along with the Latin; thus in both quantity became a thing of the eye alone, a matter of rule, and had no relation to speech. Accents were regarded by some as unnecessary and worthless (a view lately revived by the Classical Association), by others as necessary for distinction, but by none as to be pronounced, because the musical nature of the accent had become forgotten, if it ever had been understood since Cheke. Thus a French scholar gives the usual accent rules, "ad lectoris non tam utilitatem quam curiositatem." The book ends with practical recommendations for reform.


At an appropriate moment, the centenary of Otho's arrival, the author of the Political History of the Greek Insurrection, who is an official of the Greek Foreign Office, has now published an apology of the monarchy from the accession of Otho to the revolution of 1843, based upon most of the published materials and his researches in the Foreign Office archives. His thesis is that at no other period of Greek history was so much accomplished as during that decade, because the Bavarian Regents and Otho had their hands unhampered by party considerations, while the collaboration of all eminent public men was easier and the Civil Service more permanent than under democratic government, which really meant the rule of the urban and rural oligarchy. Otho's mistake, according to the author, was to govern monarchical without an organised monarchy, but he admits that well-meaning monarch's hesitation and absorption in details, which made him unable to see the wood for the
trees. This is a novel view of Greek history, which, with some exaggerations of the value of monarchy and some omissions of the advantages of representative government, contains elements of sound political philosophy, scarcely adaptable in practice to the Greek character. The difficulties faced by Otho are well stated: the economic crisis, exploited for their own ends by the three protecting Powers and their tactless and meddling representatives in Greece, which became the scene of their selfish struggles for influence; the support of favourite politicians by the three Legations; the abuse of the blessed word 'constitution' by the British and of 'orthodoxy' by the Russian party; the discontent of the 'heroes,' left without occupation and sometimes bread when the fighting was over; the quarrels of 'autochthonous' and foreign Greeks; the duel between the fustanella of Kolettas and the facet-coat of Mavrokordatos; and, especially, during the Cretan insurrection of 1841, the excitement caused by the 'Great Idea.' The author criticises the Regency for proclaiming the Church autocephalous without the Patriarch's sanction, thinks the Bavarians' unpopularity mainly due to their higher salaries, agrees with Kolettas' remark that one day the University would 'eat up' the Palace—a prophecy fulfilled in 1862—shows that the provinces were indifferent to the revolution of 1843, and defends Zografos' much-abused commercial treaty with Turkey in 1840. Of the annwthema upon Zografos, which perhaps served as a precedent for that on Venizelos, there is an interesting notice in the Finlay Library. The book is specially strong upon financial questions, and the foundation of the National Bank is related at length; but the 'Eccumenical' Governments, as well as Monarchies, can make economies. The Press is mentioned as fomenting the political difficulties: with only 14,000 inhabitants Athens had four newspapers. From the bibliography is absent Parish's Diplomatic History of the Monarchy of Greece, but Prokesch-Osten's letters, published in the Messager d'Athènes in 1869, are an interesting source of the narrative.

W. M.


Of these two richly illustrated volumes the former is the sequel of M. Perilla's similar books on Mount Athos, Chios and Mistrà. It contains an interesting sketch of Greek Macedonia, based upon acute observation and wide reading, as the bibliography shows. The disappearance of the Drunehi from Salonika by the exchange of populations, the diminution of the Jewish element there and at Castoria, the drainage works which will save the silting up of the harbour of Salonika by the Vardar, the need of railway communication with Bulgaria through the Strymon valley, the lignite mines of Soro- vitch, the mills of Naousa, the Koniz-Wallachs retiring before the increasing cultivation of the land are all noted, and Senator Prampolini's recent figures for the ensuing profit to the Greek treasury are quoted. Great attention is paid to architecture and scenery, but the author visited Chalkidikè before the earthquake of 1933 and Kavalla before the erection of Muhammad 'Ali's monument. It is curious that the milk supply of Salonika comes from a suburb, Kordello, called after Cœur-de-Lion, a name imported by Smyrniote refugees. The book contains 16 water-colours, 29 photographs and 2 plans. The Near East Relief was not 'English,' there was no 'Frankish Empire of Wallachia,' and both Grand Lavra and Xeropotamos are described as 'the oldest convent of Athos.'

M. Puaux's book is the fruit of his seventh visit to Greece—at the time of the second Delphic festival in 1930. His best chapters are those on Navarino and Modon; he mentions the review of the French troops before Ibrahim at Gialova, where Maison encamped in 1828, the monuments of Alexis Mallet and Paul-Marie Bonaparte on Sphakteria—the ashes of the latter were removed to the Historical Society's Museum at Athens in 1926—and the monument on Chelenaki to the British victims of the battle, placed there by the Greeks at the centenary in 1927. They should do something to preserve the splendid Venetian fortifications of Modon. There is an amusing comparison of the real Thermopylae with the conventional narrow gorge in which the scene of Pichat's Lêmida was laid in 1825. But there are several inaccuracies. Thus chorôs, not choros, is the correct name for Athens in the Byzantine anecdot (p. 3); the Delphic festivals (at which M. Puaux wishes to have Aeschylus in foreign translations) are not 'annual'; for 'Vezzia' (p. 10) should be read 'Verria'; the fashionable Athenian bathing-beach is Glyphada; 'Fletch.' (pp. 80, 120) disguises Papaphleas; the portrait No. 2 (p. 29) is of a sister of the 'Maid of Athens.' Freeman did not consider the Frankish tower an insulc aux Propylées but an historical monument. Since M. Puaux wrote, another site has been chosen for the Palace of Justice, which will thus not overshadow the Akropolis, the road from the station improved, and his proposal to sell duplicate antiques adopted. There are 40 plates, of which 8 are coloured.

W. M.
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THE BRITISH ACADEMY

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PULVIS ET UMBRA

\[ \text{άνει φιλτάτης}
\text{μορφής σποδόν τε καὶ σκιάς ἀνωφελῆς.} \quad \text{— Soph. El. 1158–9.} \]

That cremation is unknown in the Mycenaean world, even in its latest phases, and inhumation equally foreign to the Homeric poems is a curious, if familiar, fact, and at once raises the question of the length of the interval which separates the fall of Mycenae from the appearance of cremation in the Aegean area. To fix an absolute date for either event is impossible; but the increasing number of carefully excavated sub-Mycenaean and proto-Geometric tombs makes it possible to note certain features in the rise, spread and, in certain regions, the dominance of the practice, and slightly to narrow the chronological limits.

At Mycenae cremation does not appear at all, not even among those depositions in chamber tombs which were accompanied by pottery of the ‘Granary’ class and therefore belong to the latest period of the city¹ or may even be slightly later than its fall. Similarly, two of its ordinary concomitants are lacking, the arched fibula and iron as a useful metal.

S. W. Wide in his pioneer study of the proto-Geometric culture (a term which he used to cover the whole period between Late Mycenaean and Geometric), taking as his text the sub-Mycenaean cemetery of Salamis, directed attention to its uniform character, its geographical distribution within the Late Mycenaean sphere, and the perpetuation in it of many Mycenaean vase forms, and drew the now accepted conclusion that it was derived from the latest phase of the Mycenaean civilisation.² Presumably, therefore, it was the work of the descendants of the latest representatives of that culture, whom we may identify on the evidence of Homer with the Achaian. Of course the term does not imply identity of race, but a certain unitary quality in the culture traceable ultimately to a period of centralised political organisation. It is within the same geographical limits that cremation makes its appearance, though not synchronously with the sub-Mycenaean ceramic style.

Of this style the Salamis cemetery affords an early example. The pottery is largely of the class known at Mycenae as ‘Granary,’ but some of the stirrup vases have a knob or cone on the disc, a feature characteristic of the sub-Mycenaean class, but extremely rare earlier.³ The fibulae are all arched, but of a simple early type. There is no iron. There is a peculiar short-lived type of straight pin⁴, of bronze, and with a single

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¹ Wace, Chamber Tombs at Mycenae, p. 185.
² AM. 1919, p. 17.
³ There is, however, a Late Mycenaean specimen from a pithos burial outside the acropolis wall of Mycenae. It is late, but not of the very latest
⁴ For a list of published specimens see BSA xxviii, p. 177 and notes.
bulb a little way below the head; this type is also found at Mouliana 5 in conjunction with a late inhumation and at Vrokastro 6 in Chamber tomb III, which contained seven inhumations, no clear evidence of cremation and no iron. The older Kerameikos graves recently excavated by the Germans 7 have yielded pottery of the earlier Salamis type, similar fibulae and single-bulb pins, no cremation and no iron. On Salamis over one hundred cist graves were opened. They were arranged in three parallel lines, and all but two contained a single skeleton in a contracted posture. In each of the remaining two graves a vase was found surrounded by a little wall of rough stones and covered by stones; the one contained ash and the other bones. 8 It is extremely fortunate that the bones were contained in a receptacle, as it establishes the fact of cremation, there being no reason in a cemetery of this type to suspect secondary disposal. No accompanying gifts are mentioned, and consequently there is no material for dating the cremations; but it may safely be assumed that they belong to the latest years of the cemetery.

Cremations have been found at Ialysus in some of the chamber tombs of the Late Mycenaean and sub-Mycenaean cemetery excavated by the Italians. 9 Each of the five tombs in question contained interments, and in addition one or more pozzetti had been excavated in the floor. In these burnt human bones were found, sometimes merely laid on the bottom of the little pit; but in three cases they had been placed in a one-handled jug with globular body, a type which belongs to the latest class of pottery found in these tombs and therefore to the very end of the sub-Mycenaean age. Elsewhere cremation first appears in connexion with the proto-Geometric style in pottery, a style which grows out of sub-Mycenaean with the same continuity with which sub-Mycenaean grows out of Late Mycenaean. Thus of the early graves in the Kerameikos the sub-Mycenaean group under the Pompeion contained inhumations only, together with pottery of the earlier Salamis type (flat-topped sterrrup-vashe, amphoriskos, one-handled jug on which the concentric semicircles are still drawn free-hand), single-bulb pins and arched fibulae of simple type, whereas in the two closely connected graves which contained cremations, though the weapons (spear-head and knife-blade of bronze and bone dagger-hilt) were of purely Mycenaean type, the vases combined with sub-Mycenaean features others which are proto-Geometric; e.g. compass-drawn as well as hand-drawn concentric circles. 10 The cremations at Salamis and Ialysus may therefore be a trifle earlier than the others and precede the appearance of proto-Geometric elements. Salamis and, so far as appears from the summaries at present available, the Kerameikos graves described above are wholly devoid of iron.

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5 V. infra, p. 165.
6 V. infra, p. 164.
7 See the account of the excavations AM. 1926, pp. 188 ff., and compare the description of the early cremation tomb 4.A. 1932, pp. 205 ff.
8 See Kötββiai, Πηγαίoποσ: Αρχανολογια της Ελλαδος, p. 310.
9 For the excavations conducted by Sig. Maiuri on behalf of the Italian Missioni Archeologiche see Annuario, vi-vii. The tombs in question are: at Makra Vunara xvii and xix, at Mosch Vunara xv, xxxii and xxxvii.
10 See Kühler, AM. 1926, pp. 128 ff.; Kraiker, A.J. 1932, pp. 205 ff. The burnt bones were in each case found in an amphora.
Ialysus has yielded one substantial bracelet, 3\(\frac{1}{2}\) inches in diameter. It occurred in the richest of the chamber tombs (xvii), one which also contained cremations, while its other contents exhibit interesting points of contact with certain other complexes of transitional material. Thus the remarkable hoard found near Tiryns,\(^{11}\) though it yielded a fine L.M. i gold ring with a cult scene, also contained the earliest iron object of any size from the mainland, viz. a substantial harpe, whose Oriental form proclaims it an import, together with a Hittite seal, a gold ring with a granulated pattern, and a tripod of a type known at Enkomi.\(^{12}\) The tomb of the iron bracelet at Ialysus also contained a Hittite seal, which supports the natural hypothesis of an Anatolian origin for the iron, and a similar granulated gold ring, while one of the cremation chamber tombs at Vrokastro yielded a similar tripod.

At Thebes,\(^{13}\) in a chamber tomb which was of the latest Mycenaean type and contained interments, burnt human bones are stated to have been found in one corner, together with a steatite whorl or button; such whorls are characteristic of L.H. iii sites, but one was also found in the cemetery of Salamis. Of the four stirrup-vases presumably associated with the interments, two have a knob, more or less developed, on the disc, and one has an air-hole; but a fragmentary bronze fibula is still of Late Mycenaean type, resembling the specimen figured in Blinkenberg, *Fibules Grecques et Orientales*, p. 52, fig. 20, and there are terracotta female idols of the ordinary Mycenaean sort. The statement that the bones were burnt must be accepted with some reserve, for the appearance of bones is often deceptive. The action of the atmosphere may reduce them no less completely than cremation, and indeed cause them to disappear completely; while the damp of the soil carbonises wood and produces those lumps of charcoal sometimes hailed by excavators of an older generation as remains of the funeral pyre. We may hope that in future chemical analysis will settle doubtful cases;\(^{14}\) for the past, cremation is established if the bones are found in a receptacle too small to contain even a contracted burial and there are no features suggestive of secondary disposal, and again, if the bones remain on the site of the pyre, or the pyre is made in the grave, and the soil shews the action of fire.\(^{15}\) Further, virtual certainty may be attained where a considerable number of inhumations and cremations are available for comparison under the same conditions. At Vrokastro the burnt bones found in the chamber tombs were in some cases contained in vases, and cremation thus put beyond a doubt; but the careful and experienced excavator, while refusing to pronounce in

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\(^{11}\) Summary published with some illustrations in the *Pararteta* of Λδητιος, 1916. For the ring see ΤΗΣ, xlix, p. 147, fig. 1.

\(^{12}\) *Exc. in Cyprus*, p. 17. It occurred in the tomb of the ivory draught-box (Pl. 1) but is not figured.

\(^{13}\) It is, however, published in Vrokastro, Pl. XXXIV; cf. infra, p. 165.

\(^{14}\) Δητιος, iii, pp. 162 ff. The bones were not collected in an urn nor were there any traces of a pyre within the tomb. The whorl, however, looked as if it had been burnt.

\(^{15}\) Chemical analysis has been resorted to by Karo (Schachtgräber von Mykenai, p. 329, n. 4; cf. p. 36) and Wace (Chamber-Tombs at Mycenae, p. 40).

\(^{16}\) As at Halos (*BSA*, xviii, p. 10) and Rhitiona (*P. N. Ure, Sixth and Fifth Century Pottery from Rhitiona*, p. 3).
some cases, felt no doubt about a certain number of cremations which lacked this guarantee.

The case of isolated instances is different; and the alleged example from Thebes, as well as those reported by Vollgraff from Argos and by Stamatakis from the tholos tomb near the Heraion cannot be unreservedly accepted, especially as apart from them we have no proof of cremation in the Late Helladic period. That they may be later depositions is possible, but not proved; it seems on the whole more probable that the appearance of cremation was produced by a fire kindled in the course of the funeral rites on the occasion of some later interment.

Athens and Salamis therefore furnish at present the only pre-Geometric examples of cremation on what for convenience must be called the mainland of Greece. In Crete they are comparatively numerous, but none so far discovered appears to be quite so early as those of Ialysus and Salamis. The first cremation tombs scientifically excavated and studied in Crete are the chamber tombs of Vrokastro, tombs of the latest Mycenaean type distributed over a considerable area. Here cremation is fairly established as the rival of inhumation, and the two methods apparently ran for some time side by side. Thus the only one of the seven tombs opened which contained neither iron nor any clear evidence of cremation (No. III) yielded an oinochoe on which the concentric circles appeared to be compass-drawn as on the pottery of the cremation tombs, a definitely proto-Geometric feature, together with a somewhat developed fibula with swollen bow, but also single-bulb pins of the Salamis type; while No. V, which contained a number of cremations, had no iron and its pottery is described as singularly free from Geometric influences. As the excavator warns us, it is not always easy to distinguish burnt bones, unless collected in some small vessel, from unburnt; the evidence, however, suggests that the owners of each tomb consistently followed one practice, for there is no reliable instance of cremation in an inhumation tomb, nor of inhumation (except of infants) in a cremation tomb. As there are several depositions in each tomb, the rites may have flourished side by side for some time; precise numbers could not be determined, but cremations and inhumations are estimated by the excavator as approximately equal in number. There were four inhumation and three cremation tombs, but cremation was the encroaching rite and destined to triumph. No. I, which contained at least six cremations, is the only tomb which yielded abundant iron, and therefore presumably contained the latest depositions. The iron included implements (axe, adze, chisel and knives), and weapons in the form of fragments of numerous

17. AM. iii, p. 277.
18. Apart, of course, from the isolated, pre-Mycenaean outbreak of cremation in Leneas.
20. Vrokastro, p. 143, fig. 83 M and Pl. XX F. Also Blinkenberg, Fik. Gr. et Or. p. 75, fig. 60. For the single-bulb pins see Vrokastro, p. 141 and fig. 89.
21. As it was customary both in prehistoric and classical Greece to bury infants in pithoi even where the prevailing rite was cremation, I have disregarded infant burials in giving statistics of the two methods.
spear-heads and some swords. These, it would appear, were too ruined to allow of any attempt at reconstruction, an unfortunate circumstance, since reasonably complete iron swords have not hitherto occurred in pre-Geometric surroundings. In the same tomb there were bronze fibulae with slightly swollen bow,22 and the bronze tripod already referred to as of a type also occurring at Enkomi and in the hoard of Tiryns; though it has also been found in purely Geometric surroundings at Knossos and Athens. A gold ring with plain elliptical bezel is similar to one picked up by the late Dr. Xanthoudides in Tomb A at Mouliana,23 which contained an inhumation and a cremation; it is uncertain to which equipment the ring should be assigned. Another was found in a Late Mycenaean tomb at Praisos24 and yet another in one of Bilotti’s tombs at Ialysus, which appears to be rather sub- than Late Mycenaean.25

The famous tombs of Mouliana26 call for further comment. Both are small rectangular chambers with a corbelled roof, a type characteristic of the latest stage of the Minoan-Mycenaean age in Crete. B is slightly the older; it contained among other articles two bronze slashing swords of the Central European type known as Naue’s Type II and of the particular phase classified by Peake27 as D, to which belong also two specimens found at Mycenae, and others from the Delta, including, with all but certainty, the defective example which bears the cartouche of Seti II; while two closely related swords, also of bronze, from the Tiryns hoard belong to Peake’s next phase, E. The four stirrup-vases which the tomb contained were late, but flat-topped. There was a minute fragment of iron. Tomb A was unfortunately opened and its goods removed by the peasant proprietor, on whose memory we depend for the distribution of the grave-goods between the inhumation and the cremation interment which it contained. Xanthoudides thought him reliable, and his recollection is fortunately supported by probability. To the inhumation belong, among other articles, two leaf-shaped bronze swords28 of that T-hilted, square-shouldered type which is the Aegaean rendering of the Central European slashing type described above, which has curved shoulders and an open-ended hilt. The inhumation was further accompanied by flat-topped stirrup-vases and a single-bulb bronze pin. There was no iron; and it is uncertain whether a pair of very large bronze fibulae of early type (Blinkenberg, p. 68, II, 11a and b) belong to the inhumation or the cremation. The ashes of the cremation were contained in a krater29 of a shape very closely allied to that of the Warrior vase, but decorated on each side with a figure subject in a style considerably more degenerate than that of the Warriors. It was accompanied

22 *Frosaistra, p. 137, Pl. XX C; Blinkenberg, *op. cit. p. 74, fig. 59.
23 *Eph. 1904, p. 37, fig. 8; *Frosaistra, p. 138, fig. 85.
24 *BSA. viii, p. 248, fig. 16.
27 *The Bronze Age and the Celtic World, pp. 87, 96-97, Pl. VI. The classification is based on the gradual development of the heel of the blade, which changes from a convex to a concave curve on either side.
28 There are also fragments of a third.
29 See *Eph. 1904, pl. 3; Hall, *Civilisation of Greece in the Bronze Age, p. 259, fig. 335, and for the shape of the second vase, cf. *BSA. xxiv, Pl. VI, 11.
by a jar of proto-Geometric type and by the fragments of what is described as an iron sword or dagger. As in the similar case at Vrokastro they apparently did not afford material for reconstruction. The mounted warrior portrayed on the cinerary vase affords the earliest Aegaean representation of horsemanship, which first reappears after a long interval on late Dipylon ware. The cremation, accompanied as it is by pre-Geometric vases, cannot be much later than the inhumation, which was not disturbed and which is contemporary with the Salamis cemetery, and, to judge by the flat-topped stirrup-vases, rather with the earlier than with the latter part of its duration.

Up to this point we have had cremation appearing principally in the latest form of the Minoan-Mycenaean tholos or chamber tomb (Vrokastro, Mouliana, Ialysus), but also in separate cist-graves in the cemetery at Salamis, where each inhumation also occupied a separate grave, and in the two separate trench graves at Athens, which contain each one cremation. Its first appearance seems to be nearly simultaneous throughout the area and to be accompanied by the intrusion of fresh Geometric elements, especially compass-drawn concentric circles and semicircles, into the sub-Mycenaean ceramic style, by the disappearance of the single-bulb pin, by slight elaboration and divergence in the forms of the arched fibula, and, finally, by the appearance of iron as a useful metal. One important pre-Geometric site remains, that of Assarlik in Caria, where we first encounter cremation associated with the tumulus. In part we have a further adaptation of the tholos, which here is not dug out but built up and covered with an earthen mound; but we have also burnt bones deposited in vases in small pits and covered with a cap-stone. These are sometimes grouped in enclosures which presumably represent family burying-grounds, and were almost certainly covered with a tumulus when each particular group was regarded as complete. The tumulus marks an approach to Homeric practice, and in its collective form finds a parallel in the Geometric period at Halos. The Assarlik cemetery is perhaps slightly later than the earliest examples of cremation from the Greek mainland and islands, for iron is relatively abundant, though only in the form of spear-heads and knives, for which articles it is used exclusively. What appeared to be inhumation graves were found here and there among the groups of osteothecae and were apparently contemporary with them.

Crete, Rhodes and Assarlik then form a sort of solid nucleus of the area over which cremation appears early, but elsewhere sporadically. Within this more limited region cremation establishes itself, and, as we shall see, becomes dominant to an extent not paralleled elsewhere. In Salamis the tradition breaks off. From Attica we may expect fresh material; from that at present available we know that in the Dipylon graves of the eighth century cremation has become exceedingly rare, though the latest excavations show that it revived in the seventh. From

30 To which we may add Kouries; see AJA. 1901, pp. 291–2.
31 JHS. viii, pp. 64 ff.; xvi, pp. 188, 237 ff.
32 V. infra, p. 169.
the Argolid we have at present no certain example. The excavation of the Geometric cemetery at Tiryns is incomplete, yet the fact that of the 41 tombs excavated (all of a comparatively early type) not one contained a cremation is not without significance. Two Geometric tombs from Mycenae and three from Trozen, all alike unpublished, contained inhumations only. From Asine the evidence of only one Geometric tomb is at present available; there was certainly inhumation, possibly, but very doubtfully, cremation as well. At Assarlik the proto-Geometric cemetery with otothecae comes to an end, and the spoliation of the chamber-tombs deprives us of any later material there may have been. Probably the intrusive Aegaean community was absorbed into the Carian population. On Crete and in Rhodes, however, the proto-Geometric is superseded by the Geometric culture occupying in some instances the same sites and even, in the case of Knossos, the same graves. Mr. Payne has recently published the pottery from three tombs near Knossos and shewn that in each a short proto-Geometric period is succeeded by a long series of Geometric and Early Orientalising depositions, cremation predominating throughout. The same phenomenon was observable at Arkades, the site in Central Crete recently excavated by Levi. Here the proto-Geometric period was represented in a magnificent tholos tomb with circular ground plan which yielded a very large number of vases ranging in period from proto-Geometric to proto-Corinthian, and a large number of cremations. One unburnt skull was found, but apart from this there is no evidence of inhumation, and it seems safe to assume that cremation is here associated with the proto-Geometric style. Round the cap-stone of the vault, which was just above ground level, was a stone paving, the earth over which was mixed with ash and contained a fibula of the earliest sub-Mycenaean type, presumably the remains of a sacrifice contemporary with the earliest depositions in the tomb. But though the Geometric style is well represented in the tholoi, its appearance is associated with a new type of cemetery to which the great mass of the depositions belongs, and which also continues through the Geometric to the Early Orientalising period. The somewhat imperfectly burned bones were collected in a vessel over which was placed an inverted jar, and round these and the scanty funeral gifts a wall of rough stones was raised. Inhumation was represented only by a few small tombs with corbelled roofs and rectangular plan which contained no cremations. Their equipment was extremely scanty, but contained in one case Geometric, in another Geometric and seventh-century pottery. They were therefore contemporary with the cremations. It is worth noting that the most valuable objects came from the two smaller tholos tombs L and M, which yielded fine examples of metal-work.

32 Tiryns, I, p. 134.
34 BSA, xxix, see especially pp. 229-30.
35 Annales, x-xii.
36 Tomb R; I.e. pp. 202 ff. There were two similar but smaller tholoi (L and M) rich in Geometric and Early Orientalising pottery and metal work.
37 L.e. PI. VI.
38 Survivals of the latest Minoan type. It will be remembered that at Moustiana in a small corbelled tomb with rectangular ground plan an inhumation and a cremation lie in friendly proximity.
At Vrokastro the town site bore traces of occupation in the Middle Minoan and Late Minoan III periods, but the Late Minoan and Mycenaean sherds, found principally in filling, could not be assigned to a definite habitation level and had no counterpart in the chamber tombs. From its proto-Geometric stage the town passes without apparent catastrophe into the Geometric; but, as at Arkades, a new type of interment appears. Chamber tombs are abandoned, and the now invariably cremated remains are collected in repositories called by the excavator 'bone-enclosures,' very small chambers divided by low walls and somewhat resembling the ground plan of a miniature house.

At Ialysus the cremations, as has been said, belong to the latest sub-Mycenaean phase. The Geometric cemetery was much disturbed in the sixth century by the digging of inhumation graves; it was, however, possible to verify satisfactorily a new type of disposal. Of 31 depositions of adults excavated in 1922, which ranged in date from the Geometric period to the seventh century, two were pithos burials, and the remaining 29 were cremations deposited neither in cinerary urns nor in proper cist graves, but in irregular pits or extremely shallow trenches.

Cremation seems then at first to have utilised the existing type of tomb, whatever that was, tholos or chamber tomb, and in the localities where at the beginning of the Geometric age it triumphed, to have devised more suitable receptacles of various forms.

Cremation therefore appears to be roughly contemporary with, or slightly to precede the emergence of the proto-Geometric style, which gradually differentiates itself from the sub-Mycenaean by the incorporation of certain northern elements, especially by the substitution of compass-drawn for hand-drawn concentric circles and semicircles. There is no sudden invasion either of a new style or a new rite. The latter as well as the former may be due to northern influence, though we have no knowledge of cremation at this date in any part of Northern Greece; but there is no reason whatever to associate it with the intrusion of any new racial element. If sub-Mycenaean means post-war Achaian, proto-Geometric is merely a later stage of the same culture, within a slightly narrowed area of which—for Thessaly remains untouched for the present 40—crema-
tion arises to strike root, though unequally, in many quarters, and reign without a rival in some. The appearances suggest that cremation arose in the first instance in the broken and dispirited relics of Achaian society, where the same psychological causes would be at work in communities containing much diversity of blood. What these causes were we cannot hope to know; the fact remains that cremation first appears within the sphere of a disintegrated and materially degenerate society, whose former seats of power were now lying in ruins. It is most concentrated and subsequently becomes dominant in a region which by that later date was undoubtedly controlled by Dorians; but the evidence does not justify us in associating its origin with them. If the Dorians had brought the practice of cremation with them, we should not expect to find early

40 Nor does cremation appear in Cyprus at this period, though 'Granary' pottery does.
examples of it at Athens and Salamis, and we should, on the other hand, expect to find cemeteries of unmixed cremation earlier than the Geometric age, which we have no justification for dating earlier than the beginning of the ninth century.

Tracing the further history of cremation in the Geometric age, we find an outlying and isolated instance in a region where it has not previously appeared, namely, at Halos in Achaia Phthiotis. Here one of a group of tumuli was opened and found to cover the remains of sixteen pyres and to contain pottery of a simple Geometric type, large iron swords and fibulae of a relatively advanced type. The rite is definitely intrusive, for in the cist-graves of Theotokou which mark the transition to the Iron Age we have, side by side with the incipient and scanty use of iron, fully developed proto-Geometric designs, especially compass-drawn circles and semicircles, on the pottery (though the repertory of vase forms by no means wholly coincides with that of the southern proto-Geometric area) and arched fibulae which are not limited to the earliest type, but not a trace of cremation. There are, moreover, cist tombs at Halos itself dated by their pottery to the same period as those of Theotokou and containing inhumations only. The tumulus links Halos with Assarlik and Asia Minor on one side, and with the probably somewhat later specimens of Velanideza and Vurva on the other.

Returning to the South Aegean, we find Geometric cremation cemeteries on sites which have no Mycenaeans or proto-Geometric history. The island of Thera has two considerable Geometric cemeteries which continue into the sixth century and contain practically nothing but cremations. They were filled presumably by the Dorian settlers (of whose burial practices in their home-land in the archaic period we know nothing), for there is no reason to suppose in view of the evidence from Rhodes and Crete that the impulse to cremation was given by the alleged Minyan element from Lemnos. They may have taken the idea from Crete, with which, as the presence of Cretan vases in some of the tombs shows, they had commercial relations. Finally, in the small seventh-century cemetery at Vroulia in Rhodes we find the same dominance of cremation, of which there are thirty examples, all in cist graves, as against two inhumations. It would appear, therefore, that in Crete and Rhodes the rite of cremation made a strong appeal to the Dorian invaders. What proportion of the population they formed we have no means of estimating; but the evidence of the dialects suggests that in both islands and especially in Crete they lived in sufficiently close contact with their Achaian predecessors to

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41 BSAm. xviii, pp. 1 ff.
42 Another was partly excavated by the Othrys Archaeological Society, and yielded burnt bones, iron weapons and geometric pottery.
43 Wace and Thompson, Prehistoric Thessaly, pp. 309 ff.
44 Principally, as it happens, of children and adolescents, who afford perhaps not quite such satisfactory evidence as adults of the exclusive practice of inhumation.
45 Vurva can be definitely traced back to the seventh century, or at least some of the depositions can. There is no reason to suppose Velanideza earlier.
46 Assuming that the Arcado-Cypriot dialect represents the speech of the Achaian of the Peloponnes, the inscriptions which establish the point come from Eleutherna and Axos, somewhat westward of the cremation sites of Central Crete.
pick up some forms of their speech. At Arkades it is perhaps not fanciful to see Achaian tombs in the three tholoi with circular ground plan, one of which goes back to the proto-Geometric period, and Dorian in the cremation urns which form a contemporary series from the Geometric age onwards; nor is it impossible that the corbelled inhumation tombs with rectangular ground plan, so characteristic of Late Minoan Crete, represent a population older than either.

The evidence of cemeteries is inevitably discontinuous both in time and space, but it does not appear that cremation ever again enjoyed such supremacy in the Greek world. A group of still unpublished graves on the S.W. slope of the Acropolis, which yielded pottery partly proto-Geometric, partly Geometric, and are older than any in the Dipylon cemetery or at Eleusis, are said to have contained cremations only. The Geometric cemetery at Eleusis, which appears to be somewhat earlier than the oldest Dipylon graves, contained 29 cremations to 86 inhumations. From the Kerameikos we have still much to learn, but in the oldest Geometric graves of the Dipylon cemetery the proportion of cremations was extremely low, though considerably higher in the fifth and fourth centuries. The recent German excavations have revealed early Geometric burials but seventh-century cremations; the sixth century, opening with a single cremation in a stately brick structure, thereafter yields examples of both rites. Cremations apparently continued in the Hellenistic period, since an ʌstrina was found overlying graves of the fourth century.

At Syracuse, where the graves explored belonged almost entirely to the eighth and seventh centuries, the cremations numbered less than one in ten, presumably representing roughly the stage which cremation had reached when the first settlers left their original homes; though the story of Melissa shows that at Corinth it was still the most distinguished method of disposing of the dead at the end of the seventh or even at the beginning of the sixth century. At Megara Hyblaea, where the tombs belong mainly to the sixth century, the proportion of cremations rises to one in four. In the archaic cemeteries of Gela the cremations numbered about one in six, at Camarina about one in seven.

The sixth-century Samian cemetery excavated by Boehlau yielded only two cremations to 159 inhumations. It is true that the proportion requires some rectification, firstly because a certain number of the ruined surface graves were probably later than the sixth century, and secondly because a trial exploration in a separate cemetery of the same settlement brought to light a remarkable approximation to a Homeric cremation. Inside a ring of stones, once the κοντής of a tumulus, there was found at the centre a thick layer of ash, on which rested a broken amphora

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47 Poulton, Dipylonvber, p. 16; Pluhi, MuZ. I, pp. 66-7.
48 Εξo, 1898, p. 76.
49 Brückner and Fernice, AM, xviii, p. 78.
50 See Karo’s report in AJA, 1933, pp. 339 ff.
51 Brückner and Fernice, Lc. p. 159.
52 Orsi, NDS. 1896, pp. 110-11. For the excavation of Megara Hyblaea, see MonAnt. I.
53 MonAnt. xvii, p. 243.
55 Lc. pp. 32-3.
containing burnt bones. An archaic torso found in the immediate neighbour-hood was conjectured to have stood, a later version of the Homeric stele, on the top of the tumulus. The conjecture derives support from the fact that the remains of another archaic statue were found in the neighbourhood of a second badly damaged ring of stones which adjoined the first. None the less, it would seem that in Samos cremation had become a rarity.\textsuperscript{56}

Some evidence is available from Boeotia. Haussoullier's\textsuperscript{57} remarks on the cemeteries of Tanagra are too general to be of service, recording little but the fact that in a series of tombs which begins in the fifth century and continues to the reign of Commodus, inhumation is predominant. Rhitsona, however, affords abundant data, and Professor Ure has been good enough to supply me with the following statistics, derived in part from material still unpublished. In a series of 27 graves extending from the eighth century (two late Geometric graves and two early proto-Corinthian) through the seventh century and the first quarter of the sixth, there was not one case of cremation. In a series of 92 graves extending from the end of this first series to about the year 480 there were seven cases of cremation—one dating from the very beginning of the period, two of about the middle of the sixth century, three of about the end of the sixth century, and one of the early fifth. In a series of 22 graves extending from about the middle of the fifth century into Hellenistic times there were two cases of cremation, both of the fifth century.

Literary sources do little to amplify the archaeological record. In Thucydides we find cremation resorted to in time of pestilence and on active service.\textsuperscript{58} There is no allusion to cremation in the funerary legislation of Solon as reported by Plutarch,\textsuperscript{59} but the excavations in the Kerameikos, as we have seen, have revealed it in use both in the seventh and sixth centuries. Peisistratus, like Periander, may have found it a suitable form for a reigning family. According to the same biographer,\textsuperscript{60} Lycurgus is equally mute, and no archaic cemetery has yet been excavated in Laconia. Pausanias\textsuperscript{61} was buried, but can hardly be regarded as a normal case. The bodies of the kings Agesipolis and Agesilaos, who died abroad, were brought home and preserved, the one in honey, the other for lack of honey in wax, to receive sepulture according to the royal manner.\textsuperscript{62} This suggests, but does not prove, burial. The long προθεσθεῖς necessitated by the preparations for an elaborate cremation impose preservative measures; some such, therefore, would naturally be familiar even to a cremating community.\textsuperscript{63} There is no mention of cremation either in the law of Ioulis on the island of Ceos or in the regulations of the Labuadai at Delphi as recorded in inscriptions which belong respectively to the second half and to the end of the fifth century: probably it was by this date unknown in both communities.

\textsuperscript{56} The number of sarcophagi of Klazomenian type suggests Egyptian influence.
\textsuperscript{57} Haussoullier, \textit{Quo modo sepulcrum Tanagrae decur\-vierit}, p. 76.
\textsuperscript{58} Thuc. ii. 52, vi. 71.
\textsuperscript{59} Vit. Sol. 21.
\textsuperscript{60} Vit. Iyc. 27.
\textsuperscript{61} Thuc. i. 134.
\textsuperscript{63} T 98-9.
The fact that the Homeric scholia find it necessary to state that cremation was the ancient practice shows that in some regions at least in the Hellenistic age the custom was unknown and was not even recognised as Greek.\(^{64}\) Plato makes no mention of cremation in his funerary prescriptions in the \textit{Laws}; even the \textit{σώφος} are to be laid in an underground chamber.\(^{65}\) Athens was probably the only place where cremation was anything but highly exceptional, and Plato was not thinking of Athens. Even at Athens it was doubtless uncommon. The passage in \textit{Isaeus} (IV. 19) which is sometimes quoted\(^{66}\) as shewing cremation to be the rule at Athens does nothing of the kind. The person in question died abroad, very probably on active service; naturally, therefore, the man claiming to be his adopted son would, if his tale were true, have taken up his body, burned it and collected the bones to bring back to his native land according to the regular practice in such cases. Lycon, head of the Peripatetic school in the third century, provided by will for his \textit{ἐκφορὰ καὶ κάσσις},\(^{67}\) and may be represented by one of the later cremations found in the Dipylon cemetery; he desired that his funeral should be \textit{μυτὶ ἀνελεύθερος μήτε περίεργος}, but to judge by his life would have inclined to the latter alternative and certainly selected the more expensive form of sepulture.

It was doubtless the adoption of cremation by upper-class Romans\(^{68}\) that revived the practice; for Lucian\(^{69}\) could not have described cremation as the distinctively Greek rite if it had not been fairly general in the upper class of his own day, while the evidence of Homer and what could be culled from the tragedians, Pindar, and elsewhere probably suggested to him that it had always been so.\(^{70}\)

\(^{64}\) \textit{Schol. A. om A 32}, τὸ πάλαι τὰ σώφος τῶν ἔργον ἐφικτόν πρώτον πειστὸ . . . εἰς σύγκτις ἔθετο ὑπὸ γῆς. \textit{The Scholiast then goes on to ascribe the introduction of cremation to Herakles, on the authority of Andron, who evidently knew that, though old, it was not the oldest practice.} \textit{Schol. A 39}, οἰ κέρατα τὰ σώφος εἰς ἔθετο ὑπὸ γῆς οἱ οἱ πρώτοι περιέρρησαν. These notes in the ‘four man’s commentary’ can only come from Didymus, and he can only have taken them from his Alexandrian predecessors; there was no need to account for cremation in the Roman world. On the other hand, the Greeks of Egypt would naturally be unacquainted with cremation.\(^{65}\) \textit{Lucas 947 D}.\(^{66}\) \textit{E.g. by Rhodot, Πεγγορ, 2, 1, p. 225, n. 4}.\(^{67}\) \textit{Diog. Laert. V. 70}.\(^{68}\) \textit{Cic. de Leg. II. 22} says that Sulla was the first of the patrician Cornelii to be cremated. Servius Sulphicius had the body of his assassinated colleague M. Marcellus cremated in the Academic and a monument erected to him there, possibly only a cenotaph. \textit{Cic. ad Fam. iv. 12}.\(^{69}\) \textit{πρὸς πάνθος, 21}. Σελῳδίως έκτό κατὰ ἔθνη τὰς τορφᾶς ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὁ πρὸς περίεργος, etc. There is no mention of the Romans, who were probably supposed merely to have imitated the Greeks.\(^{70}\) As we might expect from their distribution, cremation and inhumation are never appealed to as tests of race within the Hellenic unity. The fluidity of Greek funerary practice is remarkable. Solon (\textit{Plut. Vit. Sol. 10}) claimed that the inhabitants of Salamis were akin to the Athenians rather than the Megarians because they, like the Athenians, buried their dead facing the west, the Megarians facing the east. The statement is repeated by Athian (\textit{Var. Hist. V. 14} and \textit{VII. 19}) with the additional detail that Solon proved his point by opening some ancient graves. There is, in fact, no principle of orientation observed either in Attica (Kerameikos, Velaniáda, Vurva) or in Megara Hyblaea; \textit{for Megara itself we lack evidence.} Yet Solon must have been following a tradition; and in fact the graves of Salamis have a uniform orientation, though it does not appear that the position of the skulls in them was recorded. At Gela there was a strong preference for a position facing E., for S.E. in the second degree and N.E. in the third; the number of graves with a different orientation is negligible. Hereas of Megara commenting on Solon’s arguments maintains that the Megarians also bury their dead facing the west, and further says that the Athenians make only single deposits in their tombs, a statement borne out by the
Whatever the fluctuations of cremation within the historic age, it will be noticed that it arose and flourished in the period within which Greece suffered an invasion of her own kin from the north, and was cut off from foreign contacts to a degree unparalleled in the Late Mycenaean or the subsequent Hellenic period. As she becomes accessible once more to outer and especially Oriental influences, and as her culture acquires its distinctive physiognomy, in part perhaps because the older elements in the population were able in some degree to reassert themselves, the rate of cremation begins to drop, though not simultaneously nor in all places. That treeless Thera should have continued for three centuries to cremate with presumably imported fuel is a measure of the intensity of her preference. Charcoal from her vines might serve domestic purposes and vine shoots no doubt played their ritual part at interments, as in the Dipylon cemetery; 71 but they can hardly have sufficed for the reduction to ashes of a human body.

If the return to inhumation is in part due to foreign influences, these must have been close and intimate; mere trade contacts would not suffice to work such a change. Egyptian influence is apparent in the Klazomenian sarcophagi; no doubt it was exercised through Klazomenians resident in Egypt, and might naturally extend at least to all the communities represented at Naukratis. But though foreign influence was probably a co-operating cause, the change was but a reversion to the older practice, which on the mainland, so far as our evidence serves, had never been so seriously disturbed as in the southern islands. The Greeks of the historic age were well aware that their Bronze Age ancestors had practised inhumation, 72 and the injunctions on one occasion and another of the Delphic oracle to seek for the bones of dead heroes were successfully carried out. Not very many historical instances are known. Herodotus records the finding of Orestes at Tegea, Plutarch that on Skyros of Theseus, 73 beside whose remains a bronze spear and sword were found. It will be noted that neither of these ranks among the heroes of the Trojan War, who seem in later times to have been recognised as forming a class by themselves; μόνος σύτος (sc. Ajax major) τῶν ἐν Ἰλιῳ ἀποθανόντων ἐν σορῷ κέττοι. 74 The statement, of course a deduction from Homer, may have applied only to those heroes who take part in the action of the Iliad, for Herodotus (IX. 120) knows of Protesilaos as a τάριχος. The distinction was extended to the Seven against Thebes, perhaps also on the authority of ancient epic material. The tradition at any rate was established by the time of Pindar, and, probably, tumuli or something of the sort in the immediate neighbourhood of Thebes had been identified.

71 Brückner and Pernice, I.e. pp. 165 and 184.
72 See Schol. A. on A 52, where the introduction of cremation is ascribed on the authority of Andron. 73 Herod. 1. 68; Plut. Thea. 35.
with the site of the seven pyres. As Amphiarraus was swallowed by the earth, Polynices was left unburied and Adrastus according to most versions escaped, the pyres must have been assigned to the contingents as well as to their leaders. This would accord with historical Greek practice and could be based on Homer. These data look like a subsequent attempt to explain Homeric cremation as a natural practice of the battlefield, but Homer knows no such limitation, as Antikleia's explanation to Odysseus (λ. 218 ff.) shows.

Other heroes and heroines were reputed to have been buried. In the late stages of the Trojan War the chiefs found it necessary to send not only for Philoktetes but for a bone of Pelops from Pisa, and received a great shoulder-blade, which after strange vicissitudes made its way back to the Eleans, but had vanished by Pausanias' day; the other bones, however, were still preserved in a bronze chest. In Argos, when in Hellenistic times the temple of Cretan Dionysus was being rebuilt, a terracotta coffin which was dug up was identified as that of Ariadne.

In attempting to fix chronological limits for the rise and dominance of cremation, we are confronted by an all but complete lack of fixed dates. The sack of Mycenae must lie some way above the upper limit, but the traditional date (1104) for the Return of the Herakleidai is suspect, as it depends on the inadequate genealogies of the Spartan kings. Yet there is a scrap of archaeological evidence which suggests that the date may not be so very far out after all. Of the leaf-shaped bronze swords whose original centre of distribution is in Hungary, Peake's Type D (a subdivision of Naue's Type II) is the earliest to occur in Greek lands. Specimens have been found at Lebadeia (one), at Mycenae (three), at Mouliana (two), and also in Cyprus and Egypt. Dr. Peake is prepared to accept the Seti sword, which is dated by the cartouche to the end of the thirteenth century, as belonging to this type as well as the perfect example from Zagazig. Once the evidence from Ras-Shamra, where such swords seem to have been produced, is available, we should know a good deal more about the chronology of leaf-shaped swords in the Mediterranean; in the meantime we have this fairly well-established date, near the end of the thirteenth century, as one fixed point. The examples from Mycenae were found, the first by Schliemann in a house adjoining the grave-circle, the others by Tsountas in a similar house to the N.E. of the Lion Gate. The latter have little dating value, as they formed part of a hoard, but there is a certain presumption in favour of Schliemann's having been in use when the house which contained it was

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75 Wilamowitz, Pindar, pp. 34-5; also Schol. A. on P. Ol. VI. 29, there cited.
76 H. 433 ff.
77 Paus. v. 13. 4-5, and Apollod. Epit. XXI. 8, which shows that Pausanias did not merely pick up a local legend. Probably the journeying shoulder-blade was the one substituted by the gods for the mortal member.
78 Paus. vi. 22. 1.
79 Paus. ii. 23. 8.
80 Peake, The Bronze Age and the Celtic World, pp. 86-91.
81 BSA. xixii. pp. 282 ff.
82 Peake, J. R. I. 96-
83 Mycenae, pp. 147-4.
84 'Eqnto. 1897, PI. VIII. 3, p. 111; cf. ib. 1891, p. 25. Along with Tsountas' swords was found one with T hilt and hooked guard like that of the Woodhouse sword in the Brit. Mus., probably from Ithaka. (S. Benton, BSA. xxix. pp. 113 ff.)
destroyed in the sack of Mycenae, the traditional date of which is regarded by many as too early. A century, however, seems as long a run as is likely for type D, the middle term in Dr. Peake’s series, and provisionally we may experiment with 1100 as the date of the fall of Mycenae. Type E makes no appearance in Tsountas’ hoards, but is represented by the two swords of the hoard from Tiryns. This collection contained objects of various dates, but included the tripod already mentioned, a type which outside Cyprus has been found only in proto-Geometric and Geometric surroundings. The swords are the only examples of their class known from Greece, and are apparently the latest type of bronze sword found in this region. Besides the iron harpe, two iron tripod feet were found in the hoard. If Mycenae was sacked about 1100, the later elements in the hoard must belong to the eleventh century, and the proto-Geometric style would appear before its close. Cremation would in that case have appeared rather before 1000 B.C.

The appearance of the Geometric style, with whose prevalence the zenith of cremation coincides, may with safety be ascribed to the early part of the ninth century. It is an interesting fact that this is also the century to which tradition assigned the life of Homer. There is no matter in regard to which the poems are more completely self-consistent than the disposal of the dead and the nature of the other world; and the conception of the latter is perfectly appropriate to the practice of cremation. Elusive as is the personality of Homer, we seem to catch the authentic accent of personal conviction in the colloquy of Achilles with the ghost of Patroklos. Was Homer the first to introduce cremation into heroic poetry? Obviously the answer must be speculative: yet the fact that there are in the poems a few, though only a few, stock phrases connected with cremation suggests that he found it already established in hexameter verse. That it had to out a tradition of inhumation appears to be an inevitable conclusion when we remember the admittedly Mycenaean elements which the poems have preserved.

Faint traces of burial seem to survive in a few phrases. χυτή γαῖα καλύπτει is ambiguous, for it might, of course, refer to the last stage of a cremation funeral; but we have at present no evidence earlier than that of the Assarlik for the association of cremation with the tumulus. The adjective φυσίζος occurs three times as an epithet of αἰδρ or γῆ, always in connexion with the dead, who seem to be thought of as returning to the lap of the Mother who gave them birth, possibly in the original conception to emerge from it once more. Δ 174 looks like an inadvertent reversion to burial, for line 177 shews that Agamemnon is not thinking of Menelaus as abandoned to rot on the Trojan plain; the Achaians will

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85 (a) πυρᾶς δελαχιτ; this causative reduplicated second aorist is used only with πυρᾶς and in this sense: see H 80, O 350, X 343, ὅ 76.
(b) πυρᾶς ἱμβήτων, ἱμβήτων; Ἀ 99, I 546.
86 Z 464, Ἀ 114. The second passage refers to Tydeus, who according to later tradition was burned; Pind. Deo. VI. 15.
87 For that of Gordium see Myres, Who were the Greeks? p. 422.
88 Γ 243, ὅ 63, ἔ 391. It would seem that Ruakin was right (pace Matthew Arnold) in discerning, though perhaps not quite accurately, a special point in the epithet. The idea, of course, is natural and persistent; cf. Eur. Supp. 532-6; Meleager, Auth. Pal. VII. 476.
have time to raise a mound over him before they go. The most striking passage is in Ψ:

ψυχή δὲ κατὰ χθονός ἥμετε κατονὸς
ἀχέτο τετριγυνία,

(100—1).

on which Zoilus Homeromastix pertinently remarked ἀλλ' ὁ κατονὸς ἄνω
φέρεται. We seem to have a clumsy blending of burial and cremation phraseology.

The traces then are faint; the work of the innovator was well done. It is, moreover, by no means unlikely that the first poets of cremation had a good deal of the formula ready to their hand. Nothing is more striking in the ritual disclosed by the invaluable tomb of Dendra than the use made of fire in disposing not of the dead, whether corpse-in-chief or accompanying victim, but of the inanimate offerings. The durable treasures, weapons, gold cups, etc., were found in the grave with the king’s skeleton, but on a pyre above a pit just inside the entrance things more perishable were burnt—chessts whose metal mountings have survived and which may have contained clothing, vessels which held, presumably, meat and drink. Of a great wine jar one half was found in the pit of the pyre, the other in the grave of the king. If the burials of Achaian chiefs were described in heroic verse of, say, the fourteenth or thirteenth century, the burning of these adjuncts would naturally find a place in the description. It is hard to see why this means of conveying inanimate objects to the dead should be chosen unless at some time it had been customary to burn the corpse also. Greek-speaking intruders acquiring power in the Peloponnese and finding inhumation the established practice might feel it prudent to comply with native custom so far as the body was concerned; or they might be captivated by a ritual which included so magnificent an equipment of gifts, and yet might continue to treat the more perishable goods, which are often all that the most lavish cremation provides, after their old traditional manner. Finding themselves in turn dispossessed, living side by side with hostile and domineering neighbours or carving out fresh domains beyond the sea, they may have reverted to rather than invented the method which above all others secures the dead from the malice of his enemies. So far as cremation in Greek lands is concerned, the examples from Assarlik and Samos strongly suggest that it was in Asia Minor that cremation and the tumulus were first combined, and that the agents were early Greek settlers on the Eastern side. In this quarter too it is plausible to seek the intrusive influence which produced the same combination at Halos in a region whose name associates it so closely with the hero of the Iliad. That intercourse between Aeolis and Northern Greece was close and continuous the ritual of the Locrian Maidens suffices to show. Another indication of the connexion is furnished by Schol. A. on X 397, 80 where Callimachus (presumably the Alexandrian poet) is quoted as authority for the state-

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88 Schol. T. ad loc.
89 τάφος . . . δέν εἰς τόν Ἀχέτο τὸν βασιλέα τοῦ Θεσπαλοῦ πατρίδος
80 οἱ δὲ Καλλιμάχος ζητεῖ ὅτι πατρίτικα θεσπαλαῖοι τοῦ τούτων παῖνει,
ποῖς τοῖς φιλτάτισι φωνέσαι οὕτως περὶ τοὺς τῶν φοινικίτων.
ment that the dragging of a murderer round the tomb of his victim by the next of kin was a Thessalian practice, naturally resorted to by Achilles. Schol. B on τὸν Ἀχιλλέα 91 quotes Aristotle as authority for the same statement, with the further information that the custom was maintained in the philosopher's own day. Homer then may have described the actual practice of the Aeolic population. The introduction of cremation and the tumulus at Halos in the Geometric age was presumably due to the influence of the Aeolic settlers on their home-land; and the possibility that this was exercised in part through the Iliad itself with its portrait of their great hero must not be overlooked. 92

Whatever the origin, it was a fortunate chance for the world that cremation appeared early enough to figure in Homer. No scene in the Iliad lives more unforgettable in the memory than the funeral of Patroklos, and none could so fitly close the tale as that of Hector, faint, pathetic, abbreviated echo though it be, as becomes the losing side. It is difficult to imagine that an inhumation, however stately, could form a climax in a poem of great action; at all events no great poet has chosen to shew us that it could. 93

In historic Greece the tendance maintained at a tomb, whether it contained a cremation or an interment, suggested a connexion with the dead strong enough to impose an abiding duty on the living, but when the flames of Patroklos' pyre have been quenched, an impenetrable veil has fallen. 94 This tragic completeness of severance as well as its dramatic suddenness and spectacular quality is what epic demands; there must be no hint of other-worldly compensations. The heroic spirit has fled, άντιτιμος άνθρωπικός καὶ θρήσις; the inevitable end shall be deliberately forestalled, and the body, the instrument of gallant life, shall also find the speediest dissolution. Only fire can fitly compass the stark finality of that dismissal:

Ως οJustin of the παρθένων "Εκτορος ἱπποδόμων."

The practice of cremation readily associates itself with a military aristocracy of a simple type and with a hard, materialistic and completely secular outlook on life; we need not be surprised if it was introduced by the Achaioi and taken up by certain Dorian communities. It is, however, not less congenial to the sceptical and rationalistic spirit which is

91 ἔτι δὲ λύσει, φησιν Ἀριστοτέλεις, καί εἰς τὰ ὑπάρχομενα ἀνάγει θυγ., ὥσπερ τὸν ἄγαν καὶ τὸν Λεύκον ἐν Θεσπολιδίᾳ περιέλθοσεν περὶ τὸς τάφονς.
92 The early tradition of the inhumation of Ajax may be based on some incident in the history of the Aeolic settlement. Either by accident or perhaps in compliance with instructions from Delphi, the colonists may have unearthed some Bronze Age interment and taken the skeleton within it for that of the Greek hero. At what date the tumulus of RhoETEION was identified with the tomb of Ajax we do not know, any more than the date, not necessarily early, of the tumulus itself.
93 Apollonius Rhodeus, who admits inhumation J.H.8.—VOL. LIII.
94 Only fire could at least have given a good rhetorical description, but he treats his burial with a jealmess which accords with the lack of epic precedent. (Arg. II, B35 ff. and 855 ff.; IV, 1500 and 1535-6, and cf. the curious passage III, 260-9, where the tumulus is associated with interment and contrasted with cremation. The exclusion of the latter rite in spite of Homeric tradition suggests that Apollonius thought that it properly belonged only to the generations of Thebes and Troy.)
95 Schol. T. on τὸν Ἀχιλλέα 75-6 suggests that Patroklos declares that he will never return τὸν Ἱπποδόμον τῶν νεκρῶν ἀντιτίμων.
characteristic of the more intellectual elements in the Greek world and which already betrays itself in the poet who said εἰς οἶκον ὀνομάζον λόγα. Reducing the body before the eyes of those who had known it to a handful of ashes, it powerfully suggested that the spirit, if it continued to exist at all, must have shrunk to something as insignificant and undifferentiated. The rite of cremation, as we have seen, prevailed for a limited period only and in the obscure quarters of the Greek world; the doctrine, as we may not unfairly call it, of the ψυχή which Homer was perhaps the first to elaborate, to which at any rate he gave currency throughout the Greek world and which he so explicitly relates to cremation became, owing to him, a permanent element in Greek thought. It accounts for the cool, matter-of-fact attitude towards death and the future life which pervades so much of Greek literature and contrasts so strongly with that of the post-classical world, religious and secular alike. Cephalus at the opening of the Republic gives classical expression to that view of the future life as a merely negative state which is apparently presented as typical of the average man, at any rate of the educated class. If all his contemporaries are not equally serene, that is because they have gross misdeeds on their conscience, as many naturally decent men might who had lived through the closing years of the fifth century. The breakdown of government and morals in the Rome of Lucretius seems likewise to have begotten a terror of death and judgment not generally characteristic of the Roman.

Of course this is only half the story. There is an element in Greek speculation more humane, reverent and sensitive, such as that which, to take one example only, finds expression in the Antigone. When the two strains meet in a great thinker, we find a view more spiritual than that maintained by the early spokesmen of Christianity. To Minucius Felix the indifference of Plato's ὁ ὅρον μοι τὸ σῶμα ἡ κακήν ἡ κατορχητόμενον 98 would not be congenial, his rejection of the idea that a man has any special property in the bulk of flesh whence his spirit has fled 97 would be positively shocking. He rebukes the philosopher 98 who corrupta et dimidiata fide maintains that the body perishes for ever and only the soul survives; at a pinch indeed the fate of the body need not be regarded—subducitur nobis sed deo, elementorum custodi, 99 reservatur; none the less veterem et meliorem consuetudinem humandi frequentamus; 100 expectandum nobis etiam corporis ver est. The antagonism is natural enough. The doctrine of the immortality of the soul was no novelty; what concerned the Christian was the survival of personality, which imagination cannot separate from the body, and for this Plato offers no guarantee. It would seem that precautions were sometimes taken to protect the faithful from his seductions. Eusebius 100 in the course of long verbatim quotations from the

98 The dramatic date of the Republic is earlier, but Plato is probably recording his impression of his own contemporaries.
99 Phaedo 115 E.
100 ἀλλατόν ὁμοφόρως χρῆ δαμαρίστως νοησάντα τὸν ὅρον τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν τῶν συμβολῶν ἔχον παραπλησίων. Lact. 959 C. Cf. Schol. BT. on H. 79, ἀρχαγορᾶς τὸ σωματόν περὶ τῶν τόρρων.
100 Octavius XXXIV, 6–13; cf. the statement of the Pagan position in X–XI.
99 Custodia P.; corr. Wowerus.
100 Euseb. Præp. Ev. XIII, 15. My attention was called to this passage by my brother, W. L. Lorimer. Heresy on the point soon arose within the fold: see St. Jerome, Ep. 84, 5 (Migne, PL. XXII, p. 747); Origen comp. Cels. v. 45 (Migne, PG. XI, p. 1261).
Phaedo introduces a startling variant on 114 & (οἱ φιλοσοφίας ικανῶς καθήταμοι ἄνευ τε σωμάτων θύσαι τὸ παρόμοιον ἐις τὸν ἡμέρας χρόνον) by substituting ἄνευ καμάτων for ἄνευ σωμάτων, whether of his own motion or following an already established Christian tradition there is no evidence to shew. On the other side the doctrine of the resurrection struck the pagans as arrogant and preposterous; putes eos iam revixisse, indignantly says the pagan interlocutor in the Octavius, and charges them with dreading cremation as fatal to their hopes. No doubt the enlightened Christian could reply with Octavius nec . . . ullum damnun sepulcrum timemus; but average man prefers to be on the safe side, and with the triumph of Christianity cremation disappeared. The genuine indifference of the Greek on the question is one of those rationalistic traits which we take for granted in him, and which only strike us as remarkable when contrasted with the attitude of other nations. Nor was he perturbed by the natural fate of the body. He felt no impulse to say to corruption, Thou art my father, and to the worm, Thou art my mother and my sister. He does not readily turn to graves and epitaphs for admonitions of mortality, γνῶθι σεαυτόν is his watchword, not memento mori. 'To die and go we know not where' was a melancholy thought, but not one that appalled his imagination, never cowed by an authoritative doctrine of eternal damnation; 'to lie in cold obstruction and to rot' was one that never seriously engaged his attention.

Mediaeval piety turned naturally to thoughts of the grave and evolved a macabre fantasy of the body sentient in the tomb and conscious of the process of disintegration. To the Greek this would have seemed trivial as well as disgusting; and when those grim lay-preachers, Baudelaire and Barbusse, explore the supreme indignities of the tomb, to χαράσσω would in his eyes have extinguished pity and terror alike. He avoids equally the pathetic fallacy of the opposite type which plays so great a part in romantic lyric. Corruption should be invisible and the way to her dim dwelling-place obscure; but, on the other hand, no Greek could construct a consolatory poetic fantasy in defiance of known fact. Catullus, even Petronius, might have found Latin for

O that my grave were growing green,
The winding sheet drawn over my een,
And I in Helen's arms lying—

but the thought is alien to Greek.
Antigone, it is true, confounds the grave with the house of Hades, but her language is suggested by her doom, which is to enter the tomb alive and inhabit it for a space. The tomb as a dwelling-place does indeed appear in an epigram by Apollonides, who writes of a husband and wife dead within an hour of each other:

... ἀμφω δ' ὡς συνέναισιν ὑπὸ πλακινέων, τιμήθησαν, εὐφορον ἀγαλλόμενοι καὶ τάφον ὡς θάλαμον.

But Apollonides belongs to the first century of our era, and there is no reckoning the foreign influences which by that date had played upon the thought of Greece. This is equally true of the Hellenistic age, in which we find Leonidas (certainly Leonidas of Tarentum and therefore of the first half of the third century) putting a complaint into the mouth of a dead man whose grave has been disturbed by the making of a new road: ἡδη καὶ σκώληκς ὑπὸ σοφοῦ σύγχροντα ἡμετέρησι; but the line of thought is not characteristic, even of the epitaphs of the Anthology, nor is it followed far.

So much literature can tell us; about the feelings and beliefs of the multitude we are very much in the dark. That, with the rare exceptions noted, they practised mainly inhumation, if only for economic reasons, is certain; that they connected with it any definite beliefs about the soul is extremely improbable. Many no doubt at all periods justified the gibe of Tertullian—vulgus iridet, existimans nihil superesse post mortem, et tamen defunctis parentant, et quidem impensissimo officio, pro moribus eorum, pro temporibus esculentorum. Already in the classical age some, as we know, found consolation in Orphism, others, as time went on, in various mystery religions, till at last the triumph of the greatest of these terminated the history of the ancient world.

H. L. LORIMER.

pient logical conclusion, as becomes a metaphysical poet:—

These eyes again then eyes shall see,
And hands again these hands enfold,
And all chaste pleasures can be told
Shall with us everlasting be.

For if no use of sense remain
When bodies once this life forsake,

Or they could no delight partake,
Why should they ever rise again?

107 That of Egypt was extremely pervasive, though perhaps specially strong at Rome. Cf. Trimalchio jingling his silver skeleton at the feast (Sat. 34).
109 De secur. carnis, i.
SARCOPHAGI FROM XANTHOS

[PLATES X-XV.]

Sir Charles Fellows writes on p. 503 of Travels and Researches:—
"On the plain at the foot of the elevation upon which the city Xanthos was placed, we disinterred the remains of a mausoleum. In this room, which had vaults beneath, stood four sarcophagi, raised upon pedestals. I have collected the fragments of each sarcophagus. The four sarcophagi are in the British Museum and are described in Vol. II of the Catalogue of Sculpture, nos. 957-960. As far as I am aware, there is no other reference to any of them in archaeological literature. Their obscurity in the Museum (no. 957 in the Mausoleum Room Annex, the other three in the Sepulchral Basement), and also their association in the Catalogue with older, Greek sculptures have combined to withdraw attention from them. It can be readily understood that amid masterpieces of the archaic and classical periods these sadly fragmentary remains of late art failed to attract the eye. To-day, when sarcophagi are recognised as material of fundamental importance for the artistic and cultural history of the provinces of the Roman Empire, it seems appropriate to reconsider these fragments; for their provenience is certain and identical, and they present some new features to our study."

Plans of the mausoleum are preserved in the Portfolio of Lycian Drawings and are reproduced, redrawn, in fig. 1. They show the ground-plan of the main chamber, with the positions of the sarcophagi indicated; the ground-plan of the vaulted lower chamber; and a section, drawn to show approximately the front of the sarcophagus on the left of the entrance. Here is no mausoleum of the temple or aedicula form so frequently found in the coast regions of southern Asia Minor—Lycia, Pamphylia, Pisidia and Cilicia. On the contrary, the structure in architectonic principles recalls a Hellenistic–Roman type of which we have a good example in the tomb of Claudia Tatiana at Ephesus. In this a semicircular apse is attached to the square main chamber, and the entrance is symmetrically placed in

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1 The mausoleum cannot be identified with any of the architectural remains recorded either on the sketch-plan of Fellows (Xanthian Markles, pl. 2) or on that of Krickl published by Benndorf (O7h. iii (1900), p. 100). According to Fellows' description it must have been situated at the foot of the south slope.
2 Descriptions of nos. 959 and 960 and pencil sketches of no. 958, presumably the work of F. Matz, are in the material of the Corpus of Sarcothagius Reliefs.
3 For permission to study and to publish the sarcophagi, for photographs and drawings, and for other information I am indebted to Mr. E. J. Fordyce and to Mr. F. N. Pryce. The latter is also responsible for the translation of my German text.
4 Cl. Cat. of Sculp. II, p. 61. At the excessively minute drawing and in particular the lettering forbade any attempt at photographic reproduction, Mr. Waterhouse made a copy of the original, including every material detail. The drawings of the sarcophagi mentioned l.c. are of no importance.
6 O7h. xxvi (1930), Beiblatt, p. 7, fig. 3.
the central axis of this apse. At Xanthos the apse is rectangular and the main chamber is wider to the right of the entrance. The drawing gives no means of deciding whether this lack of symmetry dates from the building of the tomb, or whether it indicates some later extension. The entrance is also not symmetrical with the central axis of the apse, but set slightly towards the deeper side of the chamber. The thinness of the wall suggests not a clay vault but more probably a wooden roof. There is no portico. On the left of the entrance was a shaft with a stone cover leading to the vault, which probably served as a burial-place for the domestics. It is plain from this shaft that the mausoleum did not stand on a high walled base.

Although Fellows has not recorded how the fragments were found in relation to the positions he indicates, yet the arrangement of the four sarcophagi can be determined with practical certainty. Two sarcophagi were set on similar bases to balance each other on the right and left side-walls of the main chamber. For these positions only the two Attic sarcophagi (see below) can be considered seeing that, while differing in form of lid and in their friezes, they form a pair in respect of structure and chest-decoration. Their backs, of inferior design and execution, could be set against the wall. The symmetrical bases on which these two sarcophagi were placed have a projection on right and left. We cannot decide whether this was intended to suggest a bench, as is so frequently found in Lycia and Pamphylia, placed before or under a sarcophagus, or whether the addition was prompted by the angular bases of the sarcophagi themselves. On the other hand, we may speculate still further how to place these two sarcophagi. As a rule, on Attic sarcophagi one of the short sides is not so completely executed as the other. On the Erotes-sarcophagus the differentiation is very trifling; but yet the side with the boys playing with hoops has the tendril ornament on the upper border which is absent on the other, and is distinguished by this as the side for exhibition. It is the left side of the sarcophagus. Of the Battle-sarcophagus only the right side remains, and this in the completeness of the ornament on the upper edge corresponds to the left side of the Children-sarcophagus. It is open to doubt whether the sarcophagi were ordered, or selected, with this point in view. But in any case their arrangement must have been so contrived that the Erotes-sarcophagus stood on the left side of the door, the Battle-sarcophagus on the right, so that as one entered the eye encountered the sides which corresponded in decoration with the fronts.

2 In the mausoleum of Claudia Tatiana at Ephesus the two Attic sarcophagi were also apparently set in opposition as a pair. It is to be hoped that the publication of all the fragments will shortly give us further details of these chronologically important pieces. Another pair may have been formed with the Attic Amazon-sarcophagus and an Erotes-sarcophagus from Tolmetta, now in the Museum at Bengazi; the fragments are published by A. L. Pietrogrande, Africa Ital. iii (1930), pp. 108 ff.
3 Petersen in Lanckoronski, Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens, II, pp. 72, 184.
4 Numerous examples prove that it was no hindrance to export for back or sides to be unfinished. Hence there is no reason to assume with G. de Jerphanion, Orient. Christ. xxviii, pp. 223 ff. that the couch-sarcophagus of S. Lorenzo was made, or worked over, in Rome.
The sarcophagus of the head of the family and owner of the tomb stood in the rectangular apse. The floor of this was slightly raised and the whole surface covered with a stone or plaster floor, the front of which had a moulding (see the section). On this the sarcophagus stood free, to be walked round and seen from all sides. No doubt the building was originally intended to hold only this and the two Attic sarcophagi. Subsequently a fourth sarcophagus was inserted unsymmetrically in front of the apse, and for this no plinth was provided. That the widening of one side of the tomb was made on account of this sarcophagus is not probable, for if such were the case, it would have been more organically incorporated into the architectural scheme. This sarcophagus again was visible from all sides.

Of the two sarcophagi sculptured with equal care on all four sides, whose place we have to fix, which one stood in the apse? Fellows marked on his plan the positions of both sarcophagi. The proportions do not closely agree with the extant fragments and they are probably only approximately sketched, as the exact dimensions supplied on other parts of the plan are not given. We can then only conclude that the shorter and smaller sarcophagus, in the apse, was distinguished from the longer and broader one, in front of the apse. In this case the Hunting-sarcophagus stood in the apse, the Columnar sarcophagus obliquely in front of it.

The Attic Erotes-sarcophagus (Pl. X and figs. 3, 4).

The barbarian destroyers of the Roman mausoleum of Xanthos were not content to break open the sarcophagi to plunder their contents; they smashed them up for building material. The destruction, however, assumed various forms. Of the Columnar sarcophagus nothing remains but the bottom and the adjoining part of the walls; in the Erotes-sarcophagus (Catalogue of Sculpture, no. 958) it is precisely the bottom which was converted to other uses. The left side is the best preserved fragment (Pl. X, top). Two naked boys are happily employed in what Horace calls 'ludere graecos trocho' (Odes, iii. 24, 57). The boy on the left, shown in frontal view, holds the hoop in front of him; it comes up to his nipples.11 The left elbow is bent and the hand probably rested on the hoop; the right hand may have held the αμφνη to propel the hoop. His companion, who turns his back to us, stands with the right leg widely advanced to the right. He again holds the hoop with his left hand. The attitude of the right arm must undoubtedly be restored with reference to the puntello, which is otherwise meaningless. It suggests that the arm was stretched out obliquely downwards and held the twisted αμφνη, which lies on the hoop, if I rightly interpret what remains. The hoop stands higher than the other; perhaps it was supported on a slight rise of the ground-level. The children are of the type familiar to us from Attic Erotes-sarcophagi—chubby-faced, a curl of hair over the brow, and

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11 This corresponds with the description of Oribius (Bussemaker-Daremberg, Oeuvres d'Oribius, I, p. 522; Becq de Fouquières, Les jeux des anciens, p. 163), who uses the word ὀποκος for the hoop.

ringlets falling at the sides. At the left edge appears a piece of the stem of the tree, which decorated the corner towards the back. Of the back a small piece remains with the joint of the hind-leg of an animal in repose, preserved on the isolated angle fragment which gives the boy’s right foot. The top cornice shows the combination of mouldings frequently found on Attic sarcophagi (cf. fig. 2);—bead and reel, egg and tongue, and a narrow Lesbian kymation. The upper edge, plain on earlier examples (fig. 2),

![Fig. 2.—Erotes-Sarcophagus in Athens.](image)

is enriched with a low scroll emerging symmetrically from acanthus-leaves. The lost base may be presumed to have had the same form as that of the Battle-sarcophagus; but the workshops delighted in variety, and one of the other basal ornaments of Attic sarcophagi is not impossible. In contrast with older examples, no figures of tectonic significance are found at the front corners. Nevertheless the plinths at the corners of the base which originally were organically connected with angle-figures were probably still present, as on the Battle-sarcophagus and on other Attic sarcophagi. The lid must be set a little to the right to correspond with the cramp-holes; the gable of the left end is preserved, with the shield and the

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14 Athens, National Museum, nos. 1181 and 1183. From Anaphei, Papageyridi, p. 171; Photo Almari 24399.

16 Compare e.g. fig. 2 and Robert, Sarkophagreliefs, III, 2, no. 216, pl. 70.
base of acroteria of the form canonical for Attic sarcophagi and not found on other types.\textsuperscript{15}

The right side (Pl. X, below) forms the pendant picture to the scene we have described: two boys playing at ball. Only the upper half of the boy to the right is preserved, together with all the upper part of the slab. On the left side each of the players was occupied separately with his hoop; on this side the boy is looking towards his companion, holding the ball in his right hand in readiness to throw. His comrade would have been portrayed in frontal view with the body bent backwards to the left; so we obtain the same contrast of movement and pose as on the left side. In the composition of both scenes vivid observation is combined with decorative feeling. On the right is preserved the roughly-sketched foliage of the tree which decorated the angle with the back. On the tiny piece which is all that here remains of the back is the end of a curling tail (fig. 3). Taking this in conjunction with the foot that is to be seen at the bottom of the opposite fragment, we may reconstruct on the back one of the antithetic beast-groups customary on these sarcophagi; not striding griffins, as on the Battle-sarcophagus, but sitting or lying beasts; perhaps two lions, as on the Athenian Meleager-sarcophagus in Robert, Sarkophargreliefs, III, 2, no. 216, pl. 70;\textsuperscript{16} or two sphinxes, as on the back of an Attic sarcophagus in Berlin.\textsuperscript{17} The top mouldings had no worked ornament at the back; similarly the row of standing acanthus-leaves is absent on the back of the lid, and we are thereby assured that the lid is correctly placed.

Of the front (fig. 4) only a small horizontal strip from the left half is preserved. The peculiar fracture is probably caused by the stratification of the Pentelic marble. The relative height of the strip is certain, from its junction with the left side. A naked boy runs to the right; only his middle remains. A galloping horse follows, filling up the left side of the foreground of the relief; it bears on its back a boy; the outline of the back, the marks where the right leg has been split away, and the left foot against the background may be seen. The left foreleg of the horse shews the deep outlining so characteristic of Attic sarcophagi.\textsuperscript{18} There is only one subject in which two such figures could be combined—a hunting-scene. The right half would have contained perhaps some further hunters and the beast either in flight or turning to bay; as the little master of the hunt is mounted, we may suppose a lion or a boar. Not as Horace complains (Odes III, 24, 54 ff.):—

\begin{quote}
Nescit equo rudis \\
Haerere ingenuus puer \\
Venariique timet, ludere doctior \\
Seu graeco iubeas trocho ...
\end{quote}

the boy on the sarcophagus can not only play, he rides and hunts.

\textsuperscript{15} Cf. fig. 2; Rodenwaldt, \textit{JdI.} xlv (1930), p. 168, n. 7.

\textsuperscript{16} The lion group on the back of the Mattei Museosarcophagus now in the Museo delle Terme is probably a product of the influence of Attic sarcophagi imported into Asia Minor; I interpreted this differently in \textit{RM.} 38–39, p. 7, n. 2. Morey, \textit{The Sarcophagus of Claudia Antunia Sabina (Sardis, V, 1)}, pp. 49 ff., does not refer to the back. The sarcophagus in Termessos, Lanceloroński, II, p. 111, fig. 38, is more strongly orientalising.

\textsuperscript{17} Inv. no. 1454. Kekulé-Schröder, \textit{Gr. Skulptur}, p. 373.

\textsuperscript{18} \textit{JdI.} xlv (1930), p. 160.
Our sarcophagus belongs to the group of Attic Erotes-sarcophagi which F. Matz first distinguished. We may call the boys Erotes; they appear sometimes winged, sometimes unwinged, just like Psyche, with no apparent discrimination. Matz collected the subjects—Erotes drunken returning from a revel, making offerings or preparing to do so, riding teams of lions, or as wrestlers and athletes. Since then other motives have been added—vintage and the hunt. Among the occupations of the 'Children's Paradise' games with hoops and balls appear for the first time on our Xanthian sarcophagus, a more profane scene than the other subjects, which are symbolic and heroic.

In the interpretation of the symbolism of the Erotes-sarcophagi, F. Cumont more than anyone has indicated the path for us (Syria, 1929, p. 217 ff.). Further investigation of the symbolic content of the sepulchral art of the Roman Empire must continue along the roads he has pioneered. But even after his investigations the Attic Erotes-sarcophagi present us with a problem which here I must only formulate without pausing for a full discussion. Cumont deduced the representations of the 'Children's Paradise' from the sarcophagi of children. But we find the theme in the overwhelming majority of examples on the coffins of adults, and by no means in a late or derivative form. Further, the humour, the charm, and the inner significance of the scenes seem to lie just in the fact that little boys are represented in actions that would be appropriate to adults. This is the case not only with the Dionysiac scenes with offerings and revels, on wrestling-matches and hunts, but even with the games on the Xanthian sarcophagus; for hoop and ball games were in antiquity not the amusements of the very young, but of big boys and grown-ups. On Roman sarcophagi of children there are many instances of scenes which are suited to the age of the occupant. In the case of the Attic Erotes-sarcophagi we must enquire whether the themes were not devised for adults and then adapted for children's coffins; this is a simpler solution than the reverse hypothesis.

The quality of Greek sarcophagi of Imperial date is not to be measured by classical art; yet Greek traditions persist not only in their architectonic structure, in the selection and composition of their figured ornament, but even in their plastic style. As a Greek Imperial portrait can be distinguished from a Roman, even so we can feel Greek modelling still living in every shape and in every head of a figure on a Greek sarcophagus. The innate and traditional instinct of the sculptor can be found particularly on those parts which are only outlined or sketched, e.g. on the hair curls and the locks of the Erotes; elsewhere the smooth routine finish often obscures the freshness of the conception.

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20 Jd. xlv. (1930), Taf. 5-7, Abb. 32, p. 178, n. 5.
22 Also the 'puer' of the Horatian ode (see above) is not a small child, but a big lad. On the other hand, on Roman sarcophagi we often find typical children's games, among them a disk with an axis driven by a stick (cf. Beudorf-Schöne, Lateran no. 30; van Hoorn, op. cit. p. 75, fig. 26).
23 Goethe intuitively felt the Greek nature of the Hippolytos-sarcophagus in the Duomo of Guggenti (Ital. Reise, 24 April, 1787). When he said, 'In this the object was to portray beautiful youths; for this reason the old woman was represented very small and pigmy-like between them, as a mere accessory which would not disturb,' he hit upon a distinctive quality of Greek sarcophagi, in opposition to the narrative character of Roman art.
The Attic Battle-sarcophagus (Pl. XI, figs. 5–7).

Of this (Cat. no. 957), there are preserved in one piece the greater part of the back and the right side, joining the back on the left. The opposed Gryphons, each of which lays one fore-paw on a ledge of a blazing candelabrum,24 have, as usual, not received the last finish. On the top the mouldings of the more important sides are continued but without plastic embellishment. But the base shows a different series of mouldings, which frequently happens on Attic sarcophagi; a low rounded member, intended for a horizontal wreath, between two small flat bands. The side depicts, in the crowded but plastically clear style of Attic sarcophagi of the group to which Robert unhappily gave the title of ‘Graeco-Roman,’26 a scene from a battle between combatants on horse and on foot (see the

24 On the symbolic meaning of gryphons, lions, and sphinxes on the backs of the Attic sarcophagi see G. A. S. Snijder, Raccolta in onore di F. Rumorino, pp. 264 ff.
The two horses galloping to right and the attitudes of the fallen men indicate a movement to the right which encounters and is arrested by a powerful combatant at the angle. In the vigorous motive of the fallen figure on the right the slackly hanging forearm is full of expression. The rider of the left horse falls from his seat backwards on the front side of the horse, a motive of daring instantaneity which recalls the similar figures of falling men on the Greek sarcophagi with the Battle of Ships from the Iliad and on Roman sarcophagi with Gaulish scenes. The Catalogue of Sculpture (III, pp. 334 ff., no. 29329) conjecturally assigns to this sarcophagus a fragment with a battle-scene (fig. 5), which may have come from its front. Robert (Sarkophagreliefs, II, no. 115, Pl. XLVII) assigned it to an Amazon sarcophagus. Sure knowledge of the provenience would be necessary to establish whether it belongs or not. Of the couch-lid of the Battle-sarcophagus only a sadly damaged fragment remains; part of the man, who holds a book-roll in his left hand; a piece of the upper body of the woman, who supports herself with the left elbow resting on her cushion; and the greatest part of the left rail. The front surface of the mattress is split away (figs. 6, 7). What is preserved suffices to shew correspondence with other Attic couch-lids.

The sarcophagus belongs to a small group of Attic sarcophagi on which are represented battles on foot and on horseback with opponents who are characterised neither as Persians nor as Gauls, the barbarian enemies of the classical and of the Hellenistic epochs. The scenes will then be battles from Mythology rather than from History. Best preserved is a sarcophagus which was formerly in the Palazzo Digny-Cambrai in Florence and later came to the Hermitage at Leningrad (Pl. XII). We may use this as the pattern from which to gain an idea of the front and left side of our fragment. It has battle-scenes on front and both sides; on the back, between angle trees, are opposed walking Gryphons, between them a column crowned by a pine-cone. Here again the right side corresponds with the front, while the left side is neglected. The base has the same curved moulding with upright acanthus leaves. The moulding on which the figures stand is turned into a toothed band; in place of the kymation of the upper moulding there is a sloping acanthus band; and on the border itself is an elongated and shallow acanthus-tendril. All these are indications that the Leningrad example marks a later stage in the development. The side of a third

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17 The sexual organs conform to the movement.
18 Battle of the ships (from the Iliad): literature in Robert, III, 4, pp. 362 ff., nos. 1-8, Supplementary plates A and B; Robert III, 3, p. 576. An example of a Roman Gaul-sarcophagus: cf. the Ammendola sarcophagus in the Museo Capitolino (Stuart Jones, Cat. 74, no. 5, pl. 14).
20 The interpretation and the relation to the Battle of the Ships-sarcophagi cannot be discussed here. We are free to speculate whether Greek battle-sarcophagi, like the Roman Gaul-sarcophagi, go back to painted prototypes which had mutually a close connexion, as pendants or parts of a row of pictures.
21 Dütschke, II, no. 407; Robert, II, p. 131; Kieseritzky, Museum of Ancient Sculpture (Russian), 1927, p. 150, no. 494 A; Waldhauer, Anc. Sculptures (Russian), 1924, p. 150, no. 378. The sides and the larger left side of the front in Robert, I.e., from drawings by Eichler, made while it was still in Florence. The new photographs I owe to Waldhauer's constant kindness.
22 If the angle-akroteria mentioned by Dütschke, op. cit. p. 192, really belonged, then the sarcophagus had a roof-shaped lid, not a group on a couch. The roof form, the oldest, occasionally persists, though on later examples the couch predominates.
Fig. 6.—Lid of the Battle-Sarcophagus.

Fig. 7.—Lid of the Battle-Sarcophagus (side view).
example is preserved in the fragmentary sarcophagus from Petalidi in the National Museum, Athens 33 (fig. 8). The variations in the three examples, despite their close similarity of subject, composition, and style, can hardly be explained by mechanical copyings from various sections of an extensive repertory: rather, sarcophagus workshops loved to fashion new compositions from traditional designs and were in a position to do so. We observe further on the Leningrad sarcophagus that the direction of the movement from left to right is carried on from the left side up to the right. On the front it is equalised by the obvious division into three main groups which, following the laws of classical frieze composition, are so interlocked that the flow of the movement is not interrupted and the surface is equally covered with figures. Robert has observed the influence of the figures on the Leningrad sarcophagus on the London Amazon sarcophagus from Sidon, 34 another exported Attic piece. This relationship is highly characteristic of the manner in which models were used and modified.

The Battle-sarcophagus and the Erotes-sarcophagus are approximately contemporary, as the similarity of the profiles of the top of the chest indicates. Probably they were obtained together as a pair for the purpose of furnishing the tomb. The sharper cut of the egg-and-tongue and the looser filling of the tendril at the top edge mark the Battle-sarcophagus as more developed than the Erotes-sarcophagus, but they do not make it necessary to assume any appreciable interval of time between them. They represent two simultaneous stages of the development of Attic sarcophagi. The Erotes-sarcophagus, with its figures widely spaced over the free background and its gable-roof, is a late member of an old group; the Battle-sarcophagus, with its couch roof and its mass of closely crowded figures, is an early member of a later family.

The Columnar-sarcophagus of Asia Minor type (Pl. XIII).

What remains of this (Cat. no. 959) is the lower edge with the ends of the architectural pillars and the figures. The very fragmentary base is now inset into a plaster mount the surface of which is tooled to distinguish it from the original fragments. The bottom of the chest has gone. The walls have been destroyed along horizontal fractures in such a way that the part highest preserved is at the rearward end of the left side, while on the right side the destruction reaches the lower edge of the podium of the columns. The simplicity of the natural fracture has been somewhat obscured by the addition of a few small fragments to the lower part. Thus on the right side (Pl. XIII, C) the middle part and the base of the right figure are rejoined. On long side A the left thigh of the left corner figure and the two following column-stumps are additions, and the background has been restored to accommodate them. On long side D the lower leg of the male figure in the second niche from the left is rejoined, with the background likewise restored.

34 Robert, II, no. 110, pl. 455; BM. Sculpt. III, no. 2303.
An attempt to reconstruct this sarcophagus, to interpret and to range it in its artistic place, could lead to sure conclusions only if we took into consideration the whole of Morey’s analysis of the entire family of Asia Minor columnar sarcophagi. Here only a few features will be indicated. In contrast with Attic sarcophagi, the Asia Minor type is fully decorated on all four sides. Thereby it comes nearer to classical Greek taste than do the Attic works. It may happen for exceptional reasons that one side remains entirely unworked; but wherever a side is found with decoration of inferior type, this is due to Attic influence. In the same way certain variations may be observed between the two long sides, but it is not on that account possible to decide which side was reckoned the more important. On the Xanthian sarcophagus certain details may be observed on long side A which distinguish it from the other long side. The middle

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46 See note 16 above.
figure stands on an elevated base and the podia of the columns are adorned with tiny angle-akroteria. The difference must have been more apparent when side A could show a symmetrical composition of figures, while side D was irregularly divided. Perhaps the sarcophagus was set up so that side A was the front facing the door.

A little anomaly may be observed in respect of the low platforms on which the figures stand: on side A in the two left, on side D in the two right places, they are higher than the neighbouring plinths of the podia of the columns, while in the other halves they are lower. Perhaps the execution was divided between two stone-carvers, each undertaking one half of the sarcophagus starting from a short side.

One short side (C) represents the tomb-door; in front stands an incense-burner. This is an essential and original feature of this type of sarcophagus; where it is missing, degeneration is evident. In the sepulchral architecture of southern Asia Minor, or in the sarcophagi in the form of houses standing free, the short side with the door is the true front. When the portable sarcophagus, set up in a mausoleum and surrounded with pillared architecture, appeared, this original main feature on a short side remained in its old position; but the short ends had to yield pride of place to the long sides. The broadside view acquired especial prominence by combination with a further motive, the bed with the lying figure of the defunct. Such a form of lid we must also restore on our sarcophagus.

On the other short side a female stands in the middle of two similar figures; the one on the left recalls the Artemis of the sarcophagus of Sidamara (Morey, fig. 63). On long side A the left corner figure must be a Dioskouros; he has no horse and holds the lance in his right hand, as on the Synnada sarcophagus. The second Dioskouros must be the figure on the right, balancing him. On the other long side the figure on the extreme right may be identified with certainty; he is the Odysseus of the group of Palladion-stealing on the sarcophagus of Megiste; on the sarcophagus of Konia he stands similarly isolated in the right corner. We might attempt to reconstruct the Diomedes of the same group from the pose of the legs of the male figure in the second niche from the left; the interposition of alien figures is not an absolute objection to such an interpretation. But we might also think of Achilles turning towards

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37 Cf. e.g., Fellows, Journal written... Asia Minor, pls. 11 and 12. The direct connexion of tombs of this kind in Perge and the columnar-sarcophagus with tomb-door described by Lauckoroski (I, p. 50) is striking.

38 The motive of the funeral feast, which is especially frequent in southern Asia Minor, may have assisted the adoption of the couch form of lid. On the still incompletely understood problem of the way in which this form was spread see Rodenwaldt, Jdil. xlv (1930), pp. 138 ff., and Pietrogrande, Africa It. iii (1930), p. 130. Another form of lid has yet to be proved for Asia Minor columnar-sarcophagi. In reply to an enquiry F. Eichler kindly informs me that even on the columnar-sarcophagus (Jh. xxvi (1930), Beibl. p. 10) the gable form of lid is not certain.

39 It might also be a figure such as occurs on the fragment from Jailar; Morey, pp. 49, 67, p. 99, better illustrated in Keil-Premserstein, Ber. über eine dritte Reise in Lydien (Denkhefte d. Akad. d. Wiss. Wien, 57, i), p. 16, figs. 8 and 9.

40 AA. 1939, pp. 464 ff., figs. 18-20.

41 Robert, Sarcophagreliefs, III, 3, p. 455; morey, pp. 33 ff.

42 Robert, II, no. 138, pl. 50; Morey, pp. 43 ff., fig. 73. The sarcophagus was built into the town wall and is so drawn by Laborde, Voyage de l'Asie Mineure, pl. LXIV, p. 133.
Thetis, the figure standing solemnly in the left corner, a sceptre in her right hand. The remaining figures may be partly portraits, partly personifications, as Robert proposed. A similar compositional difference between the two long sides is found on the arcaded sarcophagus in Perge, unfortunately only described by Lanckoroński (I, p. 50), the most closely related to the group of the Torlonia Herakles-sarcophagus.

The lack of the upper architectural features makes the classification of the fragment difficult. From the organic disposition of the lower structure, the neatness of the workmanship, and the similarity of the projecting bases for the figures on the short sides, I would like to set it chronologically and stylistically in the neighbourhood of the sarcophagus of Claudia Antonia Sabina from Sardis and the angle-fragment from Ismid (Morey, fig. 32). Common to them is the tectonic division of the podium formed by the junction of the lower bases of the columns on the short sides; later, e.g. on the sarcophagus of Seleukheia (Morey, figs. 62 and 63), this becomes a flat band sometimes enriched with ornament or a frieze in relief.

The Hunting-sarcophagus (Pl. XIV).

While the three other sarcophagi belong to known and widespread groups, the fragments of the Hunting-sarcophagus (Cat. no. 960) illustrate a small and obscure class. What remains are two horse-shoe-shaped fragments of the lower part, with the ends and adjacent parts of the fronts. The larger fragment is on the left of the front view given in Pl. XIV, A. Two fragments with no join are incorporated provisionally in the same side. The base is formed by a plain band above which are two Lesbian kyامتia, one reversed; between them in a deep hollow is a bead and reel. The ornament is cut sharply and cleanly, and produces a very definite effect of black and white. Neither in form nor in quality, and the same applies to the relief above, can the slightest distinction be traced between the different sides. The sarcophagus is completely decorated all round, just like classical sarcophagi of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. The same hunting theme adorns all four sides. The restoration of our fragments and the completion of the monument is rendered possible by the existence of a twin-brother in complete preservation at Adalia, which G. Moretti has published. The better preserved of the long sides is illustrated in fig. 9. At the corners float Nikæ with palms and horns of plenty. The two long sides display the same composition; in the centre the lord of the hunt, mounted, fights a panther, while his attendants, on foot, are engaged with a second panther, a lion, a boar, and a 'Carian' humped ox. The group at the extreme right is repeated on the short sides with some alterations and variations. The type of hunt—not the composition, of which we shall speak later—a variety of beasts with

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44 Aristotle, Hist. Anim. VIII, 33; Pliny, Nat. Hist. VIII, 179; O. Keller, Tiered d. claus. Altertums, fig. 3. For the photograph reproduced here I am indebted to the kindness of R. Pariseni.
mounted hunters and attendants on foot, is known to us from the Nereid Monument, the Heroon of Gjölbashi, and the sarcophagus of the 'Weeping Women'; and was doubtless transmitted to the second century after Christ by a much greater number of then existing monuments. The repetition of the same scene on different sides suggested to Moretti a 'povertà d'immaginazione,' but beyond doubt this is not correct. We possess a classical precedent for the practice in the Amazon-sarcophagus at Vienna, which comes from Cyprus and which was probably made in or for south-west Asia Minor, as were nearly all classical sarcophagi. On this again long and short sides repeat the same picture. The atelier of our group must have had such sarcophagi before their eyes. We have to speak of conscious borrowing from a classical model.

The London sarcophagus is a contemporary work of the same workshop. It corresponds with the Adalia sarcophagus in structure, in ornament, in subject, in composition, and even in the individual figures of the groups. The differences, however, forbid any idea of mechanical reproduction. At the left end of long side A on both, a kneeling man is in conflict with a humped ox rearing up. A dog under the ox, of which parts are preserved in London, appears to be missing in the Adalian example. Further, the scene above this group was different; it seems that in London a dog is pursuing an animal running to right. At the corresponding left end of the other long side (Pl. XIV, D) the foot on the right of a draped figure turned to the left is preserved, wearing the same sandal as the attendant on A. The other traces, however, do not correspond; so here we must assume a variation such as occurs on the short sides of the sarcophagus in Adalia.

The two short sides repeat the group of a hunter who attacks a boar with a προβόλαιν. The sculptor has indulged in a tiny variation: on one side he gave the hunter boots, on the other sandals of strap-work which leave the toes free. The detail where in good preservation is carefully worked; the execution of the boar is very wooden. A third repetition of the same huntsman is preserved in an isolated fragment. On the analogy of the sarcophagus of Adalia we may assume that the scenes on the short sides reproduce the right end of the long sides. The fragment then belongs roughly to the position in which it has been inserted in London; the only doubt is from which of the long sides it comes. An enlarged photograph of the head (fig. 10) shews how much feeling for Greek form still remains in so provincial a work.

What was the lid of this sarcophagus like? We may obtain an idea of its shape in two ways, which confirm and supplement each other. Closely related to the Hunting-sarcophagus in the style of ornament and with the same Nikai at the angles is a sarcophagus with three vine-garlands on each long side, from the neighbourhood of Perge, which Moretti

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46 On hunting on horseback cf. Rodenwaldt, Tityri, II, p. 132, n. 1; Albizzati, Mem. Pont. Acc. I, 1 (1932); pp. 48 ff. 'Σάρυτι παρασακάων όλης κωνόγουσαν' was included in the third story of the pyre of Hephaestion (Diod. XVII, 115).

47 Robert, II, no. 68, pl. 373; III, 3, p. 552; Schrader, Phidas, pp. 98 ff.

48 Perhaps further examination of the remains would establish the point.

49 Xen. Cyne. 10, 12.
published simultaneously. In his publication he further referred to two closely-related examples 'nell' arte romana': a child's sarcophagus—not a cinerary urn—in the Belvedere of the Vatican (figs. 11, 12), and a sarcophagus for a big child, which came to light in the finds at the Porta Salaria and apparently belonged at one time to the Museo Borghese; it is now in the Walters Collection in Baltimore. But these are not Roman copies; they are imported pieces, products of the same workshop that produced the sarcophagus of Perge and the two Hunting-sarcophagi. Both the Roman examples correspond closely with the Hunting-sarcophagi in respect of structure of base and employment of angle-Nikae. Now these Roman pieces possess their lids. They are in the form of a roof

\footnote{Op. cit. pp. 479 ff., figs. 1 and 2.}
\footnote{Ame ling, Skulp. Vat. Mus., II, p. 232, no. 86, pl. 22; illustrated here from a new photograph. The other long side is so far unfinished that the hair and locks of the mako's are not worked.}
\footnote{Méll. École de Rome, 1885, pl. VIII; Reinach, Rép. Reliefs, II, p. 198, 2. The photograph Moscioni, Roma 11339, is inscribed beneath 'Museo Borghese.'}
\footnote{That the garlands bear no grapes may be ascribed to chance, or possibly to Roman taste, which preferred simple garlands. I hope elsewhere to have an opportunity to trace the influence of the eastern sarcophagi upon those of Rome.
Fig. 11.—Child's Sarcophagus in the Vatican.

Fig. 12.—Child's Sarcophagus in the Vatican.
with broad tegulae and small imbrices, which end in palmette acroteria. The gable of the Belvedere sarcophagus (fig. 12) has a small shield in the centre; under the raking cornice is a toothed band, above it a waved tendril band runs from the angle ornaments to the central acroterion.\textsuperscript{44}

The same classical form and details appear on the lid of the sarcophagus in Providence which I. D. Young has recently made known in a careful publication (\textit{Art Bulletin}, xiii, 1931, pp. 198 ff.). The lid is steeper and has lions’ heads, not palmettes, as akroteria. In correspondence with the greater scale, the execution is finer. It stands on a sarcophagus which differs indeed from the Hunting-sarcophagi in respect of the subject and composition of its reliefs, but which agrees with them in structural form and in its all-round decoration. Its base again has the opposed Lesbian kymatia. Angle-figures turned to the front frame in the scenes.\textsuperscript{45}

The upper moulding of the chest has an egg-and-tongue. The relief on one long side, the duel of Hector and Achilles, the dragging of Hector, and the mourning of Andromache, shew a remarkable resemblance to a sarcophagus once in Rome, now disappeared but drawn in the \textit{Coburgensis} and by Gori.\textsuperscript{46} Do the two go back to a lost Attic model? Was the Roman sarcophagus copied from an imported work? Or was it rather, despite the mistakes in the ornamentation as shewn in the drawings, an import into Rome, one of the sarcophagi of that group of which only the roofs remain (see below). The battles of Erotes and animals on the other long side recall the frieze on the lid of the great sarcophagus of Sidamara.\textsuperscript{47} Both have the motive of high-leaping animals in common with the scenes of the Hunting-sarcophagi. But, more important, the hunting frieze is united to the sarcophagi of Adalia by a very characteristic detail:—under the feet of the dog leaping from the right upper corner is a base like a console. On the great sarcophagus of Sidamara, on the end with the hunt to the left, there is in the upper part a dog on a corresponding base.

Young indeed raises a doubt whether chest and lid of the Providence sarcophagus belong to each other, on account of small differences of material and dimensions, and a lack of correspondence between the upper edge of the chest and the lower edge of the lid; at the same time he admits the similarity of style and ends by assuming that the lid actually did rest on the chest. It would be extraordinary if chance had brought to the sarcophagus exactly the lid that we should expect from its tectonic structure. Similar incongruities may often be observed on other antique sarcophagi.\textsuperscript{48} They are probably due to workshop custom; every sarco-

\textsuperscript{44} From old photographs it can be seen that the sarcophagus of the Via Salaria had the same gable ornament.

\textsuperscript{45} Cf. the parallels adduced by Young; in particular, those from southern Asia Minor.

\textsuperscript{46} Robert, II, no. 45, pl. 21. The correspondence is so strange that suspicion of forgery might arise were not the other parts of the sarcophagus free from objection.

\textsuperscript{47} Morey, pp. 40 ff. Cf. the Asia Minor parallels mentioned by Young, \textit{op. cit.} p. 132; add the frieze on the lid of a garland-sarcophagus from Tarsus in the Metropolitan Museum (Rodenwaldt, \textit{Die Kunst der Antike}, p. 600), which in other details belongs to another class of garland-sarcophagi.

\textsuperscript{48} E.g. on the child’s sarcophagus in the Belvedere where Amelung expressed doubt, without cause, whether lid belonged.
phagus was not executed as a single commission, but chests and lids were worked separately, then fitted to one another as best could be. If the lid belongs, as I think it does, then the sarcophagus belongs to the group I am discussing. It is instructive for us as an important indication of how we are to restore the upper edge of the chest on our Hunting-sarcophagi.

Three beautiful lids of this group, richly decorated and well preserved, and fragments of a fourth have been preserved without their accompanying sarcophagi. Two of them, converted into tombs in

mediaeval times, stand in the vestibule of S. Lorenzo fuori le mura at Rome (Pl. XV). A third comes from the Gaudin collection and on an old photograph is described as "found at Sardis"; it is now in the Museum at Smyrna and stands on an alien fluted sarcophagus (fig. 13). The fragments were found during the German excavation in Miletus.  

58 The length of the lid with fluted decoration (Pl. XV, top and left) measures 2.45 m., that of the other 2.44. I owe these dimensions to M. Gutschow. I will not discuss the tombs in detail here. The illustrations are from new photographs by C. Faraglia. The tombs are not in their original site: cf. Platter, Bursen, etc., Beschreibung der Stadt Rom, III, 2, p. 327.

59 Photo Berggren (the negatives of this collection of photographs are now in the possession of the German Archaeological Institute in Istanbul). Cf. A. Axiz, Guide du Musée de Smyrne 4 (Istanbul, 1933), 44, photo, no. 9.

60 Mendel, Cat. d. Sculpt. III, no. 1963; Young, op. cit., p. 153. The same form of gable appears on two votive stelae to the god Men from Yalovatch (Antiochia ad Pisidiam), already adduced by Young (Mendel, nos. 1981 and 1982). The tendril along the slope of the gable is also found on a local group of
I would like to propose for this group, which I consider to belong to southern Asia Minor, the name of 'Pamphylian Sarcophagi.' A provisional list includes the following examples:—

**PAMPHYLIAN SARCOPHAGI**

A. **Sarcophagi with friezes in relief.**
   1. The Providence sarcophagus.
   2. The sarcophagus in Adalia (fig. 9).
   3. The sarcophagus from Xanthos in London (Pl. XIV).

B. **Garland-sarcophagi.**
   1. Sarcophagus with vine garlands from Perge, in Adalia.
   2. Sarcophagus with plain garlands from Rome, in Baltimore.
   3. Child's sarcophagus in the Belvedere of the Vatican (figs. 11, 12).

C. **Lids only.**
   1. Lid in Smyrna, said to be from Sardis.
   2. Lid in the vestibule of S. Lorenzo fuori le mura (Pl. XV).
   3. Ditto (Pl. XV).
   4. Fragments from Miletus in Istanbul.

It is significant that sarcophagi with figured decoration and with garlands may here be assigned to the same workshop.

In this connexion it would lead us too far, nor would it be possible, without a new survey of the whole material, to establish the relationship of this group to the other groups of Asia Minor sarcophagi. Here I will only indicate a few points of contact.

'Pamphylian sarcophagi' are allied to the small group of sarcophagi with relief decoration which may be appropriately named from the best-known example, the sarcophagus of Torre Nova. It comprises four children's sarcophagi.

**GROUP OF THE SARCOPHAGUS OF TORRE NOVA**


   If the marble is really Pentelic, which remains to be proved, the sarcophagus was made in Asia Minor with imported marble.62


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62 It is open to doubt whether the fragment in Naples (Rizzo, *RM.* xxv (1910), p. 104, fig. 5; Morey, p. 44) comes from a sarcophagus.

The relationship of these sarcophagi to the Lydian group of Asia Minor Columnar-sarcophagi has been established by E. Weigand. On the other hand, they agree in important features with the Pamphylian group. The Florence, Athens, and Torre Nova examples have the same base with the string between opposed Lesbian kymatia; only the bead and reel in the middle is missing. It is in accordance with the love of variety in the workshop that on the Florentine example the decoration is plastically rendered on both kymatia, on the Torre Nova only on the lower, on the Athenian not at all. The Florentine sarcophagus also resembles the Pamphylian group in having an egg and dart on the upper edge, as on the Providence sarcophagus. There is the unworked profile of an egg and dart also on the chest of the Beyrut sarcophagus, which stands on a flat plinth. The Florentine sarcophagus has a sunken moulding on the upper edge, the Torre Nova a Lesbian kymation on one side. The sculptor of the Megiste sarcophagus added a low horizontal member under the sunken moulding. A fragment of lid, which probably belongs and which corresponds to the Pamphylian form of lid, is preserved only on the Beyrut example.

The finding-place of the Athenian piece, Megiste in Lycia, needless to say is no evidence for the place of manufacture. If southern Asia Minor comes under consideration for the Pamphylian class (and this at the moment is only a hypothesis), the Torre Nova group, which we may suppose to have been made not too far away, might be assigned to Lycia-Pamphylia. The Attic motives in the scenes would be adequately explained by the importation of Attic sarcophagi into this region of Asia Minor.

An irregularity in the architectural composition of these sarcophagi is that the angle columns or pilasters are surmounted not by an architrave as might be expected but directly by a kymation. A similar discrepancy occurs, though there is no historical connexion, on Attic grave stelae of the turn of the fifth-fourth centuries, in cases when the old element, the horizontal upper kymation, was combined with the side-pilasters of the new fashion. On our sarcophagi we must explain the phenomenon along similar lines. The kymation running round the top of the chest was an original characteristic of the type. Later, angle-figures were added. Finally, under the influence of Greek sarcophagi with angle-pilasters and horizontal architraves (e.g. the Amazon-sarcophagus in Vienna), the angle-figures were replaced by pillars or pilasters. A lingering feeling that the combination was inorganic produced the intermediate moulding on the Megiste sarcophagus.

Types allied to our group are found at Ravenna. The Pignatta

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63 JdI. xxix (1914), p. 73; Morey, p. 72.
64 Cumont, Syria, 1939, p. 218, pls. XL and XLII.
66 Morey, p. 69; Rodenwaldt, JdI. xl (1930), p.
sarcophagus has the same angle pilasters and the same form of base; in the entablature there is again a horizontal band below the kyma. Other examples preserve the leaf-border over the columns down to a very late date. In view of the manifold relations between Asia Minor and Upper Italy, some connexion is here certain to exist. Not probably in the sense that these sarcophagi are imports from Asia Minor to Ravenna; but in Ravenna forms were preserved and developed which had passed in the second and third centuries of our era from Asia Minor, perhaps on imported works, perhaps through emigrant workmen.

Moretti has published (op. cit., p. 499) two Amazon-sarcophagi which are related not only to the Columnar-sarcophagi but also to the group we have just discussed. Here once again I confine myself to a few observations. The base of his Amazon-sarcophagus fig. 17 corresponds in all essentials with those of the sarcophagus in Melfi and the Herakles-sarcophagi of the Museo Torlonia and London. In this case again a frieze-sarcophagus has been assimilated to the Columnar-sarcophagi. But this form of base is at the same time only a richer form of the base of the Pamphylian sarcophagi and the Torre Nova group, to which the ornament is also closely related stylistically. The decoration of the base at the same time unites this sarcophagus inseparably to the Garland-sarcophagus from Perige. On a second Amazon-sarcophagus (Moretti, pp. 493 ff., figs. 12–16) below the main frieze is a narrow band decorated with combats of animals. A further example of this type is the unexplained sarcophagus in the Palazzo Fiano, Rome (Robert, III, 3, no. 433, pl. CXL). The connexion of these examples with the Herakles Columnar-sarcophagi is illustrated by the reliefs in the Borghese Palace (Robert, III, 1, no. 127, pl. XXXVIII), which agree with the Amazon-sarcophagi in Adalia down to the Atlantes at the angles, and which directly unite the two

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67 Duitschke, Ravennat. Studien, pp. 59 ff., fig. 25a–d.
68 E.g. Duitschke, op. cit. p. 10, fig. 3; p. 14, fig. 14a and b; p. 65, fig. 26b–d; p. 63, fig. 35a and b, etc. Further, we also encounter at Ravenna sarcophagi of Asia Minor form. The publication of Ravenna sarcophagi up to the present is inadequate.
70 Morey, p. 39, figs. 39–41.
71 Torlonia: Morey, p. 47, figs. 83, 84. London: Morey, p. 51, fig. 92.
72 Even greater simplification is shown on a group of Asia Minor frieze-sarcophagi of which at the moment I can cite only two examples:—1, the Endymion-sarcophagus in the Louvre, found on the island of Castellorizo (Cat. num. 1922, p. 111, no. 318); 2, a Diomysian sarcophagus in the monastery of S. Scolastica at Subiaco, which will be discussed in Vol. IV of the Corpus of Sarcophagi Reliefs. On these, above a Lesbian kymation (which is not decorated on the Endymion sarcophagus), stands a horizontal fluting as the lower border of the frieze of figures. There is no kymation at the top; the roof supplied the tectonic finish. This is found on Attic sarcophagi in the profile of the bases, which are similar in appearance but which clearly must be distinguished. To the influence of such eastern prototypes must be ascribed the unusual profile of the Roman Protosilanos-sarcophagus in the Vatican (Robert, III, 3, no. 433, pl. CXXXII).
73 Moretti assumes that this sarcophagus had a second frieze above the upper terminal cornice. It is difficult to judge of this without a pictorial reconstruction incorporating all the fragments. In any case, we may attach to the group of the Torre Nova sarcophagi and to connected sarcophagi, in a relation which should further be explored, the remarkable Genua-sarcophagus of which front and sides are built into the wall of the Sala delle Muse in the Vatican (Robert, III, 3, no. 191, pl. XL). The lower member of the base is wanting. The Erotes-frieze has parallels on the lid of the Sidamara sarcophagus, and on the Garland-sarcophagus from Tarsus (Rodewald, Die Kunst der Antike, p. 66).
74 Morey, p. 46, figs. 85 and 86. Weigand's misplaced doubt of its Asia Minor origin was corrected by Rodenwaldt, RM. 38–39 (1923–4), p. 3, and by Morey, p. 48.
works. Suggested by this motive is the base-frieze beneath the Hunting scenes and the Tomb-door of the sarcophagus of Sidamara.\(^{25}\) Of pieces found in Asia Minor the example most closely related to the Columnar-sarcophagi with the exploits of Herakles is the one in Perge described by Lanckoroński.\(^{26}\) With this we return to the immediate neighbourhood of Adalia and to the finding-place of the one garland-sarcophagus of the 'Pamphylian group,' which in its base-ornament comes close to the Torlonia Herakles-sarcophagus.\(^{27}\)

What upper moulding the Amazon-sarcophagus had we may perhaps learn from a fragment found at İznik (fig. 14),\(^{58}\) which repeats a warrior of that sarcophagus (op. cit., fig. 12).

**Fig. 14.** Fragment from İznik.

**Fig. 15.** Fragment from Lydæm.

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\(^{25}\) Morey, figs. 66 and 67.

\(^{26}\) Op. cit. p. 50. The photographs here referred to cannot be traced in Vienna despite A. Schöber's kind researches. If the interpretation, i.e., of the very fragmentary remains is correct, pilasters replaced columns. The sarcophagus of Torre Nova has already taught us that we must reckon with the variant form in which pilasters are substituted for columns. Pilasters appear on the sarcophagus of Termessos published by Lanckoroński (op. cit. II, pp. 73 ff., fig. 24); the fragment of an arched sarcophagus in the Konia museum (no. 133) has three pilasters. This fact is of importance in some cases where it is doubtful whether we are dealing with works from Asia Minor or with Roman imitations (e.g. on the front of the vanished Herakles-sarcophagus, Robert, III, 1, no. 139, pl. XXXIX).

Pilasters alone are no proof of western origin.

\(^{27}\) Closely related in structure and base-ornament to the sarcophagus of Melfi and the Torlonia Herakles-sarcophagus is a fragment of sarcophagus found by Theodore Bent in a tomb at Lydæm in Lycia (cf. Kalinka, OJb. iii, Beibl. p. 44) and given by him to the British Museum (fig. 15; Cat. of Sulp. III, no. 2339, 4; Robert, III, 3, p. 573, no. 218; Robert following the description erroneously explained the fragment as a replica of the Attic Meleager-sarcophagi). Whether the various fragments (Cat. of Sulp. I.2. no. 2339, 1–4; cf. Robert, p. 570, no. 99) belong together, and how, is a problem that requires further investigation.

\(^{58}\) Illustrated, by kind permission of M. Scheide, from a photograph of the German Archaeological Institute in Istanbul.
and which has at the top edge the same egg-pattern as the Providence sarcophagus. Thus we obtain the following group:

GROUP OF THE TOLRONIA HERAKLES-SARCOPHAGUS 79

A. Areuated sarcophagi.
1. The Torlonia Herakles-sarcophagus.
2. Sarcophagus in Perge (Lanczkowski).
3. Fragment of a Herakles-sarcophagus in the Giardino della Pigna. Robert, l.c., no. 130, pl. XXXIX.
5. The Borghese sides of a Herakles-sarcophagus.

B. Friese sarcophagi.
6. Amazon-sarcophagus in Adalia.
7. Fragment of an Amazon-sarcophagus in Iznik.
8. Sarcophagus in the Palazzo Fiano.

Within Asia Minor an active export trade existed in sarcophagi, and we have also to reckon with the activities of wandering stone-cutters, especially in localities far from the sea and its possibilities of easy transport. But in the case of the groups we have discussed the connexions are so close that we must suppose that the centres of production or workshops were also closely related.

The Hunting-sarcophagi of Adalia and Xanthos offer then new suggestions to our knowledge of the many-sided art of sarcophagus-carving in Asia Minor during Imperial times; their reliefs are perhaps of even greater interest for the general history of art. To develop this problem fully would require a book, and I can only outline it here. Up to now we have only discussed the type and subject of the sarcophagus. But what is strangest is the composition and the relief-treatment. The figures are equally distributed over the field in such a way that they nearly all appear in full silhouette and never overlap. Above the scenes which take place in the foreground appear others which are conceived as further to the rear. The upper figures stand on one or several lengths of ground-level projecting like consoles. Obeying the classical tradition of antique relief, all the figures emerging from the front plane are worked in equally high relief. Thereby the spectator is presented with the paradox that the backward figures are shewn in tangible form above and actually upon those in front. This impression is further strengthened by the fact that the figures do not overlap but often come into contact with each other at the extremities, thus making the relief into a kind of network. For instance, the panther attacked by the rider stands on the back of the bear, and its snout rubs against the hind leg of a dog and the head of a horse. For this kind of relief composition the nearest parallels are the Hunting scenes on the fourth-century ivory pyxides of Bobbio and Flor-

79 I do not here mention the other areuated sarcophagi.
ence, and on a glass vessel in the Treasure of S. Marco; add also the sarcophagus of Helena and a numerous list of late antique diptychs. If only a fragment with a few figures had been found of our hunting sarcophagus, it would probably have been assigned to a very late date. Yet shape and ornament prove that it cannot be later than the end of the second century.

These reliefs do not stand entirely alone. We have just detected elements of the same system of composition in the frieze of Erotes of the Providence sarcophagus and of the hunting short side of the Sidamara sarcophagus. Further, Kalinka has published a frieze with combats of gladiators and animals, the blocks of which were found at Kibyra right on the northern border of Lycia, and which belonged to a tomb. From the published examples and descriptions the reliefs (the humped ox appears again on them) agree so closely with the Hunting-sarcophagi of Xanthos and Adalia that we must think they were executed by the same sculptors.


Sarcophagi from Xanthos. 207

A.O. 11', 1, pp. 31 ff.; Pl. II. Sarcophagus of Helena. Rodenwaldt, Loc. pp. 31 ff. On the diptychs see Dellerück, Die Convaldiptychen, passim, and especially Duthuit-Volbach, pl. 12 (Liverpool) and pl. 13 A and B (Florence).

82 OJh. xxiii (1926), Beihl. pp. 317 ff.
and place the frieze of Kibyra after the sarcophagi in date. In this instance we can deduce a provincial workshop. This parallel heightens the probability that the Hunting-sarcophagi were made in southern Asia Minor. The Kibyra reliefs are, moreover, a remarkable anticipation of the circus scenes on Consular diptychs.

A system of composition so utterly alien to all principles of relief-working cannot have been devised for relief. Possibly we should explain the anomalies by supposing that a flat composition has been translated schematically into high relief. What the models were like we learn from two monuments which again are to be attributed to the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire—the bronze jug in Berlin published by Zahn and the closely related bronze plaque in the Louvre (fig. 16). When the latter was exhibited in the Exposition de l’art byzantin at Paris in 1931, it was held to be of late antique origin. But an early dating is imperatively demanded; we must set it along with the Berlin jug as far back as the second century. In these figures distributed over the ground surface like a carpet and inlaid with silver, bronze, or niello we have the method of composition which was translated into relief by the sculptors. We occasionally encounter figures, or strips of groundwork, which are partially superimposed, but in the main the designs are composed of an even covering with figures so that the surface is proportionately distributed between subject and background. The outlines of the greater part of the figures are clearly indicated and are so interwoven that they touch or almost touch each other. Elements of landscape are also added. A shield or a horn lies on the ground, like the quiver on the sarcophagus of Helena. On this the console supports for the feet were unnecessary; and at this point we may point out a mistake of the sculptor of the sarcophagi. The lions bound up high; their fore-paws are to be conceived as in the air. But on the sarcophagus of Adalia the lions are given meaningless ground ledges even under their fore-paws. In his brief discussion of the Berlin jug Zahn had already referred to the Sidamara sarcophagus. On this we find in the hunting frieze of the one long side a motive which is as characteristic for this class of monument as the animals bounding high, namely the backward inclination of the mounted hunter. Once again we are dealing with a transference of plane composition to relief, a mutation which we find at a later date repeated on the sarcophagus of Helena and kindred works, and still later on the ivory diptychs. For the art of a

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44 De Riedler, Bronzen ant. du Louvre, II, p. 175, pl. 116; Neugebauer, Führer d.d. Antiquarium, p. 95; Peirce-Tyler, L’art byzantin, I, p. 58, pl 67 (‘about 400 A.D.’). Fig. 15 from a new photograph by Girandon, no. 31158.

46 No. 745.

48 The motive of the rider in combat bending back has been assigned by St. Poglayen-Newall (Münch. Jahrb. xiii, 1923, pp. 54 ff.), correctly, I believe, to Oriental influence. The working of the Oriental tradition can be traced as early as the Hunting-mosaic in Palermo (Fuhrmann, Philoxenos von Eretria, pp. 235 ff.). Further, the preference for the full gallop on classical monuments of Asia Minor may be due to the neighbourhood of the Orient; cf. the hunts of Alexander and the Alexander mosaic as opposed to the Alexander-sarcophagus.
province to reveal at an early date features which do not affect the main currents of art until later is no uncommon phenomenon; for Asia Minor in particular it may be traced in another connexion. Perhaps here also there is some historical bond seeing that the later development derives its impulse from northern Syria, which at all periods of art was closely united with southern Asia Minor.

It is hardly likely that the sculptors made use of toretic models for their stone carving. The Berlin jug and the Louvre plaque are themselves examples of a style which achieved its development on works of larger scale. We might suppose paintings; more likely, tapestries, for the carpet-like character of the composition invites this suggestion. The textile prototypes which are to be assumed for the reliefs of the Attic couch-sarcophagus of S. Lorenzo and for the mattress-reliefs of the covers of couch-sarcophagi, show an allied composition.

From what source are we to derive this style of composition? Is there a connexion with Polygnotos or with paintings such as may be assumed as models for the hunting-pictures of princes of Asia Minor which are found on the vases of Xenophonatos? This has little probability, for the reason that the composition has less resemblance to original paintings of Polygnotos than to Polygnotan vases and the details show no obvious connexion. On the other hand, we find hunting-pictures of similar composition on an Indian vase, on Chinese vases of the Han period, on Sassanian silver plate, and on late antique textiles. Can we interpret these connexions as geographical and chronological manifestations of Parthian painting and weaving? In Mesopotamian lands the principle of composition by distribution over the background can be traced back to an old tradition. Furthermore, we can also recognise two motives as traditional in

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87 Rodenwaldt, JdI. xxxiv (1919), pp. 85 ff. (Zeus Bronton). All the S. Ferri, Nauì monumenti +plastici dello Zeus di Biuta (Historia, vi, 1932), pp. 236 ff. Of especial interest are the parallels to Phrygian provincial art in the newly-found sculptures of Doura (P. V. Bauer, Prel. Report, 1929-30; pp. 102 ff., pls. xiv, xv). In respect of connexions and parallels with the neighbouring Orient, it would well repay us to investigate the local styles of the districts of Asia Minor in Imperial times. A. Riegl, it is well known, set the base of the column of Antoninus Pius in juxtaposition with the sarcophagus of Helena (Spätrom. Kunstindustrie, ed. 1927, p. 172). He ignored the great differences; in particular, the column-base does not show the isolation of individual figures. But all the same, the style of the relief is unusual for Rome and may have been influenced by art of Asia Minor corresponding to the style of the Hunting-sarcophagi.


89 Pfuhl, M.a-Z, II, pp. 391, 600. It is to be hoped that the second, small vase of Xenophonatos in Leningrad will be published shortly.

90 Saare, Die Kunst des alten Persien, pls. 114, 115.

91 Rostovtzeff, Inlaid Bronzes of the Han Dynasty, J.H.S.—VOL. LIII.

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92 E.g. Sarre, op. cit., pl. 104, etc.

93 Cf. the Berlin wool-embroidery with hunting-scenes, O. von Fakke, Kunstgesch. d. Seidenweberei, figs. 90, 31. Attention may be especially called to the uncommon motive of the mounted huntsman of fig. 30 (cf. A.I. 1932, p. 538, fig. 7), who carries a shield on his left arm, as is the case on the sarcophagus of Adalija. The same motive reappears on the hunting-mosaics of Orléanville (Reinach, Rep. de Peint. p. 301, 3) and Leptis Magna (Africa Ital. ii, 1928, p. 254, figs. 7 and 81); and these further have resemblances in their composition. Whether the composition of north-African hunting-mosaics and, to go further west, of hunting-scenes on Gaulish sigillata ware (e.g. Oswald and Pryce, Introd. to the Study of Terra Sigillata, pl. XII, 6 and 7) is influenced by the Orient, remains to be ascertained.


Mesopotamia,—a hunter turning round to meet a beast attacking from behind, and the rampant pose of the lion. The panther set upright to attack the master of the hunt on the sarcophagus has his nearest counterparts in the upright lions of Sassanian silver bowls, and these in their turn may be followed back through Persian and Assyrian times into Old-Babylonian art. A hunting-scene of similar composition but of more decorative design has recently been found at Seleucia in a Parthian stratum,

the decoration of the hilt of a hunting-knife (fig. 17). I would therefore suggest that this style of composition, like other motives of form and

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83a Cf. also Baur-Rostovtzeff, Excav. at Dura-Europos, 1928-9, pl. XLIII, r. and 1930-1, pl. XXII, r.

84 On the Mesopotamian tradition of hunting-scenes, which we may presume to have continued in the Parthian period, cf. Herzfeld, Am Tor von Ani, p. 99. Cf. the leopards on the Hellenistic hunting scenes of Marissa, which are also in the Oriental tradition: Peters-Thierach, Painted Tombs of Marissa, pl. VI. Roughly contemporary with our sarcophagus is the plaster frieze of Orthoepobazos from Doura (Cumont, Fouilles de Doura-Europos, pp. 233 ff., pl. LXXXVI, 2 left). In describing the group of the rider who charges a lion standing up on its hind legs, Cumont referred to the Oriental conceptions of the motive, which here again is taken over in its antique form.

85 III, London News, 13 Feb. 1932, pl. i, no. 5. If this can be admitted as certainly Parthian, it will be of considerable significance for the problem of Parthian-Sassanian influence on the late antique hunting tapestries which are allied in many respects (cf. Falke, op. cit. figs. 30, 31; O. Reichl, Ad. 1932, pp. 555 ff.).
subject of late antiquity, arose under the influence of Parthian-Sassanian art. The immediate impulse was derived from the neighbour provinces, Syria and Asia Minor. In its spread and development probably the textile industry played a prominent rôle. In the exchange of artistic impulse between the Orient and Hellas, it has constantly happened that the Greek form victoriously advances in the East while the Oriental idea penetrates the West. The idea expresses itself through composition and details of grouping. On the other hand, the drawing and the plastic forms in our hunting-pictures are purely Hellenic. The infiltration of Oriental themes is nothing new in southern Asia Minor. The representative monuments of the dynasties of archaic and classical times, which were under Oriental suzerainty, shew clearly this infiltration. Their hunts are Oriental not only in their form and in the types of huntsmen; but Oriental also in their selection as the subject and in the official interpretation of the hunting-motive as the symbol of the ruler.

We return to the group of the four sarcophagi from the Mausoleum of Xanthos. This is not the place to discuss afresh the chronology of the four types with which we are concerned. The Columnar-sarcophagus is most closely related to a group (Sardis, Isnik) which Morey (op. cit., p. 83) dates to 190. For the Hunting-sarcophagus the ornament gives the limits; E. Weigand informs me that from the forms of the Lesbian kymation, of the egg-pattern and of the bead-and-reel the date may be set about 180 and must in any case lie between 160 and 200. The two Attic sarcophagi are also both to be assigned to the last decades of the second century. A lengthy interval between the deposition of the sarcophagi there is no need to suppose. They are all to be placed in the last quarter of the second century and belong to types which by this time had long assumed fixed forms.

The Attic sarcophagi are imports from over-sea. It is characteristic of the cultural situation of Greece and the commercial relation of Asia Minor to Greece in the second century and beginning of the third, that the Greek mother-land, poverty-stricken and hide-bound by tradition, contents itself with the sarcophagi made on the spot, while rich and eclectic Asia Minor imports Attic pieces in addition to its own heavy production. The Attic workshops, like the copying schools of Athens, worked pre-dominantly for export; the best and costliest pieces went to the foreigner. As we find sarcophagi of varied type and provenience grouped in the mausolea both at Xanthos and Ephesos, it seems that we must assume a conscious love of variety. The Attic sarcophagi found at Ephesos I have collected elsewhere. And in southern Asia Minor itself the two Attic

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90 Purely Oriental is the battle with a lion on the Lion Tomb of Xanthos, Bryce, BM. Sculpt. I, i, p. 121, pl. xx. See Fuhrmann, Philostratos von Eretria, p. 242.
91 A complete chronology of Attic sarcophagi, based on a complete catalogue, will, it is hoped, be shortly published in a Berlin dissertation.
sarcophagi of Xanthos are not isolated. From Telmessos in Lycia comes the fragment of Amazon-sarcophagus, Robert, II, no. 130, pl. XLVIII. According to an old photograph by von Luschin the fragment of Achilles-sarcophagus from Adalia, Robert, II, no. 54, pl. XXIV, can be recognised as certainly Attic, not only by its type but by the deeply-incised outlines; the fragment of Erotes-sarcophagus in the wall close by is also probably Attic.\textsuperscript{104} The same holds good of the fragments from Adalia published by Moretti (op. cit. pp. 501 ff., figs. 1–8), and of two sarcophagi in Cilicia illustrated by Keil and Wilhelm (MAMA, III, pl. 47, p. 152, an Erotes-sarcophagus,\textsuperscript{105} and pl. 57, p. 184, a Garland-sarcophagus). In face of this importation the appearance of Attic motives on Asia Minor sarcophagi is no mystery.

The Hunting-sarcophagus was probably made either at Xanthos itself or in the neighbouring Pamphylia (Adalia). It is not an accident that this locally-produced work was preferred for the principal occupant of the Mausoleum.

Whether the Columnar-sarcophagus was imported from Lydia (Ephesus) or worked on the spot we may leave for the moment undecided. The pieces in Lanckoronski, not illustrated but only described or briefly mentioned,\textsuperscript{106} and the fragments from Adalia and Pednelisso recently published by Moretti and Guidi\textsuperscript{107} teach us that this type is more frequently represented in southern Asia Minor than Morey assumed.

The coastal lands of south and south-eastern Asia Minor are the classic lands of sarcophagi. We find in them, more richly than in other parts of Asia Minor, rock-sepulchres, tomb-structures, and single graves, sometimes hewn out of the rock, sometimes worked free. Here arose, perhaps under Oriental influence, the custom of burying princes in costly marble sarcophagi, on which Greek master-sculptors were employed. We know them from the sarcophagi of Sidon and from the Amazon sarcophagus of Vienna.\textsuperscript{108} Perhaps here the tradition persisted feebly throughout the whole Hellenic period, until at its end the Garland-sarcophagus appeared, which predominates in the first century of our era;\textsuperscript{109} it influenced Syria and Asia and provoked the appearance of the Attic Erotes-sarcophagi. During the course of the second century the richer forms of the Columnar and Relief sarcophagi first appear. It would seem that southern Asia Minor played a greater part as a centre of production for groups of sarcophagi than we have hitherto been able to suppose. Here, moreover, the relief friezes might bear a relation to classical pre-

\textsuperscript{104} Both fragments described also by Lanckoronski, I, p. 16.

\textsuperscript{105} Cf. the child's sarcophagus in Cyrene, Africa Ital. iii (1930), p. 114, fig. 9.

\textsuperscript{106} Lanckoronski, I, p. 50, II, p. 144: 'The married couple on the mattress-lid is more common (in Sagalassos) than in Termessos.' The example illustrated op. cit. fig. 119 is also given in Morey, p. 53, fig. 96.

\textsuperscript{107} Op. cit. pp. 484 ff.; Annuario, viii-ix (1925-6), p. 359, fig. 1. The sarcophagus of Pednelisso (Annuario, iii, 1916-20, pp. 172 ff., fig. 63) is plainly a local work.

\textsuperscript{108} Robert, III, 3, p. 552.

\textsuperscript{109} Altmann, Arch. u. Orn. d. ant. Sark. p. 100. I am indebted to J. Keil for knowledge of the oldest certain date for Garland-sarcophagus of Asia Minor. The example published by Keil-Premersstein, II Bericht über eine Reise in Lydien (Denkschr. d. Akad. Wiem, Bd. 53), p. 39, fig. 34, is dated in the year 69-70.
decessors without necessarily implying that Attic influence was responsible. In spite of the excellent travel reports on this area that we possess at present, the material published is not yet sufficient for definite conclusions, simply because the simple local types are often not illustrated or only insufficiently described. A survey of the territory with the study of sarcophagi as its first object would enable us definitely to determine what is imported from the mother cities of eastern Asia Minor and what the southern lands produced with their own hands and of their own tradition.

Gerhart Rodenwaldt.

110 As is assumed in Jdt. xlv (1930), p. 186.
THE PROGRESS OF GREEK EPIGRAPHY, 1931–1932

In the following pages I offer a brief survey of books and articles published in 1931 and 1932 which relate solely, or mainly, to Greek inscriptions. Their importance and their number have rendered the undertaking peculiarly difficult and have necessitated, if not the exclusion, at least the most rigorous compression of the paragraphs dealing with the Minoan and other pre-Hellenic scripts. To those scholars who have facilitated my task by sending me off-prints of their works I tender my heartiest thanks.

Death has in these years robbed epigraphical studies of a number of their most eminent representatives, among them H. Dessau, F. Durrbach, a leading authority on Delian inscriptions, C. Fredrich, editor of IG. xii. 8, M. Holleaux, outstanding in the Hellenistic field, O. Marucchi, an expert in Christian epigraphy, J. H. Mordtmann, Salomon 7 and Théodore 8 Reinach, and U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, 9 for many years the director of the colossal enterprise of the Inscriptiones Graecae.

I. General

In addition to my summaries 10 for 1929–30, the other bibliographies to which I referred two years ago (JHS. li. 211) have been continued. 11 A very useful addition to their number is the Rassegna di Epigrafia published in Historia, the Roman section (including Greek inscriptions relating to the Roman world) by A. Neppi Modona, 12 the Greek by M. Segre 13: the arrangement is geographical, and short summaries are given of most of the works cited. Attention should also be called to the index to L’année épigraphique for 1921–30, compiled by H. Wuilleumier, and to the very full sections 14 on Greek, Christian and Jewish Epigraphy in the new edition of Mau’s catalogue of the Library of the German Archaeological Institute in Rome.

Good progress has been made 15 with the editio minor of the Inscriptiones Graecae, the direction of which has now been entrusted to U. Wilcken, and

1 ZSav. ii. 360, Klio, xxi. 326 ff.
3 SBBerl. 1931, livi f.
4 REA. xxxiv. 454 ff., CRAcher. 1932, 329 ff.,
5 Gnomon, ix. 62 f.
7 206 ff.
8 AJA. xxxiii. 521, Klio, xxxvi. 162 f.
9 CRAcher. 1931, 374 ff.
11 SBBerl. 1932, livi f., REA. xxxiv. 194 ff.
12 JHS. li. 211 ff., JEA. xviii. 105 ff.
13 REG. xlv. 205 ff., xlv. 204 ff. (especially valuable), J. Marouzeau, Annales philologiques, v. 211 ff.,
15 iv. 115 ff., vii. 129 ff., Glotta, xxx. 153 ff., xx. 218 ff.,
18 v. 89 ff., 465 ff., vi. 146 ff., 185 ff.
19 vi. 666 ff., vi. 392 ff., 640 ff.
20 A. Mau, Katalog der Bibliothek des deutschen arch.
21 Institute in Rom, ii. 117 ff., 1427 ff., 1448 ff.
22 SBBerl. 1931, livi f., 1932, liv i.
two fascicules have been issued, with which I shall deal under Attica and Aetolia respectively. Of the *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* a fifth volume has appeared, containing the Athenian quota-lists. W. Peck has undertaken the important and difficult task of bringing up to date G. Kaibel's *Epigrammata Graeca*, and the following pages will show how actively he is engaged in the work of preparation.

B. F. C. Atkinson's account of the Greek language utilises the materials afforded by inscriptions, especially in chapter vii (pp. 165 ff.; cf. 24), devoted to the dialects, and in the appendix on the alphabet (pp. 335 ff.), while inscriptions play an even larger part in the second edition, revised by E. Kieckers, of A. Thumb's valuable *Handbuch der griechischen Dialekte*. In discussing the form ὀδρος, found in a Delian graffito, J. Zingerle has collected a large number of epigraphical examples of metathesis. R. P. Austin has examined the meaning of ἱγρα in Attic and Aeginetan inscriptions, E. Benveniste's enquiry into the sense of κολοσσος and other Greek names for 'statue' starts with an inscription of Cyrene, and epigraphical examples aid S. Tromp de Ruiter in his analysis of ἡλιοθροπία.

M. N. Tod has published three lectures dealing with the characteristics of epigraphical evidence as material for history, both in general and with specific reference to the study of interstate arbitration and of the Hellenistic and Greco-Roman clubs and associations. F. Schroeter has dealt with the diction of the letters of Hellenistic monarchs preserved upon stone, editing the texts of 65 such letters and collecting 22 fragments, of which four (Nos. 3, 6, 7, 18) were unpublished. Other articles in which inscriptions form an important, or even the main, source of our knowledge are those of W. Schwahn on the *civitas* in the Greek συμπολίτεια, of O. Jacob on the treatment by the Greek cities of those wounded in war, of K. Latte on some problems of Greek penal law, of K. Scott on Greek and Roman honorific months, of P. Roussel on the χωροι of Hellenistic and Roman times, of A. Piganol on the career of Balbillus of Ephesus, grandfather of the poetess Balbilla, and of F. Hiller von Gaertingen on outstanding feats of strength or endurance recorded in ancient times. I have not seen M. Scheele's dissertation on Στρατηγὸς ἀντικράτωρ.

No less important is the part played by inscriptions in throwing light on Greek religious thought and practice. This will be abundantly attested by the index of sources used by von Wilamowitz for his final great work on Greek

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19 Gumm, viii. 559 ff.
22 Glotta, xxi. 15 ff.
23 JHS. li. 287 ff.
24 RevPhil. vi. 118 ff., 381.
25 Mnem. lix. 277 ff.
26 Sidgwick on Greek History, Oxford, 1934: cf. REA. xxiv. 459 ff., CIE. xlvi. 20, Mondo Classico, iii. 95 ff.
28 Hermes, bevi. 97 ff.
29 Milanges Glotz, ii. 461 ff.
30 Hermes, bevi. 36 ff., 129 ff.
32 REG. xliii. 651 ff.
33 Milanges Glotz, ii. 723 ff.
34 Jahrbuch der Leineälubigen, 1931, 650 ff.
belief, and is further illustrated in H. Herter’s monograph on Priapus and, still more strikingly, in L. Deubner’s discussion of the Attic festivals, A. D. Nock’s study entitled Σύνασος θεός, F. Jacobi’s dissertation on Πάντες θεοί, B. Schweitzer’s essay on ‘Dea Nemesis Regina,’ H. Seyrig’s examination of the cult of Nemesis in Syria, M. Segre’s note on Διονύσιος καὶ Δημητρίας and other pairs of festivals similarly linked, and L. R. Taylor’s book on The Divinity of the Roman Emperor.

Of inscriptions on earthenware some will be mentioned later, but others may be briefly referred to at this point, though no attempt will be made to summarise works which are specifically devoted to ceramics, such as the Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum. We have signatures of Clitias and Ergotimus, Duris, Euphronius, Gaurion, Nearchus, Phidippus, and Tieson, together with various names of κοιλὸς-inscriptions and two inscribed lamps now in the museum at Klagenfurt. E. Pottier interprets the legend on an Attic cup found at Æleus, and H. Lamer examines an Orphic poem scratched on a late Greek bowl of unknown provenance, now at Leipzig. J. D. Beazley publishes, for the first time or anew, a considerable number of vase-inscriptions in his discussion of the aryballos and in his article entitled Disjecta membra, a veritable tour de force of close observation and tenacious memory.

Attempts are being made to secure greater uniformity of usage in the representation of epigraphical texts, and to this end a series of recommendations has been issued under the auspices of the Union Académique Internationale. E. Schwyzer investigates the Greek letter-names ending in -α, the derivation of the name σινας, the history of the word 'alphabet' and some cognate problems: A. Mentz advances a new theory regarding the original forms of ι and ι, assigning their invention to townsmen rather than to nomads; J. Lindblom discusses the name and form of the letter ζητα in the Phoenician and Greek alphabets, and M. Hammarström argues that the two forms of ψ found in the Western group of alphabets are differentiations of χ = ξ, probably not older than the fifth century B.C.

J. Friedrich’s compendious selection of Kleinasiatische Sprachdenkmäler...
includes, *inter alia*, a number of neo-Phrygian texts (pp. 128 ff.), some of them bilingual, an inscription from the Myso-Phrygian borders (140 ff.), the Lemnian Stele (143 ff.), the "Eteocretan" texts from Praesus (145 ff.) and the Thracian ring-inscription from Ezerovo (148). The Lemnian stele is also discussed by F. Ribezzo, who detects in its language a mixture of Aegeo-Etruscan and of Veneto-Thracian, while P. Gastaldi Millelire seeks to interpret both it and a Praesian text and M. Dayet bases upon the second inscription of Praesus the belief that Eteocretan is "une langue non pas dérivée, mais cousine du phrygien." P. Dhorme still holds that E. Power's readings of the Amathus inscriptions are a "petit jeu d'enfant." E. Sittig discusses three new texts in the Cyprian syllabic writing.

Research into the Minoan scripts has received a powerful impetus from the discoveries made at Mallia, admirably edited by F. Chaphouthier. A bold attempt to interpret a number of Cnossian records and the Phaestus disk by the aid of Greek has been made by F. M. Stawell. G. Hempl's posthumous works include five studies, edited by F. Anderson, dealing with (i) the genesis of European writing, (ii) Minoan seals, with contributions to the history of the origin and development of the alphabet, (iii) the Hittite language, which proves to be a form of Greek, (iv) Etruscan, which is found to include the Eteocretan of the Praesus stones and the Cyprian of the two Amathusian stones in Oxford, and (v) Venetic. The Greek-Phoenician alphabetic forms are, it is held, ultimately derived from a Minoan source, though modified by cuneiform influence. The relations between the Minoan script and the Phoenician alphabet are also discussed by M. Dayet and by J. Sundwall, who has also interpreted ten accounts in Cnossian linear-B and argued in favour of a Babylonian origin of the Cretan standard. J. Lindequist proposes a reading of a proto-Greek inscription from Asine which differs from that suggested by A. W. Persson, to whom we owe an interesting article on the inscribed clay balls found at Enkomi in Cyprus.

I must not touch upon the recent developments of the study of the Sinaic inscriptions save to mention M. Sprengling's attempt to interpret them and to trace the rise of the alphabet from the "Se'irite" script of the nineteenth century B.C. which they exemplify. Nor must I enter into the thrilling story of the decipherment of the Ras Shamra tablets, written in a
cuneiform alphabet, or say anything of the literature they contain. The originality of the Phoenician alphabetic signary is maintained 78 by J. de Groot and by R. DuSSaud.79 Other noteworthy contributions to the study of the origin and development of alphabetic writing are those of J. Lindblom,80 V. Bérard 81 and B. L. Ullman 82: the last two are none the less scientific in character for being popular in form. I have not seen V. Goldschmidt's accounts 88 of the origin of our alphabet and our numeral system.

II. Attica

R. Benneboesel's dissertation 84 on the reliefs which adorn some Attic stelae bearing documents of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. falls at least near the border-line of epigraphical studies, as does also P. Devambez's criticism 85 of Couchoud's theory that the reliefs on tombstones represent gods and heroes: Devambez contends, relying in part on epigraphical arguments, that the artist portrayed the person commemorated 7 as a dead man continuing among the dead the same life which he had led in all its various aspects. H. Diepolder's notable work 86 on Attic fifth- and fourth-century grave-reliefs contains a list (p. 63) of the names of those whose tombstones it discusses. The second edition of E. Nachmanson's useful Historische attische Inschriften 87 is a photographic reproduction, save for the correction of a few typographical errors, of the original edition of 1913, with two additional pages containing references to some publications of the intervening eighteen years.

[IG. i2.] Down to 403 B.C.—Several interesting inscriptions of this period have been discovered or first published in the past two years. K. Kourouniotes has found 88 at Eleusis part of the decree reorganising the Eleusinian sanctuary, probably between 446 and 440 B.C. It names the architect Coroebus, who is said by Plutarch (Pericles, 13) to have begun the building of the Telesterion, defines the method of the election of the ἄνεστατος, prescribes their functions, and directs the execution of certain works in the Eleusinion at Athens and at Phalerum. Of H. T. Wade-Gery's addition of a new fragment to the record of the Samian capitulation in 439 (IG. i2. 50) I speak below, as also of A. B. West's identification of an unpublished fragment of a Parthenon inventory (i2. 287). K. Schmidt's thesis 89 on the names of the Attic war-ships includes among its sources an unpublished fragment, now in the Cabinet des Médailles at Paris, of a fifth-century navy-list (pp. 2, 6 ff.), recording twelve ships' names, eight of which do not

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79 Syria, xii. 283 ff.
87 Kleine Texte, 110, Berlin, 1931.
recurs later. Among the recent discoveries in the Parthenon, edited by N. Kyparissis, is a sixth-century dedication, which has also been discussed by A. Salač, while the investigation of a sanctuary on the N. slope of the Acropolis by O. Bronner has brought to light a dedication to Aphrodite and the rock-cut inscription Τοι ἐποτέ ἐφορὰς ἱσταμένοις Μουησίδοις οἱ ἔτη ὅ[(5)], both dating from about the middle of the fifth century. Among the epigraphical fruits of K. Kourouniotes' excavation of the temple of Apollo Zoster on the eastern coast of Attica are two archaic dedicatory inscriptions on a basis and a boustraphedon votive epigram on a kioniskos. D. K. Hill adds six new boundary-stones from the Piraeus to the twelve previously known, which are usually connected with Hippodamia's town-planning scheme: one of these (found by E. Bronner near the N.E. corner of the Acropolis) bears the same inscription as ι. 892, and three are copies of ι. 891. Excavations in the Ceramicus have made two interesting additions to our historical inscriptions, a further fragment of the list of the Argive allies of Athens who fell at the battle of Tanagra in 457 and the metrical epitaph of Silenus, one of the Rhynoenvos who came to Athens shortly before the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War: another epigram, dating from the sixth or early fifth century, has been found near by, built into the foundation of the old Pompeion. The discovery of a sixth-century boundary-stone of a ταυματος of Athena in the plain lying to the N. of Agriliki is announced.

I now turn to inscriptions of this period already known. The epitaph of the Spartan officers and men who fell in a skirmish with the Athenian democrats at the Piraeus in 403 (cf. JHS. lii. 217), has been more fully published by A. Brueckner and provided with an historical and archaeological commentary by LaRue Van Hook. A. Körte argues in favour of attributing to the battle of Arginusae in 406 a long naval casualty-list (iii, 1951) registering the full crews of at least five triremes. U. Kahrstedt discusses and restores the document recently found at Eleusis (cf. JHS. lii. 217 f.), in which he sees a decree of the Eleusinian legislature, passed, shortly after the fall of the Thirty Tyrants at Athens, on the basis of the treaty recorded by Aristotle in Ἀθ. τ. 39. The dramatic inscription from Aegone (cf. JHS. lii. 218 f.), now in the Epigraphical Museum, continues to excite interest. M. Guarducci supports her own view in opposition to that of Wilamowitz, which she regards as needlessly complicated; M. N. Tod summarises the opinions of the earlier editors, and W. Janell assigns to Sophocles' Telephene the same component plays as Arvanitopoulos and regards as the chief interest of the
inscription its proof that Sophocles, like Aeschylus, composed tetralogies bound together by unity of thought and legend.

The following texts published in IG. ii. have evoked fresh discussion.

6. P. Roussel makes frequent reference to this decree in his article on certain aspects of the Eleusinian worship.


50. He also publishes a new fragment (d) of the pact which ended the Samian War in 439 B.C., identified as such by Wilhelm, unites it with fragment a, considers their relation to b, c, and shows that in a + d we have a list of the generals active in the summer of 439 after the capitulation of Samos.

63, 64. In his essay on 'Two Assessments of the Athenian Empire' A. B. West returns to the difficult problems of the assignment of the extant fragments of assessments to the two documents ii. 63 and 64 and of the restoration of the total assessment of ii. 65: his main object is negative, to disprove Kolbe's view that both are copies of the same list, but he allows that, with due caution, each can be used to supplement the other and makes a number of positive contributions, especially in the concluding explanatory notes, towards the reconstruction of both lists. Elsewhere, under the title 'Cleon's Assessment and the Athenian Budget,' West seeks, by estimating the Athenian revenue and expenditure during the years 433–432 to 426–425, to determine how much Athens needed to collect from her Empire in order to balance her budget: the result, he claims, is to strengthen the view that the budget-makers of 425–424 B.C. cancelled the ισόφορα and raised the tribute-assessment to 960 talents, which, together with the other imperial revenue, was regarded as ample for Athenian needs. He also suggests a restoration of 63, ll. 45 ff. (p. 218). W. Kolbe in reply protests against reckonings based on the 'balancing of the budget,' criticises West's classification of income as (a) Imperial revenue, (b) ισόφορα, and (c) loans, on the ground that (b) and (c) are extraordinary revenue, and urges the substitution for them of πρόσωπος οπο τῶν ένθημένων (Xen. Anab. vii. 1. 27); he further supports his own view that the 'Cleonian' assessment amounted to 1,460 talents.

84. L. Zichen proposes a new restoration of ll. 30, 31 of the decree relative to the Hephaestia.

91, 92. H. T. Wade-Gery devotes a noteworthy article to the 'Decrees of Callias,' shewing, on the basis of a re-examination of the stele in the Louvre, that the prescript of the second is the same as that of the first (i.e. that both were passed on the same day), restoring afresh the text of 92 and discussing in detail the principal historical and financial questions raised by both decrees, which he inclines to date in 422 B.C. rather than in 434: two appendixes must discuss the evidence for (a) the dative

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107 BCH. liv. 51 ff.
108 JHS. ii. 73, note 80.
109 CPh. xxxvi. 309 ff.
110 AM. xxixii. 472.
113 PkW. iii. 1131 ff.
114 Hermes, lvii. 228 ff.
116 He has subsequently retracted this view, JHS. liii. 155.
termination—an as a chronological criterion and (b) the use of the forms ἡλ- αἰ in Attic inscriptions prior to 403 B.C. These decrees play an important part also in W. S. Fergusson's examination of Athenian finance.

94. R. P. Austin explains the phrase παρὰ τὰ ἱκέτευξι in l. 28.

96. B. D. Meritt discusses the articles of Gerling and Kolbe (cf. JHS. li. 219) on the date of the renewal of the Argive-Athenian alliance, both of which took exception to his reconstruction of the Athenian civil calendar between 419-8 and 416-5 B.C.: he concludes that the alliance must have been ratified in the spring of 416, but accepts Gerling's calendar: for the years in question and shows the results which follow for the Spartan calendar and the date of the Gymnopaidia.

191. It is unnecessary to emphasise the value and interest of the fifth volume of the Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum, which is devoted wholly to the tribute quota-lists, containing the texts, as revised by West and Meritt, of all the extant fragments, together with bibliographical and textual notes and a complete index of the tributary states and persons. Though it cannot claim finality, it must be regarded for the present as definitely superseding IG. i. 191-231. West's articles noticed above (under 63, 64) refer constantly to the lists, especially to 214-5, which indicates a marked rise in the tribute imposed on the Empire between the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War and the 'Cleonian' reassessment. G. Corradi reviews favourably M. Rava's treatment (cf. JHS. lii. 220 f.) of the tribute-question, while emphasising the difficulties presented by its problems.

232 ff. Wade-Gery makes some observations on the temple-inventories in connexion with the Decrees of Callias, and A. B. West adds a new fragment to 287, which enables him to restore ll. 187-201 and to amend 286 and 288. For 255 see below.

294, 299, 308. Wade-Gery shews that these three fragments are parts of the same inscription, recording the expenditure of the ταινία τῆς χειροτο of part of the period 432-1 to 427-6, and proposes a restoration of ll. 9-16. The importance and date of 299 are also discussed by West.

301. Wade-Gery argued in favour of assigning this record to the early years of the Peloponnesian War, but later admitted the cogency of W. S. Fergusson’s reasoning in favour of the date 409-8.

302. West restores ll. 17 f. of this financial document.

303. See above under 294.

310. J. Johnson has published a revision of this inventory πον ἔλλανε στῆν ὑπό νομοθετικ with photographs and facsimiles of all the ten extant fragments (one of which appears here for the first time), a restored text (Plate IV) of the whole, and full textual notes. With the two lost fragments he does not
here deal. Wade-Gery touches\textsuperscript{122} incidentally on the same document in his treatment of the Decrees of Callias.

324. The accounts of the λογισταί enter inevitably into every discussion of Athenian finance in the Archidamian War, such as that of Wade-Gery just mentioned, that of Ferguson cited below and those of West noted under 63, 64. West suggests\textsuperscript{123} a restoration in l. 42.

368. Wade-Gery restores\textsuperscript{124} in l. 28 ήτο τά λόγιστα μητρώ or τά ού διά σελευκίν[μετος].

371. R. P. Austin examines\textsuperscript{125} the meaning of πρόσ τά ίερα in l. 23.

892. The reading of this boundary-stone is corrected\textsuperscript{126} by D. K. Hill.

899, 901. Wade-Gery, after a discussion of the Solonian δρομοι, offers\textsuperscript{127} a new restoration and an interpretation of these two 'riding-frontiers' from the Piraeus, one of the tribe Οίνεις, the other of Hippothontis; he leaves unsettled the question whether they mark portions of the foreshore used for beaching or docking ships or merely parade-stations for troops.

Certain other works call for mention here as dealing both with the fifth and with the fourth century. Dinsmoor's magnum opus on the Athenian archons of the Hellenistic period cites numerous fifth-century texts in connexion with his study of the Attic calendar (see p. 529). His long and detailed article\textsuperscript{128} on the burning of the Opisthodomos examines minutely the epigraphical evidence bearing on the fire or fires\textsuperscript{129} recorded in Xen. Hell. i. 6. 1 (which Dinsoom thinks an interpolation) and Dem. xxiv. 136 with the scholia: this is found mainly in IG. xii. 1. 977 (SIG. 129) and ii\textsuperscript{2}. 1654, and the discussion of the latter leads to a re-examination of the chronology of all the Erechtheum inscriptions, of which Dinsmoor assigns

\begin{itemize}
  \item i\textsuperscript{1}. 111, 372, 373, 374 ll. 404–17, and 967 to 409–8 B.C.
  \item i\textsuperscript{2}. 374 ll. 1–403 to 408–7 B.C.
  \item ii\textsuperscript{1}. 1655 to 405–4 B.C.
  \item ii\textsuperscript{2}. 1654 to 394–1 or 377–5 B.C.
\end{itemize}

He also reviews, with due attention to the relevant inscriptions, the problem of the temples on the Acropolis and the location of the Opisthodomos, which has given rise to at least seven different theories (p. 309). W. Kolbe deals very fully with some of the same problems and evidence in his review\textsuperscript{130} of O. Walter's guide to the Acropolis, maintaining that inscriptions support the view that the Opisthodomos is the western sella of the Parthenon and disprove the continued existence of the old poros temple after 406 B.C. W. S. Ferguson's The Treasurers of Athena,\textsuperscript{131} the work of an acknowledged master, is, though addressed avowedly to specialists, rightly described\textsuperscript{132} by Meritt as 'indispensable to anyone interested in the source-material of

\textsuperscript{122} JHS. ii. 75 ff., 83 ff.
\textsuperscript{123} Trans. Am. Phil. Ass. lxxi. 220.
\textsuperscript{124} JHS. ii. 82 ff.
\textsuperscript{125} Ibid. 288 ff.
\textsuperscript{126} AJA. xxxvi. 254 ff.
\textsuperscript{127} Milanges Glotz, ii. 877 ff.
\textsuperscript{128} AJA. xxxvi. 143 ff., 397 ff.
\textsuperscript{129} On the whole, Dinsmoor finds it difficult to believe that there was more than a single fire, occurring in the first part of the year 377–6 (p. 172).
\textsuperscript{130} Phil. i. 71 ff., 101 ff. For W. Dörpfeld's reply see 765 ff.
\textsuperscript{132} AJA. xxxvi. 260 f.
Athenian history. A minute scrutiny of the Attic financial records and inventories ministers to a fresh, and at most points convincing, interpretation both of the organisation of the Athenian Treasury and of the financial vicissitudes of the city during the closing years of the Peloponnesian War. Fresh light is also thrown on the secretary-cycles, on the amalgamation of the boards of τιμή τῆς θεοῦ and of τιμή θέου ἀλλοι θεοῦ, and on numerous inscriptions, notably i², 91-2, 254-5, 301-2, ii². 1686: a list of these is given in an index (pp. 197 f.), which indicates those, numbering no fewer than 26, in which fresh restorations are proposed. A. C. Johnson rejects Ferguson’s restoration (p. 13) of 255a and suggests another, based on a line of 47 instead of 60 letters: he argues that the consolidation of the two boards of treasurers took place not in 406-5 but at the beginning of 405-4. Ferguson’s essay on “Athenian War Finance” I know only indirectly.

[IG. ii and iii.] After 403 B.C.—A further imposing fascicule of Inscriptiones Graecae, ii et iii (ed. minor), edited by that tireless veteran, J. Kirchner, to whom Attic epigraphical studies owe an incalculable debt, contains 1221 texts, of which 196 had been wholly and four partly unpublished. The first part comprises the lists of magistrates (Nos. 1696 ff.), prytanes (1740 ff.), jurymen and arbitrators (1835 ff.), religious officials (1933 ff.), soldiers, sailors, cleruchs, ephebi and guards (1951 ff.), subscribers to common objects (2329 ff.), members of religious or secular associations (2343 ff.) and cognate documents, including the agonistic catalogues relating to the Panathenaeae, Dionysia and Lenaee (2311 ff.). The second part is composed of leases (2490 ff.), boundary- and mortgage-stones (2505 ff.), wills and other instrumenta iuris privati (2771 ff.), and the work ends with a short but interesting section of varia (2777 ff.), tables of archons of the Imperial period (pp. 789 ff.), important addenda and corrigenda to this and the preceding fascicule (pp. 797 ff.) and an invaluable table of concordance (pp. 818 ff.).

Dinsmoor’s work on the Athenian archons and Woodward’s study of the fourth-century treasure-lists, both of which contain unpublished fragments, will be mentioned below under ii², 649 and 1388 respectively. Nine inscriptions of considerable interest were brought to light when the W. door of the Parthenon, which was narrowed when the temple became a church, was opened to its original width. These are published by N. Kyparisses and comprise (i) the long traditio of the τιμή τῆς θεοῦ for 307-6 to their successors in office (IG. ii². 1428), restored by comparison with ii². 1400, 1415, 1421, 1425, 1428, 1429; (ii) a similar traditio for 369-8 (iii². 1424a), restored with the aid of, and in turn supplementing and correcting 1425; (iii) a marble base, re-used for an inscription in honour of the augur P. Cornelius Lentulus; (iv) an honorary text for two Vipstani Galli; (v) a phrase dating iii. 112; (vi) an honorary inscription for King Archelaus.
(vii) an archaic dedication below which was later added 158 ὁ δήμος [Ἀεώκιον Ἀμοῖλον Ἡφαῖστου νύμφαν] Ἡφαῖστου (cos. A.D. 1) [ἀρρενία ἐνεκα; (viii) a record of victories at the Nemea, Isthmia and Panathenaea, and (ix) the epigram iii. 770. On the N. slope of the Acropolis, close to the sanctuary of Eros and Aphrodite, were found 151 a fragment of a dedication and a mutilated decree of 302-1 B.C., while in the Periclean Odeum A. K. Orlandos has discovered 152 a tripod-base with a perfectly preserved choregic inscription of 176-5 or 175-4 B.C., which enables us to restore a name in ii. 766. The investigation of the Pnyx undertaken by K. Kourouniotis and H. A. Thompson has revealed 153 an inscribed sherd, a stamped fragment of a lamp, a votive plaque from the shrine of Zeus Ὑψιστός (two others came to light in the Agora of Caesar and Augustus) and three short rock-cut inscriptions. The epigraphical firstfruits 154 reaped by the American and the Greek excavators of the Agora consist of a lamp, two weights, a dedication of 172-1 B.C., the two votives above mentioned and a decree, of which the text is not yet published, passed by the ephes of 172-1 and containing a hitherto unknown archon’s name. We eagerly await the extraordinarily rich harvest which is to follow.

Numerous finds, in addition to those already recorded as belonging to the sixth and fifth centuries, have been made in the German excavation of the Ceramicus. A. Brueckner’s account 155 of the work carried out, mainly in the Pompeion, in 1929 includes a number of stamped lamps, graffiti of individuals or of groups of φιλοι, the title Μετενδερος engraved beneath a painting of that poet by Cratinus (p. 12), a votive herm dedicated in 95-4 B.C. (20 f.), a fragment of a Hellenistic calendar (23 f. = ii. 21782), relics of the cults of τῷ θεῷ, Athena, Artemis, Asclepius and Hygeia (25 ff.), an epitaph in retrograde script and further fragments of the memorial erected by his mother to the sophist Aurelius Rufus, enabling us to complete the fragmentary text iii. 1429. In the same neighbourhood were also found 156 a dozen grave-inscriptions of various periods and two stones inscribed ἄρος θησείς.

The recent accessions to the National Museum, described 157 by B. D. Theophaneides, include nine epitaphs from Koukouvaones, Athens, the Piraeus and Old Phalerum. N. Kyparissis registers 158 numerous additions made to the archaeological collection in the Theseum, found for the most part in the course of building operations at Athens. These comprise, in addition to 58 unpublished epitaphs on steiae, tables, lecythi or κοβλακοὶ, a grave-stele (p. 56, No. 217) bearing the epigram ii. 3412, the basis (p. 45, No. 167) of the κωμάρχιον and κωμώνται (cf. JHS. li. 223), the base (p. 51, No. 160) of a statue erected by the Council and People, honouring Ἀρείου Καίσαρα τοῦ νῦν νῦν θεόν Ἀρη, 159 a ἄρος χαρίου παπραμένου

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158 A. Salač, Listy Filol. liviii. 381 ff., known to me only from Historia, vi. 696, REG. xlv. 214.
159 Hesperia, i. 45 f.: cf. BCH. iv. 460.
161 Hesperia, i. 134, 185, 196 ff., 213 ff.
162 A. xlvi. 118 f., 122 f.
163 AM. ivi. 1 ff.: cf. AJA. xxvii. 190 f.
164 A. xlv. 93, xlvii. 187 ff.: cf. AJA. xxxvi. 352 f.
165 Διάλ. xi. παρ. 1 ff.: cf. A. xlvi. 124 f.
166 Διάλ. xi. παρ. 44 ff.: cf. REG. xlv. 213 ff., where No. 184 is restored.
Éπι λύσει (p. 51, No. 163), and a basis dedicated by the Council in 357-6 B.C. to the Twelve Gods and later re-used for a private offering (p. 59, No. 226). W. Peck has edited a metrical epitaph, which he dates about 400 B.C., from Athens, and another, seriously mutilated, from Daphni improved readings of the former are proposed by A. Wilhelm, H. T. Wade-Gery and others, of the latter by P. Maas. Peck has also published two other epigrams, perfectly preserved, from Athens, one of which commemorates an Ὄρθογράφος.

At Eleusis K. Kourouniotes has found a fragmentary relief of the Roman period dedicated to Artemis by a πυρφόρος τοῦ θεοῦ, as well as a considerable portion of a contract of about 350 B.C. relating to the repair of the wall and gates of the city, and has entrusted to I. C. Threpsiades the publication of a decree, of which 68 lines survive, dating from the close of the first century B.C., in honour of the Ἀγίος Themistocles: this gives us a list of twelve successive holders of that office and throws an interesting light on its functions and its family associations. Among the ruins of the temple of Apollo Zoster Kourouniotes found six fourth-century inscriptions, a dedication, a well-preserved decree (No. 4) honouring a priest and the members of a committee chosen by the demesmen of Halae to carry out the repair of the temple and the adornment of the statues, and portions of four other similar decrees. E. Vanderpool has published a fourth-century palimpsest dikast's ticket found at Liope, the ancient Paenia, and now in the University of Illinois, and a dedication bearing the signature of the sculptor Onetorides has come to light in the plain to the N. of Agriliki, where lay the deme Probainthus.

Even the depths of the African sea pay their tribute to Attic epigraphy. A. Dain discusses five inscriptions, now in the Musée Alaoui at Tunis, carried off from the Piraeus soon after 86 B.C., probably as ballast in a pirate ship amid whose wreckage they were found in 1909 and 1910 off Mahdia on the Tunisian coast. They consist of a decree (the text of which is still unpublished) of 363-2 B.C. followed by a list of gifts made by the Athenians to the temple of Ammon at the Piraeus, two honorary decrees of the παράξυνας, of which one appeared in Michel's Recueil, 1517, throwing some light on the corporation formed by the crew of the dispatch-boat Paralos, and two epitaphs. E. Michon describes an Attic grave-stele now in the Louvre. Other inscriptions, almost all sepulchral, added to the National Museum, the Epigraphical Museum or the Theseum Collection or found in the Cemetery, or in the Theatre Square or on...
the road to the Academy,\textsuperscript{178} are at present announced rather than published.

So far we have dealt with new discoveries, but the value of many inscriptions already known has been enhanced by better reading or restoration and by more adequate interpretation. The new edition of two large and important classes of documents in \textit{IG}, ii\textsuperscript{a}, 2, 2 supplies us with texts which in many cases mark a striking advance over those hitherto available. To W. S. Ferguson's \textit{Treasurers of Athena} I have already drawn attention: his \textit{Athenian Tribal Cycles} came into my hands too late to be dealt with here. P. Graindor has made a further valuable contribution to the study of later Athens in a work\textsuperscript{179} which deals with every aspect of the city's life and thought from the reign of Tiberius to that of Trajan, based to a considerable extent on epigraphical data (the index of inscriptions utilised extends to eight pages, 221--8) and illustrated by photographs of seventeen epigraphical monuments. P. Roussel's historical commentary\textsuperscript{180} on the decree from Rhamnus dated 236--5 B.C. (cf. \textit{JHS}, ii, 222 ff.) examines the repercussions in Attica of the struggles which marked the reign of Demetrius II of Macedon (239--29), the limits of the authority exercised by Macedon and by Athens, and the position and duties of the ἐπιμεληται ὁ ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις. O. Kern restores\textsuperscript{181} a phrase in a Delphian oracle of Hadrian's time relative to the tithes owed to Apollo by Demeter Chloe; A. C. Hadjis comments\textsuperscript{182} on an interesting fourth-century record from Salamis (\textit{AM}, xlvi, ii); C. Bottin's study\textsuperscript{183} of the dithyrambic choregia in Attica uses the available epigraphical materials; F. Robert traces\textsuperscript{184} with the aid of ii. 1649 (\textit{SIG}, 86) the story of the introduction of the Asklepius-cult from Epidaurus into Attica; E. Pfühl discusses\textsuperscript{185} the famous tombstone of Dexitios, who fell at Corinth in 394 B.C. (ii, 2084); P. Roussel makes\textsuperscript{186} a slight correction in ii. 2495, and G. M. A. Richter republishes\textsuperscript{187} a Lansdowne stele (ii, 4294) recently acquired by the New York Museum. Turning to \textit{IG}, iii, we note that 68c has been explained\textsuperscript{188} by O. Walter, 112 and 770 have been disengaged, as we have seen, from the W. door of the Parthenon, and 368 has been amended\textsuperscript{189} by A. Bon and H. Seyrig; ii, 3412 has been brought into the Theseum.\textsuperscript{190}

The following texts in \textit{IG}, ii\textsuperscript{a}, have been the object of fruitful study.

101 (\textit{SIG}, 154), a decree for Alcetas, has been discussed\textsuperscript{191} by G. N. Cross.

236 (\textit{SIG}, 260), the treaty concluded by the Greeks with Philip of Macedon, has been re-examined\textsuperscript{192} by W. Schwalm, who followed Wilcken's restoration with three slight modifications: he has devoted\textsuperscript{193} special attention to the interpretation and restoration of the schedule showing the

\textsuperscript{178} \textit{BCH}, liv, 460, \textit{REG}, lxv, 214.

\textsuperscript{179} \textit{Athines de Tiber à Trajan}, Cairo, 1931: cf. \textit{RA}, xxxv, 165, PtoW, iii, 92 ff.


\textsuperscript{181} \textit{AM}, iv, 207 ff.

\textsuperscript{182} \textit{Ephes.}, 1939, 59 ff., 181.

\textsuperscript{183} \textit{Reehler}, ii, 5 ff., 405 ff.

\textsuperscript{184} \textit{Reehler}, ii, 5 ff., 405 ff.

\textsuperscript{185} \textit{AM}, iv, 207 ff.

\textsuperscript{186} \textit{REG}, xlv, 214.

\textsuperscript{187} \textit{Met. Mus. Studies}, iii, 2, 147 ff.

\textsuperscript{188} \textit{JHS}, xxxvii, 89.

\textsuperscript{189} \textit{BCH}, iii, 347.

\textsuperscript{189} \textit{Devr.}, xi, 74, 56.

\textsuperscript{191} \textit{Ephes.}, 169.

\textsuperscript{192} \textit{Klio}, Beiheft, xxi, 36 ff.: cf. \textit{Gramm.}, ix, 311 ff.

\textsuperscript{190} \textit{Ibid.}, 1 ff.
number of votes exercised in the συνέδριον by each of the participating communities—a number proportionate, in his view, to their capacity to render military assistance. M. Segre has made a number of valuable criticisms and suggestions. F. Schiel's article on the Corinthian League of 338–7 also rests mainly on this inscription, which, together with [Demosthenes] xvii and IG. iv, 1. 68, forms the chief source of knowledge of the content and phraseology of the laws which underlay the League: it seeks to rebut the attack of Schwahn, who maintains that it was based solely on the κοινή ἐργαζή, on Wilcken's view, that its basis was a general alliance concluded by Philip with the Greeks, and to shew that it was in fact built up upon the κοινή ἐργαζή and a subsequent general συμμαχία, two acts of state which must be sharply distinguished both in nature and in time.

467 (SIG. 327). A. Wilhelm has restored l. 16 of the decree for Timosthenes.

649. The discovery of the right-hand half of this inscription on the western slope of the Acropolis in 1928 not only enabled W. B. Dinsmoor to restore the complete text of this decree for Philippides, but, by proving that Olympiodorus held office as archon in the two years 294–3 and 293–2, shewed that all previous reconstructions of the archon-list of the third century were at fault and so led him to a reconsideration of the whole of Athenian chronology from 307–6 to 88–7 B.C., with frequent excursions beyond these boundaries of space and time. The results are embodied in his massive volume The Archons of Athens in the Hellenistic Age, which relates mainly to Athens save in Chapter IX, devoted to Delphian chronology, and Appendices G and H, which discuss the Egyptian and the Delian calendar. Its three main sections are concerned with (i) the ἀναγραφείς, (ii) the archons, and (iii) the calendar, and are followed by appendixes dealing with the official order of the tribes, the tribal assignment of the demes, the fourth-century priests of Asclepius, the archon-list of 232–209 (ii, 1706), the archons named in the didascaliae (ii, 2323), etc. Special attention is paid to the tribal cycles of secretaries and priests and to the influence on the Athenian calendar of the astronomical cycles of Meton, Callippus and Hipparchus. It is impossible here to register all the inscriptions, Attic and foreign, which Dinsmoor corrects or restores, dates or discusses (the mere list of them in Index A occupies ten pages), and though authorities such as Kirchner, Roussel and Tarn to mention but three names, find themselves unable to accept all Dinsmoor's conclusions, yet most will agree with A. B. West that For the history of Hellenistic Greece the book is indispensable: as a work of reference on the Attic calendar it is far superior to anything hitherto available: the mass of detail, the multitude of mathematical computations, the astronomical niceties, all illustrate the thoroughness of the author and arouse

184 Historia, v. 443 ff. 186 On this aspect cf. HHS. liii. 145.
188 Coanun, viii. 449 ff.
189 REA. xxiv. 196 ff.
190 CStr. xlv. 143 f.
191 AJA. xxxvi. 206 ff.
the admiration of the reader," even if they cannot subscribe to U. Kahrstedt's verdict, 1/9. Das Buch ist das Maximum dessen, was Methode und Scharfsinn über einen der schwierigsten Stoffkomplexe der ganzen alten Geschichte menschenmöglich herausbekommen können.

766. A. K. Orlandos restores 204 the mutilated name in l. 35.

922. L. Robert proposes 205 a new restoration of l. 1 of the decree for Hicesius.

1028. L. Ziehen discusses 208 the phrase ἡραντο τοὺς βέσας in l. 10 of this honorary decree for the ephiebi of 100-99 B.C. and similar documents (1008, 1011, 1029) in the light of Strabo, xiv. 650, and concludes that oxen may actually have been carried to the altar for sacrifice.

1099. The articles of A. Steinwenter 207 and G. Beseler 208 relate mainly to Hadrian's Latin letter of A.D. 121 to Plotina and not to Plotina's Greek letter πασι τοὺς φίλους (SIG. 834).

1237 (SIG. 921). H. T. Wade-Gery translates and discusses 206 the first two 'Demotionid decrees,' resolutions of the Phratry, or 'ecclesiastical parish,' of Decelea, as throwing light on the privileges of blood which survived into the fourth century B.C.

1368 (SIG. 1109). In treating of the Dionysiac mysteries, U. von Wilamowitz speaks 210 of the rites of the Ioabacchi as revealed in their statutes.

1370 ff. The traditio of the Treasurers of Athena and the Other Gods for 403-2 B.C. (1370) is discussed and restored 211 by Ferguson. Kirchner has published 212 restorations of this text and others of the same class, notably 1371, 1377, 1378 + 1398, 1381 + 1386, 1402, proposed by Woodward, who has also re-edited 213 the traditio Hecatompedi for 398-7 (1388), now in the British Museum; he assigns to it 1408 and a new fragment in the Epigraphical Museum at Athens and calculates that the obverse had about 102 lines and the reverse about 87. He further shews that 1409 is also from a Hekatompedon list soon after 398-7, and that 1393 + 1406 + 1449 form part of a single stele, to which 1448 may also belong. The article closes with revised restorations of 1408 and 1448.

1407 ff. Marked progress has been made with the inventories of the ταυμα τῆς θεᾶς as reconstituted in 385-4. That for 369-8 has, as we have seen above, been discovered (14246) and that for 367-6 (1428) more perfectly read, and these contribute to the restoration of other members of the series, especially of 1425. Woodward's article above mentioned is also of value for these lists, and Ferguson has made 214 numerous suggestions, especially in Appendix II, which contains, inter alia, restorations of 1412 and 1413.

1604 ff. The thirty navy-lists, of which 1604 8 belongs to the fifth
century and the remainder fall between 377-6 and 323-2 B.C., afford K. Schmidt the materials for his thesis on the names of Attic war-ships: in his index he collects 282 complete and 34 mutilated names of vessels and 63 of ship-builders. In 1629 is inserted (ll. 165–271 = SIG. 305) the decree of 325-4 ordering the foundation of an Adriatic colony, the nature of which is discussed by S. Žebelev.

1655 (SIG. 152). The `Sandwich Marble' and also 1634 are analysed by V. Groh with a view to determining the organisation of the Delian Amphictyony.

1655 is assigned by Ferguson to 407-6, and 1654 to 405-4. Dinsmoor's divergent view has been mentioned above.

1686 also is examined by Ferguson and dated in 405-3.

1951 is attributed by A. Körte to the battle of Arginusae in 406. Lines 75, 85, 87, 89 of this Panathenaic list are restored by H. C. Montgomery.

III. The Peloponnesse

[IG. iv.] The excavations carried on at Aegina by G. Welter and P. Strack have resulted in the discovery of five Hellenistic epitaphs, of which three are dated by the name of the eponymous magistrate, the month and the day, as well as of other minor finds. R. P. Austin has discussed the word ἱερο-, which occurs in an Aeginetan temple-inventory (IG. iv. 39). Among the fruits of the successful excavations of the British School at Athens in the Corinthian Peraea is a sixth-century bronze bull, unearthed at Perachora, bearing a dedicatory inscription to Hera Limenia.

Remarkable progress has been made with the publication of the epigraphical results of the American excavations at Corinth. A. E. Newhall's article on the Corinthian Ceramicus contains a votive inscription of about 550 B.C. engraved on a fragment of a bronze bowl, a painted plaque portraying an armed man Epiclēo[ς] and the first extant signature of a Corinthian potter, Echeclus, incised on a skyphos. Other recent finds—an epitaph and inscriptions on lamps, loom-weights, etc.—are recorded by F. J. de Waele and T. L. Shear. Especially noteworthy is the series of volumes entitled Corinth, which contain the definitive account of the work achieved. In that which is devoted to Acrocorinth O. Bronner publishes a fragmentary epigram and fourteen texts, almost all memorial in character, from Upper Pirene, five of which appear here for the first time and others in improved readings. Inscriptions are also found in I. Thallon-Hill and L. S. King's discussion of the decorated

218 Athenian, x. 148 ff.
219 Treasures of Athens, 48 ff., 84.
220 Ibid., 77 ff., etc.
221 PhW, lii. 1027 ff.
222 CPh, xxxvi. 345.
223 A.A. xlvii. 275 ff., JHS. li. 200, BCH. iv. 469.
224 A.A. xlvi. 168 ff., AJA. xxxvi. 357.
225 JHS. li. 287 ff.
226 Ibid. 194, BCH. iv. 471, A.A. xlvii. 138.
227 AJA. xxxvi. 1 ff.
228 Cf. A.A. xlv. 111, BCH. iv. 477.
229 AJA. xxxv. 419, 430, 449; cf. A.A. xlvii. 136.
230 Corinth, iii. 1, 26, 50 ff.
231 Ibid. iv. 1, 16, 29, 36.
architectural terra-cottas, as well as in O. Bronner's publication of the terra-cotta lamps, a very large number of which bear the names of their makers. F. P. Johnson's volume on sculpture includes two epitaphs and the memorial bust of Herodes Atticus inscribed 'Ηρώδης Αττικός περιπάτης, while that of Bronner on the Odeum contains a few graffiti, masons' marks and tile-stamps and a theatre-ticket. Of far greater importance, however, is the volume devoted to the inscriptions brought to light or collected in the course of the excavations (1896-1927). The 400 Latin texts and fragments, edited by A. B. West, fall outside the scope of the present survey. Those in Greek have been published with exemplary care by B. D. Meritt and include the Greek inscriptions of Corinth now preserved there, even though not all discovered by the excavators, with the exception of those on terra-cotta and some of the most recent discoveries made since 1925. Among the 331 texts here presented were not previously published, and, although the great majority of these are too seriously mutilated to have great value, yet some of them (e.g. Nos. 11, 14, 15, 75, 76, 130 and 136) are of considerable interest. The largest class is composed of public monuments and dedications (Nos. 23-125), which outnumber the sepulchral inscriptions (Nos. 126-197): a disappointing feature is the very small number of texts, seven in all, which can be assigned to the sixth or fifth century B.C.

A fourth-century bronze bull bearing a votive inscription has been found near the temple of Zeus at Nemea, as well as an early fifth-century bronze vase in the Theatre of Argos dedicated to Αργείος, which W. Vollgraff interprets as an indication of Pheidon's enterprise in bringing to Argos the waters of the river Erasinus. The same scholar examines in detail the oldest extant Argive inscription, rediscovered by him in 1928 after being lost for 95 years (IG. iv. 614), assigns it unhappily to the seventh century and regards the nine names which follow the heading ἡγεῖ τοὺς οἴκους οὐκ ἐπιστρατεύοντο not as forming a single college but as the successive occupants of the supreme position in the state, inscribed, probably by Pheidon himself, on the gate of the Argive acropolis.


No new inscriptions have been found at Epidaurus, but J. A. O. Larsen has proposed a restoration of the clause in the constitution of the Hellenic League (IG. iv. 1. 68. 130 ff.) relative to the future amendment of its terms, according to which the initiative rests wholly with the kings, while the healing-records of the sanctuary of Asclepius have been re-edited by R. Herzog with a masterly commentary and a valuable

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221 Corinth, iv. 2 par. 35: esp. 267 ff., 376 ff., 397 ff.
223 Ibid. x. 134 ff.
224 Ibid. viii. 4 (Harvard U.P.), 1931.
226 AJA. xxxv. 44 ff.
227 Mnem. ix. 231 ff. See also RA. xxxv. 333.
228 Mnem. ix. 370 ff.
229 Stuttgart, 1930; cf. Klio, Beiheft xxiv. 42.
230 CPh. xxvii. 395 ff.
chapter on the Asclepieum and medical practice, and S. A. Žebelev also has translated and discussed the three best preserved steleae recording ἱωάτρα (ibid. 121–3). C. Rüger’s article on the Epidaurian miracle-records and the poems of Isyllus is inaccessible to me. The group of hymns recently discovered at the Asclepieum (ibid. 129–35), and specially those addressed to Pan (130) and to the Mother of the Gods (131), have been annotated by K. Münscher, who thinks that, though inscribed in the second century A.D., they may be the work of Telesilla.

[JG. v.] H. Box devotes two articles, based on epigraphical materials prior to A.D. 212, to the question of Roman citizenship in Laconia; in the first he examines the criteria by which civitas can be determined and discusses the nomina of certain or probable derivation, while in the second he deals with those for which possible derivations may be suggested and those which afford no clue. In two appendixes he examines the phenomena of (a) change of the nomen of a family and (b) the omission of praenomen or nomen in epigraphical texts.

A. M. Woodward has published, with full commentaries, the remaining inscriptions discovered in the Theatre and on the Acropolis of Sparta in 1924–7, comprising seven new fragments from the parados-wall, three of which join texts previously published, nine lists of magistrates from the orchestra-drain, fourteen similar documents of the Imperial period from other parts of the Theatre or from the Acropolis, fourteen statue-bases of officials and athletes (among which No. 58, honouring the proconsul Publius Optatianus, better known to us as the writer Porphyrius, is especially interesting), sixteen dedications and miscellaneous fragments (of which No. 69 is an archaic epigram, tentatively assigned by the editor to Alcman or Gitiadas, and No. 80 a Latin fragment); thirteen architectural inscriptions from the Theatre (one of them, JG. v. 1. 691, previously published), a large number of stamped bricks and tiles, upwards of 120 votive inscriptions on fragments of vases, mostly of the fifth, fourth and third centuries B.C., and twelve dedications, ten of which were previously known, on bronze or marble. A valuable table summarises the contents of the texts from the East parados-wall, while an appendix, based on nine inscriptions of Sparta and Gytheum, examines the chronological relationship of those who claimed descent from Hercules and the Dioscuri. Woodward and L. Robert have jointly edited portions of four Hellenistic decrees from Sparta, recording honours paid to Spartans by Arcadian Orchomenus, Eretria, Tralles (?) and Demetrias respectively: to the first, second and fourth of these M. Guarducci has added valuable notes. A. Adamantiou has discovered near Sparta a series of frescoes, of the first or second century B.C., representing Apollo and the Muses, with titles

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425 Werner Blätter, viii. 29 ff.
426 Ph. W. ii. 1031 ff.
427 JRS. xxx. 290 ff., xxiii. 182 ff.
428 ibid. 165 ff.
429 BSA. xxxix. 2 ff.
430 W. Vollgraff suggests an emendation of No. 83
431 (Munm. lix. 307 f.)
432 BSA. xxx. 183, 188, 309 ff.
433 BSA. xxix. 7 ff.
434 Ibid. 57 ff.
435 BSA. xxix. 84 ff.
436 JRS. 1931, 47, 92, 95; cf. Al. xlvi. 144.
painted below the figures. F. E. Adcock dates 254 in 427 B.C. the contributions to the Spartan cause recorded in IG. v. 1.1, associating them with Alcidas’ expedition to Lesbos, and A. Wilhelm suggests 255 a restoration of a Spartan epigram (IG. v. 1, 723). Elsewhere in Laconia no new inscriptions have come to light, but three further contributions to the study of the documents relating to the Caesar-cult recently found at Gymnosophist (JHS. ii. 228) call for notice, the second section of S. Eitem’s study of apothecosis, 256 K. Stade’s review 257 of Kornemann’s edition of the texts in question, and L. R. Taylor’s article 258 on Tiberius’ refusal of divine honours, in which she emphasises, like Rostovtzeff but independently of him, the absence of finality in the emperor’s ‘polite demurrers’ and the fact that he actually received distinctions which he had apparently declined.

Fresh light has been thrown on two of the inscriptions collected in Messenia by N. S. Valmin (JHS. li. 228 f.) : M. A. Levi has drawn attention 259 to the juridical and historical value of No. 1, an arbitration-record from Thuria, and to the close relationship existing between it and another similar document (Inscr. v. Olympia. 46), and A. Wilhelm has shown 260 that No. 19, a dedication from the sanctuary of Apollo Corythus, can be dated in A.D. 153–4. Special attention has been devoted in U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff’s great and final work on Greek religion 261 to the famous mystery-inscription of Andania (IG. v. 1. 1390).

A. K. Orlandos gives 262 a corrected reading of an honorary inscription discovered at Styrmiphalos in Arcadia.

[IG. vi.] B. D. Theophaneides records 263 among the accessions to the National Museum at Athens the bronze helmet, recently brought to light at Olympia, which commemorated the Orchomenian capture of Coronea (JHS. li. 229).

A trial excavation at Aegira in Achaea, conducted by O. Walter, has produced 264 a dedication to Asclepius, while the discoveries made by A. K. Orlandos at Pellene include a dozen inscriptions, 265 among which are six epitaphs, a list of nine δαπαλία, an honorary inscription set up by ἡ πόλις τῶν Πελληνίων καὶ Ῥωμαίοις τῶν κατοικοῦντος, a record of the cult of Isis and a mutilated dedication of a woman’s statue which, as P. Roussel plausibly suggests, 266 may well be the work of Euthycrates, son of the famous sculptor Lysippus.

IV. CENTRAL AND NORTHERN GREECE

[IG. vii.] In his study of the ἐπιμεληται οἱ ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις P. Roussel examines 267 an important inscription (Ἐφ. 1918, 73 ff.) discovered in the sanctuary of Amphiaraus at Orus.
To C. Barratt we owe a long and valuable investigation of the chronology of the eponymous archons of Boeotia, based mainly upon an historical, linguistic and palaeographical study of the inscriptions which name them: this is followed by a note on the age-qualification for the offices of polemarch and polemarchs’ secretary in the Boeotian cities, chronological tables of the League-archons and priests of Amphialus, and an invaluable index. On the Boeotian calendar W. B. Dinsmoor has made some interesting observations.

A. Plassart publishes a decree found in 1890-1 at Thespiae, the only extant Thespian decree of the Imperial period, bestowing honours and largess upon the ἔφοι who were about to take part in a campaign of Marcus Aurelius and upon their parents during their absence, followed by a list of the eighty volunteers in question, who are accompanied by a senior officer, two πρεσβυτηρία and a doctor: the campaign is probably that against the Costoboci in A.D. 170 or 171. W. Peek edits a Thespian epigram, of the Roman age but in the best Hellenistic tradition, commemorating a young mother who died in childbirth, and E. Groag shews that in an honorary inscription of the same provenance (BCH. l. 443) we must read Κ. Οὐστήρινος (not Κοινάρινος) Πολύλους. H. Goldman’s definitive account of the excavation of Eutresis contains an inscribed archaic crater-rim, a boundary-stone, three short epitaphs and a sepulchral epigram of the fourth century on a mole-catcher, of which an alternative explanation is advanced by Peek: unfortunately, J. U. Powell’s correction of this poem appeared too late for incorporation in this volume. W. Schwahn has investigated the financial aspect of a record (Δελτ. viii. 182 ff.) of a loan made by Thisbe to Chorsia and of two documents granting to the city of Acraephia discharge from the obligation of repaying sums borrowed from an Acraephian and a Theban citizen respectively (ib. 189 ff.). W. Peek has published a metrical epitaph from Thebes, consisting of alternate hexameter and iambic verses, commemorating an αὐλοῦσα who died at sea, and has restored another Thesan epigram previously known (IG. vii. 4247), maintaining that it was engraved beneath a statue rather than upon a grave. The discovery of an inscribed statue-base from a neighbouring site is announced. A. Wilhelm has dealt with a Boeotian decree from Thebes (ib. 2408), restoring the names of two of the Boeotarchs, Διοτώνδας and Μιζίλας, contained in it and offering a new edition of the whole: he has also discussed and emended another text (ib. 2407) which mentions the same Διοτώνδας, whom he regards as probably the grandfather of a well-known sculptor of the same name, several of whose signatures have survived (e.g. ib. 2472). E. F.
Claffin bases upon IG. vii. 3172 her account of a wealthy Boeotian lady, Nicareta of Orchomenus.

[IG. viii.] Remarkable progress has been made since the writing of my last survey in the official publication of the epigraphical discoveries made during the course of the French excavation of DELPHI. The third fascicule, edited by G. Daux and A. Salaç, contains the inscriptions, wherever found, belonging to monuments which flank the Sacred Way from the Athenian Treasury to the base of Gelo, together with those which have come to light within this area and do not belong to any monument identified elsewhere. Of the texts, which number 178, exactly half were previously unpublished, while many which had been imperfectly read or restored appear here in a more adequate form. Among them are 75 manumissions, most of them dating from the second century B.C., eleven dedications, chiefly of the fourth century, nine honorary inscriptions, seven of which are engraved on the exedra of Herodes Atticus and relate to him or to members of his family, and 67 records of honours or privileges bestowed on individuals or on groups, mainly in the third and second pre-Christian centuries. G. Colin has edited the texts engraved on the monuments of Aemilius Paullus and of Prusias II of Bithynia. The former bore, in addition to its original Latin dedication, 39 inscriptions, of which twelve, consisting mainly of proxeny-grants and manumissions, find here their editio princeps, while 27 were previously known. Of these some are of outstanding interest, especially the famous Greek version of a Roman law dealing, inter alia, with the extirpation of piracy (No. 37), the dossier relating to the feud between Thronium and Scarpea (Nos. 38-42), the incomplete amphictionic decree regarding wrongs alleged to have been done to the Delphian sanctuary (No. 43) and a manifesto on the origins of the war against Perseus (No. 75). On the monument of Prusias were engraved its dedication (SIG. 632), dated soon after 182 B.C. (No. 76), a decree in honour of Nicomedes III of Bithynia and of Laodice (OGI. 345), probably passed in 94 B.C. (No. 77), a manumission and eight records, four of them hitherto unpublished, of the bestowal of citizenship and other privileges in the second century B.C. (Nos. 78-86). The fascicule ends with valuable indexes, addenda and corrigenda and a table of concordance. An ample tome is devoted to the fourth-century accounts, ably edited and fully commented by E. Bourguet. The introduction deals with the provenance and condition, chronology, script and classification of the relevant documents, and the work ends (pp. 318 ff.) with tables shewing the Delphian archons and the Amphictionic representatives of the fourth century B.C. and full indexes. Of the 93 inscriptions, many of them long and detailed, here published many are new and the rest shew a striking advance in reading and restoration over the texts already known. They include records of contributions from states and individuals for the rebuilding of the temple (Nos. 1-13), of payments of the indemnity imposed on

the Phocians at the close of the Third Sacred War (No. 14) and of leases of confiscated property (Nos. 15-18), together with fragments of the accounts of the Delphian Council, the νοστησιοί and the ταυλία (Nos. 19-87), portions of the specification for the building of the temple (No. 88) and a considerable part of two lists of νοστησιοί, one geographical and the other chronological (Nos. 91-93).

R. Placel'sièr has added 285 two new fragments to the text of the alliance between Aetolia and Boeotia (SIG. 366) and has sought to shew that, of the various views held about its date, that of Beloch is the most probable: 'the writing, the very redaction of the text and what we know of the political situation of Greece at this period, all agree in leading us to date the treaty to the years 301-299.' The article concludes with a careful examination of the later relations between Boeotia and Aetolia down to 278 B.C. Elsewhere 287 the same scholar publishes ten new Delphian texts, most of them dating from the third century B.C.; these comprise two dedications, a decree in honour of an ἐπιμελητής τοῦ τε ἱεροῦ καὶ τοῦ πέλας appointed by the Aetolians about 200 B.C., an unfinished honorary decree, an Amphictionic decree for an Athenian hieromnemon and pylagoros, two grants of προσώπα, two fragments of accounts and a fresh portion of the record of a tachygraphic system. He has further published, 288 in collaboration with P. de la Coste-Messelière, six fragments of a base, found near Castalia, bearing on top and in front the word ζα and has brought it into connexion with a statue-base of Themis previously found near the same spot. 289 G. Daux has edited 290 an interesting decree, by which, in response to a request brought by a Sardian embassy, Delphi acknowledged, about 162 B.C., the addition of an ἄγων ἔπικος ἴος ἰόμπος to the Sardian festival of the Παυσάθυμος καὶ Εὔμηθα, instituted in 166 in honour of Eumenes II, and bestowed on Sardis and its envoys praise and privileges; he has also given a full revised text of the decree which originally recognised the festival and has corrected or added to two further decrees, one Aetolian and one Delphian, engraved side by side with them on the monument which bore the gilded statue of Eumenes.

A number of other Delphian texts have been more accurately deciphered, more correctly restored or more adequately interpreted. J. Audiat has subjected to a minute scrutiny 290 the dedication of the spoils taken by the Athenians at Marathon (SIG. 23) and has shewn that the original text differed very slightly from its third-century renewal. R. Vallois has devoted a lengthy discussion 291 to the paean of Philodamus of Scarpea, which he regards as an 'oeuvre de circonstance,' part of a series of interconnected innovations, several of which aim at giving to Dionysus a more important place in the Delphian cult: he dates the main portion of the poem in March 334 and strophes x, xi in March 328, and essays 292 a reconstruction of the whole text, including those stanzas whose mutilated

285 BCH. liv. 75 ff.: cf. AA. xlv. 104, Recueil. x.
287 BCH. liv. 592 ff., 599: cf. AJA. xxxvi. 344.
288 BCH. liv. 289 ff.
289 Fouilles de Delphes, ii. 164.
290 Milanges Glotz, i. 289 ff.
291 BCH. liv. 296 ff.: cf. AJA. xxxvi. 344 f.
292 BCH. lv. 241 ff.
293 Ibid. 357 ff.
condition led Vollgraff to refrain from any such attempt. Yet even now
finality has not been reached, and P. Rousseau calls attention 298 to a fresh
discovery which will lead Vallois to a modification of some of his sug-
gestions. One of M. Holleaux’s last tasks was to give a full and definitive
confirmation, 299 directed against Beloch’s criticism, 295 of the view that at
the beginning of the second century B.C. the Roman calendar was two to
four months in advance of the astronomical calendar, and to provide
revised texts of four valuable documents which figure largely in this dis-
cussion, the letters of the praeator Spurius Postumius (Albinus) to the
Delphians and to the Amphyctions (SIG. 612 A, B), the senatus consultum
' of May 4 ' engraved below them (SIG. 612 C) and the letter addressed to
the Delphians by the consul C. Livius Salinator (SIG. 611). P. Rousseau’s
detailed treatment, 296 suggested by Holleaux’s article, of the repercussion
exercised at Delphi by the war between Rome and the Aetolians involves
a fresh examination of the four inscriptions just mentioned: to them is
added a revised text of a fifth important document (SIG. 609, 610), contain-
ing the concluding passage of a letter, probably from the consul M. Acilius,
and a list of houses and lands given to the Delphian god and city after the
Aetolian defeat. The Amphyctiony, though losing all authority over
Delphi, continued to exist officially, but it is doubtful whether any sessions
were held between 190 and 186, when two envoys visited Rome to consult
the Senate about its reconstitution and the repartition of the votes. To
this occasion SIG. 826 K, usually dated in 116 B.C., may possibly belong.
A. Wilhelm has investigated 297 the date of a Delphian decree in honour of
a notable Lycian, assigning it to the middle of the third century rather
than, with Nikitsky, to 169 B.C., and has restored 298 two Delphian epigrams,
one of which (Fouilles, iii (1). 523), commemorating Patron of Lacedaemon,
having been less satisfactorily handled by W. Peek, 298 while the other records a
Tarentine dedication previously misunderstood. Elsewhere 300 he has
made a slight correction in a Soteria-list (BCH. xlvii. 2). J. Carcopino
has discussed 301 the historical significance of the ' piracy-law ' (Fouilles,
iii (4). 37), accepting and developing the view of G. Colin that it ' aimed
at preparing, for Marius’ benefit, the war against Mithridates which Sulla
and then Pompey were to conduct later ' : he believes that the bill was
proposed in January, 100 B.C., and carried in the following month, and that
it may be confidently assigned to Saturninus and Glauca.

The problems of Delphian chronology in the third century B.C., and
especially that of dating the renewal of the Soteria, continue to evoke
debate and to divide opinions. L. Robert discusses 302 the extant decrees
(SIG. 402, 408, Fouilles, iii (1). 481–3) of Athens, Chios, Tenos and two other
states accepting the reconstituted Soteria: the two states in question are,
he thinks, one of the Cyclades, probably Ios, and Smyrna, and on this

298 BCH. liv. 289.
299 BCH. liv. 1 ff.: cf. lv. 1 ff., AJA. xxxv. 460 ff.,
RealBeige, x. 379.
300 Klio, xxii. 404 ff.
301 BCH. liv. 1 ff.
302 P. Asp. ' Acad. ' Athen. vi. 320 f.: but see REG.
xlv. 218.
REG. xlv. 218.
304 Hermes, liv. 478 ff.
306 Mélanges Glauc., i. 117 ff.
307 BCH. liv. 322 ff., 351.
basis he argues that the foundation of the Aetolian Soteria cannot be prior to 246 B.C. M. Segre, on the other hand, after interpreting and to some extent restoring the mutilated text of Fouilles iii (i), 483, in which he too assigns to Smyrna, places the renewal of the Soteria tentatively about 255, a dating in which P. Treves concurs. Finally, W. B. Dinsmoor restudies in detail the whole question in Chapter IX of his work on the Athenian archons, to which reference has been made above, and exhibits in a useful table (p. 113) the variant lists of Delphian archons for the sixty years 279-8 to 220-19 B.C. drawn up by Pomtow, Colin, Johnson, Beloch, Flacelière and himself. The Soteria-problem naturally occupies a prominent place in the discussion, in which Dinsmoor claims that the new Athenian evidence for the date of Polyvkektos, 249-8 B.C., makes it necessary to adhere to Roussel's classification of the Soteria inscriptions, placing all the purely Amphiptyonic lists earlier than this year, and all those of the Aetolian agonothetai later (p. 129).

[IG. ix.] W. Peek has edited, and A. Wilhelm has more correctly punctuated, a metrical epitaph from Daulis in Phocis, now preserved in the Chaeronea Museum. C. A. Forbes discusses the ἄθυτοι οἰκιστέωρες, an office mentioned only by Strabo and in an inscription of Halae in E. LOCRIS (SEG. iii. 421); J. G. O'Neill re-examines the law (IG. ix. 1, 334) regulating the colony planted by the Opuntian Locrians at Naupactus, with a view to determining the date of the settlement of the Messenians there, and E. Fraenkel emphasises the linguistic interest of a well-known law of the Western Locrians regarding the distribution of land (Solmsen-Fraenkel, Inscr. Gr. Sel., 46). A fragment of an inscribed bronze tablet has come to light at Molycreum, on the borders of Locris and AETOLIA. An event of the utmost importance was the appearance, early in 1932, of the first fascicule of the editio minor of IG. ix, ably edited by G. Klaßenbach, after valuable preliminary work by O. Weinreich and K. Rhomaioi. This comprises all known Aetolian inscriptions, both those found in Aetolia and those discovered beyond its frontiers, numbering 171 and 35 respectively; of the texts belonging to the former class no fewer than 89 are here published for the first time. The remarkable growth in the number of Aetolian inscriptions, due largely to the excavations carried on at Thermum by G. Soteriades, may be realised from the fact that in the first edition of IG. ix, 1, edited by Dittenberger in 1897, the Aetolian texts numbered only 39. Klaßenbach's work, carried out with characteristic thoroughness, includes detailed Fasti Aetolici (pp. ix–xlviii), tables of the Aetolian στρατηγοί and ἰερωμήναι (pp. xlix–lv) and indexes which leave nothing to be desired. Elsewhere he discusses afresh the knotty problem of the Aetolio-Acarnanian alliance (IG. ix, 3 = SIG. 421), which he dates about 262 B.C.; the Thyrrenian boundary-demarcation between Oenidae and

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289 Syria, xxiii. 277 f.
290 The Archontes of Athens, 112 ff., 511 f.
291 AN. ivi. 138 f.
292 SBBerl. 1922, 81 ff.
293 CPh. xxv. 89 ff.
294 Ancient Corinth, i (Baltimore, 1930), 230 ff.
295 Giotta, xx. 84 ff.
297 Inscriptae Graece, ix. pars i, fasc. 1 (ed. minor), Berlin, 1932.
Metropolis, engraved on the back of the same bronze stele, he places between 235 and 230 B.C. S. Zebelev has written, in Russian, an historical commentary on a series of Aetolian decrees (IG. ix. 1. 13, 135, 136) granting τροφές to individual Achaeans, ἀντίλα to Lusi and ισοπολίτες to Tricca; F. Poulsen has given us a revised text, a translation and a detailed discussion of the interesting Calydonian inscription (ib. 138) recording the verdict in a case of disputed succession, and W. Vollgraff has added a note on the same text.

Of the inscriptions found on the island of Ιθάκη mainly votives to Odysses and to the Nymphs, we still await a full publication. H. Frisk proposes to read and restore ἄρον πόρε κώμα in the archaic epitaph of Menecrates at Κόρυφα (IG. ix. 1. 867).

Thessaly has proved less productive than usual. N. I. Giannopoulos, who for many years has worked indefatigably for the discovery and preservation of Thessalian inscriptions, has published in a noteworthy article thirteen texts, including seven epitaphs, two manumissions and a Latin inscription on a milestone of Augustus, found at Larisa, Tricca, Pherae, Armeni, Eretria and Halmyros and now housed in the Museums of Larisa, Volo and Halmyros. One of these, an epigram of the Roman period from Larisa, has been corrected and explained by A. Wilhelm. In two other articles Giannopoulos has edited an archaic stele from Karademirdji, two fragmentary manumission-lists from Iolcus, two epitaphs, a dedication to Πεπερατος Νιτας and an emancipation-record of the Augustan age from Larisa, together with five dedications and eight epitaphs from Crannon, Eugydrium (Κτεινος, some seven miles from Pharsalus), Melibocia, Pherae, Demetrias and Gonni. Of other Thessalian documents no formal publication has yet appeared. At Palaikastro of Karditsa a votive stele re-used in a grave of Roman times, has come to light bearing a dedication Ἀγνεῖ Παντεί κατὰ χρηστοτω, and a number of stamped tiles have been unearthed at Eugydrium. G. A. Soteriou’s full account of Christian Thebes in Thessaly deals with the results of his fruitful excavations at Nea Anchialos, near the ancient Pyrasus, and contains a chapter (pp. 139 ff.) in which N. I. Giannopoulos surveys the published inscriptions of the site and adds about forty new discoveries, seven of which date from the Hellenic and Hellenistic periods and seventeen from Roman times. An epitaph of a doctor, discovered at Volo, has been edited by the same scholar.

V. Macedonia, Thrace and Scythia

[IG. x.] In his work on Epirus G. N. Cross utilises the scattered references and the handful of inscriptions on which our knowledge of Epirus

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115 BCH. liv. 42 ff.
116 Mm. lx. 426.
117 AJA. xcv. 92 f.; AA. xlv. 266; BCH. liv. 488 ff.
118 Eranos, xxix. 31 f.
119 Διήμ. xlv. 55 ff.
120 *Ελληνικός, iv. 22 ff. : cf. Διήμ. xi. 67.
121 'Ερίμ. 1930, 96 ff., 176 ff.
122 BCH. lv. 437, 493; AA. xlvii. 154 f.
123 A.A. xlv. 123.
124 A.A. xlvii. 154; BCH. liv. 131.
125 *Ερίμ. 1935, 1 ff. : cf. Παρασ. 1939, 35.
126 *Ερίμ. 1935, 1 ff. : cf. Παρασ. 1939, 35.
127 Epirus, Cambridge, 1932; cf. C. L. Rev. xlvii. 261 ff.,
Gummer, ix. 328 f.
in antiquity depends,' and devotes an appendix (pp. 109 ff.) to some inscriptions of Dodona in which the decisions of Molossian or Epirot legislative bodies are recorded. The excavations carried on at Dodona by D. Euangelides in 1929 led to the discovery \textsuperscript{225} of an archaic silver ring engraved with the name Αρτύγος and of 23 leaden tablets, mostly fragmentary, ranging from the sixth to the third century B.C. and bearing inscriptions relative to questions asked of the oracle, as well as to the rediscovery of an important Epirot decree (SGDI. 1339). Three further questions came to light \textsuperscript{226} in 1931, including one of the late sixth or early fifth century inscribed 
\\textit{boustrophedon} in Corinthian characters, in which the enquirer asks τίνα κα θεὸν ποτέμενον γενέκα Φοι γένοιτο ἐκ Κρεσίου ὁνόσιος πῶς τὰ ἐσσαῖ, while in a second a father asks how his son may recover from his disease. At Paramythia the same excavator has found \textsuperscript{227} an inscription in honour of Diocletian and Maximian.

P. Collart has studied \textsuperscript{331} the epigraphical evidence for the παρακαταμος practised in Macedonia at the festival of the 
\\textit{rosalia}, shewing that the term δόξος used in this connexion must be rendered 'at the rosalia' and not 'with roses.' An epitaph has been discovered \textsuperscript{332} at Dium; a letter of 248–7 B.C. found at Beroea (SIG. 459) has been discussed \textsuperscript{333} by P. Rousseau in his essay on the κυνηγοί; a stamped pithos-lip has come to light \textsuperscript{334} at Florina, and a text from Morali in Eordaea has been corrected \textsuperscript{335} by A. D. Keramopoulos. N. Vulić has published \textsuperscript{336} a fuller copy of an interesting document of A.D. 192 (Demitsas, Macedonia, 262) from a village lying between Prilep and Vitolia, leaving a fund in trust for the celebration of an annual festival, and has found a second similar record. R. Egger has published \textsuperscript{337} an important, though mutilated, monument of the fourth 
\\textit{century} A.D., originally erected at Stobi but now at Drenovo, honouring as χάριμα μέγαν Δαρδάνων καὶ Μαυριτανίας μέγα Διός, Σασοφένης Λυτήρα καὶ γένους 
\\κολτάνον one in whom Egger recognises the 
\\textit{magister equitum}, Theodosius, father of the emperor Theodosius I: this identification is confirmed \textsuperscript{338} by G. De Sanctis, who offers an improved punctuation and interpretation of the text, and by A. Solari, who discusses \textsuperscript{339} the history and death of the elder Theodosius. A fragment of a Megarian skýphos from Florina has been added \textsuperscript{340} to the National Museum at Athens.

In or near Salonica minor discoveries have been made,—a late epitaph, \textsuperscript{341} Christian mosaics in the Monastery τοῦ Λατρίου, \textsuperscript{342} and three inscribed vases of the fifth century B.C. from Mikro Karaburnu.\textsuperscript{343} D. M. Robinson has published \textsuperscript{344} a number of new finds from Olynthus and its environs, including a well-preserved deed of sale of a house, dating from

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\textsuperscript{225} Proct. 1929, 122 ff.: cf. \textit{AA.} xiv. 122, \textit{BCH.} liv. 493.

\textsuperscript{226} Proct. 1931, 89 ff.: cf. \textit{AA.} xlvii. 148.

\textsuperscript{227} Proct. 1930, 63.

\textsuperscript{228} \textit{BCH.} lv. 58 ff.: cf. \textit{AJA.} xxxvi. 231.

\textsuperscript{229} Proct. 1931, 44.

\textsuperscript{230} REG. xliii. 366 ff.

\textsuperscript{231} \textit{AA.} xlvii. 155: cf. \textit{BCH.} lv. 433.

\textsuperscript{232} \textit{Eph.} 1930, 181.

\textsuperscript{233} \textit{Milanese} Glotz, ii. 96 ff.

\textsuperscript{234} Byz. vi. 9 ff.: cf. \textit{RA.} xxiv. 347 ff. (where \textit{VII} must be altered to \textit{IVV} ?).

\textsuperscript{235} RivFil. Iviii. 487 ff.

\textsuperscript{236} Byz. vi. 469 ff.

\textsuperscript{237} \textit{Del.} xi. viii. 4.

\textsuperscript{238} \textit{AA.} xlvii. 271, \textit{BCH.} lv. 494.

\textsuperscript{239} \textit{Del.} xii. 158 ff., \textit{Pill.} v–viii.

\textsuperscript{240} \textit{BCH.} lv. 497.

400–350 B.C., and fragments of two similar documents, several epitaphs, one of them in Corinthian script of the sixth or fifth century, and inscriptions on a bronze arrow-head and stirigil, a silver ring and some leaden weights. In the course of a journey in the Strymon district P. Collart and P. DeVambuz collected 345 a number of epitaphs at or near Amphipolis and Philippi, and recopied other inscriptions from the same area, notably 346 a dedication to the great gods in Samothrace 7 at Yenikeui and a tantalising record (SEG. iii. 498) from the acropolis of Amphipolis. P. Collart has also published, 347 together with a number of Latin inscriptions, two Greek epitaphs from Philippi and a Latin tomb-inscription, 348 recording a bequest for the expenses of the parentalia, engraved in Greek letters at Selian-Mesorema on the hills which bound the Philippian plain on the East. W. Peek has proposed 349 new restorations of an epigram of Philippi (BCH. xlvi. 85).

In Thrace also the work of discovery and publication goes steadily forward. Pisani’s discussion of the Ezerovo ring (cf. JHS, li. 235) has been reviewed 350 by D. Detchev, who has also put forward 351 a new interpretation of it in an article inaccessible to me, as is that 352 of N. Iorga on two unpublished inscriptions from Silistria. In their full account of the excavation of the grave-tumuli at Duvanlili in S. Bulgaria, B. Filov and I. Velkov have dealt 353 with the short inscriptions on various silver vessels and an Attic r.-f. hydria discovered at Bachova-Moghila, and Velkov has elsewhere 354 given an account, in Bulgarian, of the same finds. G. I. Kazarov introduces 355 us to five dedications (to κύριος Ἡρώς, Zeus and Hera, Ἡρώς προπύλαιος and Heracles) from various Bulgarian sites; T. Nikolov and D. Tchontchev 356 to two further reliefs of the horseman-god, and I. Velkov 357 to two recent discoveries made at or near Sofia, one of which is a milestone bearing the names of the Emperor Decius and Herennia Etruscilla. D. P. Dimitrov edits 358 four Greek inscriptions of the Imperial period from Augusta Traiana (Stara Zagora), now preserved in the local museum. W. Peek restores 359 a votive couplet from the village of Konino in the Moesian province, and S. Brassloff corrects 360 a curious Greco-Latin dedication on an altar found at Carnuntum (Röm. Limes in Österr. xii. 346 ff.).

Wilhelm has explained 361 a late epitaph (BCH. xxxvi. 635 f.) from Selymbria. A. Mühl, in his report on recent accessions of the Istanbul Museum, mentions 362 several grave-inscriptions from Constantinople and a bilingual epitaph from Proconnesus. W. Peek has edited six epigrams now in the Constantinople Museum: five of them are from Asia Minor and will be referred to below, while the sixth, which he regarded 363 as an

345 BCH. iv. 171 ff.
346 Ibid. 179 ff.
347 BCH. lviii. 296, 290 ff.: cf. lv. 207 ff.
349 Philol. lxxxii. 234 ff.
351 Ann. de l’Univ. de Sofia, xxvii. 9.
353 Jdl. xlv. 287 ff., 302 ff.
355 Ibid. 117 ff., Nos. 1, 2, 4, 8, 157, cf. AA:xliv. 324, No. 7.
356 Ibid. 247 ff.
357 Ibid. 305 ff.: cf. RA. xxxvi. 205.
358 Ibid. 195 ff.: cf. RA. xxxvi. 203.
359 Philol. lxxxvii. 231 ff., No. 7.
361 Byz. vi. 466 ff.
362 AJA. xlvi. 174 ff., 194, 196.
363 Am. livi. 129, No. 19.
unpublished epitaph, has been shewn by R. Herzog to be a previously known epigram, probably composed by Antiphilus of Byzantium, found at Balta Liman on the Bosporus and commemorating not a drowned man but a dolphin. The eighth-century invocation built into a tower in the land-wall of Constantinople, of which R. M. Dawkins gives a reading which corrects and supplements that of H. Lietzmann, belongs rather to Byzantine than to Hellenic studies. A metrical epitaph, discovered in 1928 near Mesembria and now in the Burgas Museum, is of interest for its etymological derivation of Mesembria ἐπὶ Ἄλας καὶ βριχ and for its claim that the deceased has become a god, immortal and ageless. It has been published and discussed by G. I. Kazarow and by A. Salač. A decree from Odessa (Varna), dating from 48–42 B.C. and passed in honour of Menogenes of Heracleum, who was καθεσταμένος ὑπὸ βασιλέως Ἑρακλέους Ἀδαλέου στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τῆς προσχώρου, is published by Salač with valuable comments on Sadalas, on the history of Odessa and on the language of the decree. K. Škorpil has dealt with an inscribed architrave from the same city and W. Peek has interpreted an epigram found there and has contributed to the understanding or restoration of three metrical epitaphs from Tomi (Constanza). In a numismatic article on Histria S. Lămbrino discusses and illustrates two fifth-century dedications—one to Apollo Ἰηρός, the other, hitherto unknown, to Leto—which are the oldest extant inscriptions of this Milesian colony, while E. Pezopoulos examines a metrical epitaph of the same city.

M. I. Rostovtzeff has issued the first volume of a monumental work on Scythia and Bosporus, containing a critical survey of the literary and archaeological sources. A valuable chapter (Part i, ch. 6, pp. 129 ff.) is devoted to the epigraphical texts and reviews in geographical order the discoveries of inscriptions, emphasising their incidental character and the need for thorough and systematic excavation. A. Wilhelm and W. Peek have dealt with an epigram (IOSPE, i. 175) from Olbia. E. Diehl has given a magical significance to a vase and a leaden sphere and cube found at Panticapaeum and now preserved in the Hermitage at Leningrad, but Wilhelm has shown that the vase-inscription at least has no such meaning, consisting of a personal name and five words in the genitive denoting foods or drinks. N. Novosadskij's article in Russian on an unpublished inscription in the Temruk Museum is unknown to me. P. Roussel, A. Kocceylov and E. Kalinka have shewn the error of Semenov's interpretation of the text on a bronze vessel from the Don area.

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464 PhW. lxi. 101 f.
465 Byz. vili. 193 f.
466 Ἀθήνα. 1899 (2), 23, No. 32.
467 Ὑστ. ἕξ. 111 ff.
469 Boul. iv. 43 ff.: cf. AJA. xxxvi. 538 f.
471 Philol. lxxvii. 259, No. 4.
472 Ibid. 251 f., No. 5, 6, 8.
473 Archhre. 1930, 101 ff.
474 BNG. viii. 182 ff.
475 Skythia u. der Bosporus, i. Berlin, 1931.
476 Wam. Anz. 1931, 94.
477 Philol. lxxxvii. 259, No. 10.
478 Acta Univ. Latviensi, i. 3.
481 REG. xlv. 227.
482 PhW. lxi. 93 ff.
483 Ibid. 1465 ff.
(JHS. li. 236), and Kalinka has added some valuable notes on ancient goldsmiths: Kocevalov has commented \(^{384}\) on the \(\omega\)-termination of the genitive in Bosporus.

VI. ISLANDS OF THE AEGEAN

[JG. xi.] The latest fascicle of the official account of the French excavation of Delos is that \(^{385}\) in which F. Courby, by whose death epigraphical and more particularly architectural studies have sustained a serious loss, describes and discusses the temples of Apollo on the island. It contains no new texts, but makes full use, especially in Chapter IV (pp. 217 ff.), of the epigraphical evidence relating to the temples in question. Attention may also be called to C. Picard's valuable review \(^{386}\) of the volume in the same series dealing with the sanctuaries and cults of Mount Cynthus. J. Audiat has discussed \(^{387}\) in considerable detail the Delian gymnasium, with special reference to the extant remains and the inventory of its contents drawn up in the archonship of Callistratus (156–5 b.c.): a revised text and a translation of the relevant portion of this document are here given (pp. 97 ff.), together with two hitherto unedited fragments of inventories of a somewhat earlier date. P. Roussel has published \(^{388}\) an interesting list of the \(\pi\pi\\beta\alpha\iota\alpha\iota\) of 119–8 b.c., brought from the gymnasium to the Agora of the Italians, where it was found in 1925; it is the only complete list of this kind to survive and affords a valuable basis for estimating the size and the cosmopolitan character of the population of the island. M. Lacroix has made a further notable contribution to Delian epigraphy in two articles, one of which \(^{389}\) consists of comments, corrections and additions to some sixty inscriptions contained in the two published volumes of the Inscriptions de Delos, while in the second \(^{390}\) he discusses the foreign population of Delos during the period of the island's independence, and in particular the part which foreigners played in the industrial, commercial, financial and professional life of the community. An examination of the Delian \(\nu\kappa\rho\sigma\omega\beta\lambda\alpha\delta\iota\sigma\iota\) , with a complete list of the pertinent texts, forms part \(^{391}\) of R. Vallois' article, to which reference has already been made, on the Paean of Pheidias, and the same scholar also deals \(^{392}\) at some length with the question of Delian chronology of the period of independence (314–166 b.c.). With the problems of the archons and calendar of Delos during this period W. B. Dinsmoor also deals in an appendix to his work on Athenian chronology, \(^{393}\) drawing up a table of archons and shewing that the epigraphical evidence for the calendar indicates the employment at Delos of a sixteen-year cycle. The Athenian administration of Delos is

\(^{384}\) PhW. li. 109 ff.
\(^{385}\) Exploration archéol. de Delos, xii. Les temples d'Apollo, Paris, 1931.
\(^{386}\) Rev. Hist. Rel. ci. 223 ff.
\(^{387}\) BCH. liv. 95 ff.; cf. Rechler, x. 375 ff., AJA. xxxv. 461.
\(^{388}\) BCH. lv. 498 ff.; cf. AJA. xxxvi. 540 ff., Syria.
\(^{389}\) REG. xliii. 372 ff.
\(^{390}\) Mitth. Götzt, ii. 501 ff.
\(^{391}\) BCH. lv. 274 ff.
\(^{392}\) Ibid. 289 ff.
\(^{393}\) Archons of Athens, 495 ff.; cf. P. Roussel, REA. xxiv. 201.
the subject of an article by V. Groh, based mainly upon epigraphical data. J. Zingerle discusses the form ὡδρα (for ὡδορ) found in a Delian graffito, and adduces numerous examples of a similar metathesis.

Two perfectly preserved metrical epitaphs now in the Museum at Myconos have been published by W. Peek.

[IG. xii.] The activities of the Italian archaeologists in Rhodes and the neighbouring islands continue without intermission and some of the results are set forth in the admirably illustrated series of works which bear the title of *Clara Rhodos*. Volume II falls into four sections (the first by A. Maiuri, the others by G. Jacopi) dealing respectively with (a) sculptured monuments in the Rhodes Museum, (b) the temple and theatre of Apollo Erethimus, on the west coast of the island, between Ialysus and Camirus, (c) the cemetery of Pontamo on the island of Chalce, and (d) new inscriptions from the southern Sporades. The first includes the grave-stele of Plutus (pp. 67 ff.), with an epigram previously published by A. Maiuri (*Nuova Sillace*, 48); the second contains 21 inscriptions and 20 fragments (pp. 104 ff.), among which are an honorary inscription set up in 57–6 B.C. by τὸ κοίμον τῆς Ἀλυσίδος τῶν Ἐρεθιμικῶν to record the distinctions granted to a priest, a number of honorary and votive texts and a revised reading of IG. xii. 1. 735; in the third is a graffito on a cinerary hydria (p. 160), and the fourth consists of a collection of 143 unpublished inscriptions (pp. 165 ff.), for the most part from Rhodes, but also from Cos, Nisyros, Lerus and Castelrosso, comprising four decrees, four catalogues, dedications and honorary inscriptions (many with sculptors’ signatures), one choregic record (p. 215) and 88 epitaphs (pp. 216 ff.), followed by 74 inscriptions, most of them private dedications (including one of the seventh or sixth and one of the fifth or fourth century B.C.) from the sanctuary of Zeus Atabyrion. From the wealth of valuable documents here collected I may call special attention to Nos. 1 (a decree honouring officers, soldiers and sailors who had taken part in an expedition to Aegila), 2 (regulations for sacrifice to Dionysus), 3 (a Termessian decree for Eumenes Soter on the occasion of his victories over Prusias, Ortiagon and the Galatae in 184 B.C.), 4 (honorary decree in recognition of financial services), 5 (commemoration of a Rhodian naval victory), 7 (list of priests of Athena Polias at Camirus), 8 (list of subscribers to the construction of a colonnade and cisterns at Camirus) and 45 (epigram hailing the Emperor Anastasius as a second Heracles).

In Volume IV devoted to the excavation of the cemeteries of Camirus, Jacopi gives a brief note on the vase inscriptions and a full account of the stele of Crito and Timarista, probably a fifth-century Attic work, which is now one of the chief glories of the Rhodes Museum. Volume V reached me too late to be included in this survey.
also mainly from the pen of Jacopi, continuing and completing the publication of the sculptured monuments of that Museum, repeats this account (i. 31 ff.) and gives a first edition of a votive relief (i. 76) and six inscribed gravestones (i. 90 ff., ii. 9 ff., 28 ff.). L. Laurenzi adds (ii. 59 ff.) a description of the Coan sculptures, among which are four statues or statuettes, found in the temple of Demeter, bearing dedications on their bases (ii. 162, 169 ff., 179 ff.). W. Peek has restored a striking Rhodian epigram (IG. xii. 1. 75a) and A. Wilhelm has corrected the text of an honorary inscription of Lindus (ibid. 892). Two epitaphs, now at Taormina, are assigned by K. Scott to Rhodes, but L. Robert has shown that their original provenance is Celenderis in Cilicia. F. von Hiller's admirable article on Rhodes utilises to the full the epigraphical evidence, notably in the appendixes on sources, artists, associations and the eponymous priests of Helios. An Athenian decree from Carpathus (IG. xii. 1. 977 = SIG. 129) plays, as we have seen, an important part in the discussion of the fire on the Athenian Acropolis.

A. Orlandos' excavations of three early Christian basilicas on the island of Lesbos have unearthed ten mosaic inscriptions in their floors, and D. Euangelides has discovered a number of letters, similar to those of IG. xii. 2. 273, engraved on the seats of the theatre at Mytilene, and a cylindrical tomb-altar bearing a curse directed against violators. A. Wilhelm has restored with characteristic felicity some passages in a seriously mutilated decree of Eresus (xii. 2. 527).

To Nisyros and Lerus reference has already been made. F. von Hiller has summarised previous discussions of an archaic inscription of Thera (xii. 3. 762) and, following a suggestion of J. Stamatakos, has argued that the earliest text consisted of the words ἀρχαῖος Ἡράκλεις, King Procles, and that the other names are later additions; he also sketches the development of the Theraean alphabet, of which this inscription illustrates the earliest stage. Of J. Braun's dissertation on the cults of Thera I have no direct knowledge.

For Cos we have only to notice, in addition to the works mentioned earlier in this section, R. Herzog's publication of a base of about 200 B.C., bearing a prose dedication and a poem in five couplets commemorating the courage and piety of Aeschron, probably a priestess, which had caused the cessation of a severe earthquake, W. Peek's revision of two previously known Coan epigrams with the aid of new readings due to Herzog, and L. Robert's comments and criticisms on Herzog's edition (Hermes, lxxv. 455 ff.; cf. JHS. li. 240) of Coan documents relative to the Pergamene Nicephoria and the Coan Asclepieia.
F. von Hiller has discussed 418 the inscriptions of Sicanus, giving a fresh interpretation of the archaic fragment IG. xii. 5. 25 and calling attention to the new epigraphical materials contained in Z. D. Gabalas' account of the island, 419 among which the most important is a very early metrical epitaph, which has also been examined 420 by A. D. Keramopoulos: on this evidence von Hiller bases the conjecture that Sicanus was Dorian down to the sixth century and remained such in part until the Hellenistic period. On Naxos a rock-cut inscription has been found 421 marking the boundary of a temple of Apollo. The 'Marmor Parium' is the subject of an interesting discussion 422 by R. Laqueur. A. Hadji's article 423 on the prehistoric capital of Andros contains, I believe, some epigraphical matter, but is not accessible to me.

D. Euangelides has published 424 21 inscriptions now preserved in the Chios Museum, including an interesting public document of the late fourth century, a group of honorary texts, a dedication to Sarapis and a list of contributions to some public work. Other votive inscriptions, 425 which have come to light at the village of Kavh, still await satisfactory publication. A. Wilhelm restores 426 a fragment of a fourth-century decree, published by Euangelides, and points out that it must have been brought from Erythrae and that the decree was passed by the Erythraean state, while M. Segre restores 427 a list of victories in which Mithridates the Great figures prominently. To Euangelides we also owe our knowledge of thirteen inscriptions recently found in Samos, 428 of which one honours an ex-Σπιτωροψ, three are dedications and the remainder epitaphs, and B. D. Theophaneides has added 429 an inscribed sun-dial from the same island. A. Wilhelm has thrown new light 430 on the famous Samian corn-law (SIG. 976) and made fresh proposals 431 with regard to a Samian decree honouring a doctor (AM. ii. 28 ff.), and E. Buschor has examined 432 in detail the epigram in honour of Maeandrius, commander of the Samian squadron at the battle of the Eurymedon (ibid. 26 ff.).

W. Peek has attempted 433 to interpret a puzzling phrase in an epigram from Arcesine in Amorgos (IG. xii. 7. 117), and A. Wilhelm has corrected and explained 434 two Amorgine inscriptions (ibid. 109, 499).

Of the non-Hellenic script of Lemnos I speak in the opening section of this survey. H. Thiersch devotes a long and careful examination 435 to the Nike of Samothrace, maintaining that IG. xii. 8. 239 is part of the artist's signature and arguing in favour of Pythocritus as its sculptor and of the Rhodian naval victories off Side and Myonnesus in 191–0 B.C. as
the occasion of its dedication. A. Bon’s account \(^{438}\) of the ancient ruins on the island of Thasos contains a discussion of its Hellenic towers (pp. 177 ff.), which he regards as anti-piratical refuges and signal-stations, a general sketch of Thasos in antiquity (pp. 191 ff.) and brief references (pp. 170 ff.) to some recently discovered or rediscovered inscriptions, while the report on the latest excavations by Y. Béquignon and P. Devambez includes \(^{447}\) three exedra-inscriptions (two honorary and an artist’s signature), some graffiti from the Odeum and a base in honour of Hadrian and Sabina. W. Peek has restored and corrected \(^{448}\) a Thasian epigram (Επημ. 1909, 23).

P. Roussel has provisionally published \(^{450}\) an honorary decree of late date from Carystus in Euboea, now in a dealer’s hands in Athens, and Peek has suggested \(^{446}\) revised readings of epigrams from Carystus and Eretria (IG. xii. 9, 12, 285).

[IG. xiii.] A valuable contribution to the study of Hellenistic Crete has been made by M. Van der Mijnssbrugge, \(^{441}\) who examines in detail the history and constitution of the Κοινον των Κρηταίων, known to us mainly from epigraphical evidence, in a series of chapters devoted respectively to (i) its organisation, (ii) its membership, (iii) its foreign relations, (iv) the κοινοθέτου and διάγραμμα which are characteristic of it, (v) the application of the διάγραμμα, prescribing arbitral settlement of all present or future disputes, in accordance with the συμβολα, or arbitration-treaties, of the states concerned, and (vi) an historical sketch of the κοινον both before and after the Roman conquest. Two appendices contain texts of two documents of crucial importance for this study (SGDI. 5024, 5040).

W. Peek gives an improved reading \(^{442}\) of an epigram from Polyrhenna, and M. Guarducci a fresh study \(^{443}\) of the text and meaning of a puzzling epitaph from Aptera. The Apteraean inscription relating to the Scipios, to which I referred in my last bibliography (JHS. lii. 242 ff.), has been further discussed by M. N. Tod \(^{444}\) and by E. Cavaignac, \(^{445}\) who argues that the fourth person there honoured is the Cn. Cornelius Merenda of Livy, xxxiv. 42 ff. M. Guarducci has published \(^{446}\) two interesting accessions of the Retimo Museum, a Hellenistic decree of Lappa granting προεξια to Andromachus, probably a brother of that Cassander whose numerous honours are attested by well-known records of Delphi and the Troad (SIG. 653), and a fragment of a houstrphedon document from Eleutherna relating to debts and payments, both in kind and in money. She has further re-edited \(^{447}\) with full textual and exegetical notes the sixth- or fifth-century law of Eltynia (SEG. ii. 509) prescribing penalties for assaults committed by boys.

\(^{438}\) BCH. liv. 147 ff.: cf. RevBelge. x. 374 f.
\(^{437}\) BCH. lvi. 242, 263 ff., 283: cf. lv. 413 f.
\(^{436}\) Hermes, lixii. 136, note 1.
\(^{435}\) REG. xlv. 217.
\(^{447}\) Philol. lxixiiii. 229. For Carystus see also BCH. lvii. 453.
\(^{443}\) The Cretan Koinon, New York, 1931: cf. Arcopol. vi. 304 ff., Athenaeum, x. 426 ff., GRev. xliii. 86 ff.,
\(^{442}\) Mondo Classico, iii. 37 ff., RevPhil. vii. 117 f.
\(^{441}\) Philol. lxxxvii. 237 f.
\(^{446}\) RevFil. lxxii. 514 ff.: cf. lviii. 370 ff., lviii. 352 ff.
\(^{444}\) Greece and Rome, i. 163 ff.
\(^{443}\) Rev. Qt. Hist. cxixv. 93 f.
\(^{445}\) Rev. It. Arch. iii. 117 ff.
\(^{447}\) Historia, v. 218 ff.
GORTYN has, once again, been the scene of the most numerous and interesting discoveries, ably edited by M. Guarducci. Of three previously unpublished inscriptions \(^{448}\) from its territory containing the names of Roman proconsuls of the province of Crete and Cyrene, two are Latin and one is a short bilingual text. Excavations in the Odeum have brought to light \(^{449}\) five archaic inedita, of which one is a fragment of, or at least closely associated with, the 'great inscription,' dealing with the distribution of water and with measures of hygiene, another relates to the purification of a house after a death, a third apparently regulates legal procedure in case of debt, a fourth (which seems to be a second edition of a text from the Pythium (SGDI. 4984 here republished) refers to public service, perhaps agricultural, rendered by freedmen (and slaves?), for which remuneration is given in kind, and the last, of which the meaning is uncertain, mentions vegetables, wine, oil, honey, etc. Of especial interest is an elegantly written and well-preserved document \(^{450}\) of the early third century B.C., found in the Praetorium though perhaps originally set up in the Pythium: by this the Gortynians concede to the inhabitants of the island of Caudus freedom and independence in questions of internal law and jurisdiction, but impose Gortynian control in foreign relations and demand the payment to Pythian Apollo of a tithe of the produce of the soil with certain exceptions and to Gortyn of a stated annual quantity of salt. Of this document SGDI. 5022 is almost certainly the conclusion. G. De Sanctis emphasises \(^{451}\) its importance in the history of ancient finance, as affording the first record of a free Greek city whose inhabitants normally pay an impost of a tithe, and draws a striking comparison with the 'satrapic economy' of Aristotle (Econ. ii. 1). The same scholar suggests \(^{452}\) a modified interpretation of the clause relating to the distribution of water in the text above mentioned and adds a commentary on another inscription of the same series. A. Olivieri calls in question \(^{453}\) Comparetti's restoration and interpretation of two early Gortynian inscriptions (cf. JHS. xlii. 201), and P. Maas deals \(^{454}\) with the form of the third person of the pronoun and the ellipse of the apodosis after of µεν in the code of Gortyn.

G. De Sanctis has put forward \(^{455}\) a new interpretation of a Phaestian epigram (SGDI. 5112), based on a revised reading due to M. Guarducci, who has also discussed \(^{456}\) affresh the fourteen surviving fragments of two or three stelae of the second century B.C. containing regulations for the ἀγνέα and καθαρμοί incumbent on worshippers in a temple at Latos and throwing an interesting, if fitful, light upon Cretan religious thought and practice in the Hellenistic period. On one clause G. De Sanctis adds \(^{457}\) some comments and suggests an alternative restoration. Researches conducted by D. Levi near the village of Vakiotes have resulted \(^{458}\)

\(^{449}\) Rev. It. Arch. iii. 7 ff.
\(^{451}\) Riv. It. Arch. ivii. 483 ff.
\(^{452}\) Ibid. ix. 86 ff.
\(^{453}\) Atti Napoli, n.s. xi. 27 ff., 39 ff.
\(^{454}\) Zeit. veggl. Sprachf. ivii. 266 ff.
\(^{455}\) RivFil. lx. 332 ff.
\(^{456}\) Riv. Ist. Arch. iii. 31 ff.; cf. BCH. xxvii. 219 ff.
\(^{457}\) RivFil. lx. 82 ff.
\(^{458}\) Annuari, x-xii. 18 ff., 28.
in the discovery of a gem with a magical inscription and a stеле of the third or second century B.C. bearing on the obverse an honorary decree mentioning the πόλις τῶν Ἀρκάδων and on the reverse what is apparently part of a frontier-delimitation. M. Guarducci has published a fragment of a beautifully engraved honorary decree of 300–250 B.C., found at Setia and now preserved in the Candida Museum, which enables us to correct a decree of Praesus (SIG. 524), and has read and restored more correctly a dedication (OIG. 119) from Itanus, also now at Candida, which she assigns to the reign of Ptolemy V Epiphanes (205–181 B.C.) rather than to that of Ptolemy VI Philometor (181–146 B.C.).

VII. Western Europe.

[IG. xiv.] From Sicily there is little of importance to record. P. Orsi’s account of the plateau of Acrae in antiquity includes a Christian epitaph and two fragments; J. B. Frey publishes a Jewish inscription brought to Palermo, probably from Acragas; P. Marconi edits, with the aid of M. Guarducci, an interesting text of Segesta, very similar to IG. xiv. 291, relating to works carried out in a public building; P. Orsi discusses a puzzling religious text of the fourth or third century B.C. and a late epitaph from Enna, and G. Libertini four epitaphs of Catana, one of which bears the date A.D. 402.

I have no direct knowledge of A. Olivieri’s work on Greek civilisation in southern Italy. G. Coppola has examined in detail the architecture of the heroön of Attilia Pomptilla at Carales (Cagliari) in Sardinia, together with its Greek and Latin inscriptions (IG. xiv. 607, Geffcken, Gr. Epigr. 259): his conclusion is that all twelve are the work of the same poet, probably L. Cassius Philippus, exiled by Imperial decree to Sardinia, whither Attilia voluntarily followed him, and that among the sources of their inspiration are Martial, Propertius, Ovid and Euripides. A. Taramelli has republished an epitaph (IG. xiv. 611) of Turris Libyssonis (Porto Torres).

G. Robinson’s article on “Some cave-chapels of Southern Italy” adduces epigraphical evidence for the persistence of the Greek language in Magna Graecia during Imperial times and publishes a fresco-inscription from Carpignano. P. Orsi points out that an archaic stèle in the Museum at Reggio, originally published as coming from Locri Epizephyrii, belongs in reality to Leucopetra, and J. B. Frey discusses a bilingual epitaph in Greek and Hebrew from Hydrun tum (Otranto). E. Magalda’s article on the wall-inscriptions of Pompeii quotes some
Greek graffiti from that city, while to A. W. Van Buren we owe a new reading and interpretation 474 of a graffito from Ostia and to G. Calza the inscription 476 on a portrait-bust found in a tomb on the Isola Sacra.

Of the inscriptions, numbering over two hundred, preserved at the American Academy in Rome, of which R. T. Ohl has drawn up a fully annotated catalogue, 476 nine (Nos. 66, 99–101, 106–7, 166–8) are Greek: they come from Rome, Asia Minor, Cyprus and Cyrenaica, and were all previously known with the exception of one fragment (No. 106). Two epitaphs from Rome have been edited by H. A. Sanders 477 and J. P. Kirsch 478 respectively. 479 Special attention has been directed to the epigraphical evidence bearing upon the Jewish community at Rome. H. W. Beyer and H. Lietzmann have devoted a monograph 886 to the Jewish catacomb on the Via Nomentana, discovered in 1919 beneath the Villa Torlonia at Rome, and to the 66 incised or painted texts found there, of which 63 are Greek, four Latin and one bilingual. This catacomb has also been studied 481 by J. B. Frey, who gives one inscription hitherto unpublished and improved readings of two others, together with five Jewish texts in various Roman Museums. Elsewhere 482 the same scholar publishes eighteen Jewish epitaphs and a building-inscription, emanating from the Jewish colonies at Porto and Rome: among these the most interesting are Nos. 45 and 47, to the former of which Frey returns in a separate discussion, 483 pointing out that it introduces us to a previously unknown Jewish synagogue at Rome and throws new light on the history of Alexander Severus. Much valuable information relative to the Jews settled at Rome is contained in an article 484 by J. B. Frey, and also in an essay 486 by H. J. Leon, who surveys the recent additions made to our epigraphical sources, which he numbers at 494, and summarises the knowledge they afford of the language, names, organisation and economic condition of the Jewish community. E. Josi has published, 486 with a general discussion of their nature and content, 120 inscriptions found in the Cimitero dei Giordani on the Via Salaria, of which sixteen are Greek: one of these (No. 9, pp. 188 ff.), now in the Lateran Museum, has been studied 487 by O. Marucchi, to whom we owe also the first publication 488 of an interesting metrical epitaph, now in the Magazzino Vaticano delle Corazze, commemorating a beneficiarius of the prefect of Egypt. P. Styer’s essay 489 on the origin of the cemetery of Domitilla on the Via Ardeatina also refers to some Greek inscriptions. C. Alexander’s brief account 490 of a Bacchic inscription of the second century A.D., recently discovered in the Roman Campagna and acquired by the
Metropolitan Museum in New York (cf. JHS. xlix. 202), whets our appetite for the promised publication of the text by A. Vogliano and F. Cumont. At Saint Rémy in Provence Greek masons' marks have been found.

A unique Mithraic tessera of about A.D. 200, consisting of a silver denarius of Augustus with the Latin inscription erased and the names ΜΙΘΡΑΚΩΡΩΜΑΙΚΗΜΦΗΝ substituted on one side, has been unearthed at Verulamium (St. Albans) and published by H. Mattingly, and W. H. Buckler has edited a fragment of an inscribed sarcophagus of unknown provenance recently found in the grounds of Petworth House.

VIII. Asia Minor

A. Cameron has compiled a useful alphabetical list, with references, of 283 Latin words found in the Greek inscriptions of Asia Minor, prefaced by a brief discussion of linguistic borrowing and naturalisation.

We turn first to the Greek cities of Caria. W. Peek has restored an epigram (Ὑπηρέτοι, 1907, 215) from the Rhodian Peraea. M. Rostovtzeff has edited, with a full textual and historical commentary, three inscriptions of Theangela, now in the Cabinet des Médailles at Paris; portions of the first and second were known from poor copies made by a Greek agent of T. Bent and published by E. L. Hicks (C/Rév. iii. 234 ff.). The first contains the latter part of a treaty concluded by a certain Eupolemus with the city of Theangela and the soldiers therein, including the formula of the oath sworn by Eupolemus, perhaps a citizen of Theangela and probably a Macedonian officer, who had established himself as dynast or tyrant of Mylasa shortly after the death of Alexander the Great; by this pact the city and citadels of Theangela are surrendered to him, probably at the close of a siege. The second is a perfectly preserved decree, dating from the second half of the third century B.C., whereby Troezen honoured a citizen of its colony Theangela, and the third consists of two unpublished fragments of a third-century decree honouring a foreigner, whose name has not been preserved. On the Peucestas named in the first of these documents A. Momigliano has added a historical note. A. Wilhelm has attempted to restore a valuable record of Iasus (BCH. viii. 455 = JHS. viii. 100) commemorating gifts made for the public purchase and distribution of grain; L. Robert tentatively suggests a restoration of a passage in a decree, probably of Iasus, relating to the Pergame festival of the Nicephoria and comments on Herzog's recent edition of it (Hermes, lxv. 459 ff.), and E. Derennes claims for Iasus three ephebic lists in the British Museum (IBM. 924–6) hitherto assigned to Didyma. To R. Meister we are indebted for a careful revision of the ten inscriptions engraved on a column of the temple of Zeus Osogos

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494 AJPh. iii. 232 ff.
495 Philol. xxvii. 234 f., 240 f.
496 REA. xcviii. 5 ff., 209 ff.: cf. REG. xlv. 222 ff., Historia, vi. 704 f.
497 Cf. A. Wilhelm, ÖTh. xi. 72 ff.
498 Riv. Fil. lxxv. 243 ff.
499 Milanges Götze, ii. 809 ff.
501 Serta leotoevisica (Liège, 1930), 129 ff.
502 ÖTh. xxviii. 233 ff.: I do not know E. Gaar, Oesterr. Inh. Schule, ii. 11.
at Mylasa, including one (OGI. 487) dated by the proconsulship of the historian Tacitus: Meister agrees with Hula-Szanto that Tacitus’ prae-
nomen is not, as Doublet-Deschamps thought (BCH. xiv. 621 ff.), recorded on the stone. Of outstanding interest is a decree, probably of Stratonicea, inscribed on the temple-wall at Panamara, the extant portions of which, ably edited by P. Roussel with the assistance of Holleaux, Herzog and other scholars, describe in detail the miraculous interventions, by fire, mist and storm, whereby Zeus Panamaros rescued his temple when attacked by Q. Labienus in 49 or 39 B.C., and possess the twofold value of illustrating the protective power credited to the Carian god and of preserving for us a specimen of the legendary literature which gathered round the Greek sanctuaries. A. Wilhelm has added a supplementary note to his previous discussion of a decree of Nysa.

Of the cities of Ionia Miletus and Ephesus are epigraphically the most productive. W. Peek publishes a Hellenistic epigram commemorating a priestess, found at Miletus and now preserved in Constantinople. E. Derenne assigns to Iasus, as we have seen, three lists previously held to belong to Didyma, and attacks a problem presented by the decree (AbhBerl. 1911, i. 27 ff.) relating to a festival in honour of Eumenes II. A. Oguse criticises the restorations offered by Rehm and Wilamowitz of a passage in a decree (Milet, i. 3. 336) dealing with the Cretans, and himself makes a new proposal: he further examines the phrase ἐν τῷ πρὸ τῆς ἡμερήσιας in a dedication (AbhBerl. 1911, i. 67) at Didyma and interprets it as ‘on their own proposal.’ A. Wilhelm comments on another Milesian text (Milet, i. 7. 249) and restores the opening phrase of a metrical epitaph from the same site. In an article on the Syrian wars of the Ptolemies W. Otto supports Rehm’s dating (262–0 B.C.) of the letter of Ptolemy II Philadelphus to the Milesians and their decrees in response to it (Milet, i. 3. 139) against Tarn’s assignment of them (Hermes, lxv. 446 ff.) to 277–6. J. Keil’s unremitting labours at Ephesus have borne valuable epigraphical fruits, in especial a further instalment of the definitive account of the Austrian excavations. In this fifty inscriptions (seven of which are Latin and two bilingual) are published, all except two for the first time: among the most interesting are Nos. 1 (part of a decree relative to the doctors or the whole personnel of the Ephesian Μουσείου, including an Imperial διάκρισις with a valuable list of Greek equivalents for Roman terms denoting settlements), 6 (a puzzling document of the fourth century A.D.), 23 (an epitaph recording services rendered to the state), 33 (a letter from Justinian to Hypatius, Archbishop of Ephesus) and 34 (a letter, perhaps from Hypatius, relating to a strife between the churches of S. Mary and S. John). Keil’s provisional report on the excavations of 1930 contains a new and better copy of Ephesos, ii. 24.
an Imperial edict, probably of Antoninus Pius, dealing with the account to be rendered by city magistrates to the imperially appointed curator (λογιστής), as well as a fragment from the E. Gymnasion. In an essay on the transition from paganism to Christianity at Ephesus, which he places in the sixth century, Keil makes effective use of an epigram already known (Grégoire, Recueil, 104) and of a hitherto unpublished epigram commemorating the services rendered to Asia Minor about A.D. 375 by ὁ περίφορος Ανδρέας. A gnostic inscription of the fourth or fifth century, engraved on a prehistoric celt obtained for the Toronto Museum in Smyrna and said to come from Ephesus, is discussed by J. H. Iliffe.

W. Peek deals with an epigram from Notium (SEG, iv. 573) on a boy who met his death by drowning in a well; A. Olivieri challenges Comparetti's interpretation (cf. JHS. xlix. 206) of the famous imprecations of Teos (SIG. 37, 38); A. Wilhelm restores a decree of the fourth century in the Chios Museum (Δελτ. xi. παρ. 23 ff.) and shows its Erythraean origin; W. Peek gives us four new epigrams from Smyrna and corrects or restores five already known, and L. Robert proves the Egyptian provenance of an inscription (IGRom. iv. 1190) copied at Smyrna by T. Wiegand and by him attributed to Thyatira.

A passage in a decree of Magnesia sub Sipylo in Lydia is discussed and restored by A. Wilhelm. The admirable edition of the Greek and Latin inscriptions of Sardis by W. H. Buckler and D. M. Robinson contains 220 Greek and eight Latin texts together with four bilinguals (three Latin-Greek and one Lydian-Greek); of these, 126 are here published for the first time and 31 others in completer form or on the basis of fresh copies. The care shewn in the establishment of the texts and in the brief commentaries appended to them, the excellence of the illustrations and the fullness of the indexes render this corpus a model of its kind. Elsewhere Buckler gives an improved version of an inscription in which the governor of the Lydian eparchy speaks of Novellae viii and xvii on the occasion of their first public exhibition at Sardis in A.D. 535.

We pass next to Mysia. Wilhelm restores and explains a metrical epitaph (IGRom. iv. 272) of Elaea, the port of Pergamum. S. Reinach summarises L. Robert’s study of a ritual regulation concerning the cult of Asclepius, which led to the identification of the Pergamene Asclepieum, and his restoration of a votive to Asclepius and the association of the φιλοσέβαστοι from the same neighbourhood. In an important article Robert deals with the text and the date of two inscriptions of Pergamum (SIG. 629–30), assigning them to 182 B.C. and concluding that the festival of the Nicephoria was instituted in 181: on this basis he dates several documents of that city (OGI. 299, 322, 324, 764). He
also 526 examines a dedication in honour of a priestess of Athena there (SEG. iv. 687), which he dates immediately after the war with Aristonicus. B. A. van Groningen explains 527 a disputed passage in an important record of Eumenes I (OLI. 266). A. Wilhelm’s noteworthy Neue Beiträge zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde, V, 528 is largely occupied with the correction, restoration and interpretation of a series of important Pergamene documents, namely the letter of Eumenes I to the 570 of Pergamum and its response (OLI. 267) and the decrees passed in honour of Diodorus Pasparus (OLI. 764, etc.), Metrodorus (AM. xxxii. 274 ff.) and Athenaeus (AM. xxxv. 401 ff.): incidentally he examines—and in a number of points rejects—R. Laqueur’s treatment of the first of these documents (Epigr. Untersuchungen, 1 ff., 16 ff.). Of even greater interest is T. Wiegand’s report 529 on his excavations carried on in the Asclepieum at Pergamum from 1928 to 1932. The epigraphical section (pp. 31 ff.) contains a first publication of 41 Greek and 5 Latin texts, belonging for the most part to the second century a.D. Those in Greek include a letter from P. Servilius Isauricus, proconsul of Asia in 44 B.C., relative to the renewal of the temple’s 580, twenty-one dedications to Asclepius (Soter), Hygieia, Telesphoros, and other gods (Nos. 3, 19, 23, 24 may be specially noted), and nineteen honorary or similar inscriptions for Emperors (Trajan, Hadrian, L. Aelius, Antoninus Pius, Caracalla) or others, among whom are a φανερός υπηρέτης τῆς κολονείας (No. 2), a νεκρόσατο και σωφιστής (No. 3), the founder πρωτύλος τοῦ πρώτος τῆς ἁγοράς καὶ ὕστερον τοῦ καθορίστου (No. 4), whose military and civil career is fully recorded, a gymnasiarch who had served with special distinction (No. 5), the proconsul L. Vedius Rufus Lollianus Avitus (No. 7), one who had held a succession of six procuratorships (No. 8), and the orator Demosthenes, whose statue was erected by the sophist and rhetor Polemo of Laodicea ad Lycum (No. 14). But the gem of the collection is unquestionably the record of the long and distinguished career of C. Julius Quadratus Bassus (pp. 39 ff.), commemorating the numerous offices he held, his part in Trajan’s Dacian War, his share in escorting to Rome that Emperor’s ashes in 117, and the impressive funeral granted him on his death as governor of Dacia in the following year: to this text a detailed commentary is added by W. Weber (pp. 57 ff.).

L. Robert restores 530 ll. 23 ff. of a royal letter addressed to the city of Illyium (CIG. 3605) and assigns it to Attalus II or III. M. Cary examines 531 a decree of Lampasacus, found at Thasos, and suggests that the otherwise unrecorded νομεῖα there mentioned may have been fought in 302, when Demetrius entered the Hellespont and captured the city itself. An honorary decree of Lampasacus (SIC. 591 = IGRom. iv. 179), also plays a prominent part in E. Bickermann’s inquiry 532 into the relations between that city and Rome. W. Peak has published 533 an epitaph in iambics

526 BCH. liv. 346 ff.
527 Mem. liv. 336.
528 SBWien, ccxiv. 4: cf. JHS. livi. 140.
529 ArchI. 1933, 5: cf. RA. i. 134, JHS. livi. 125.
530 BCH. liv. 348 ff.
531 JHS. l. 353 ff.
532 Philol. bxxvii. 277 ff. cf. BEA. xxxv. 119.
533 W. Peak has published.
from Cyzicus and another in elegiac couplets from Panderma and has re-edited a third found at Gueunen: all three are now in the Constantinople Museum. In an article on the history of Antiochus I Soter, M. Segre dates the important Cyzicene record of the bounties of Philetaerus (OGL 748) in 282–1 or 278–7 B.C. Wilhelm supplements his previous treatment (OJh. xxiv. 188 ff.) of a well-known decree of Cyzicus, and Buckler suggests that the epitaph found at Petworth House may have the same origin. We may also note a native inscription found at Uuyjik, W. of Cotiaeum, and published by C. W. M. Cox and A. Cameron, who discuss the script and the language, which may be Phrygian, Mysian, or even Lydian.

E. Pfuhl has compared the tombstone, now in Constantinople, of Menas the Bithynian, who fell in 281 B.C. at the battle of Korupedion, with that of Dexileos at Athens. In a long article on the memorials of the cult of Bithynian Zeus, usually termed Ze̱s βρωτόν, S. Ferri collects a number of inscribed busts and reliefs, and adds (pp. 245 ff.) an unpublished dedication at Brussa to Ze̱s Δαναοςτης (vος).

Phrygia and the adjacent portions of inner Asia Minor give rise to many discoveries and discussions. In a long and characteristic article on Greek gravestones from Asia Minor A. Wilhelm deals with a large number of inscriptions, duly indexed (pp. 864 ff.), correcting and interpreting them with a wealth of illustrative material: among them are the epitaphs of the presbyter Nestor from Dinek Serai (792 ff.), of Aurelius Trophimus and his family from the Tembris Valley (816 ff.), of Gennadius and Eugenius (826 ff., 835 ff.), a series of epigrams opening with addresses or questions (809 ff.), a group of inscriptions usually held to commemorate Christian martyrs (826 ff.) and eleven epitaphs containing the phrase των Θεων σοι, μη διακοτης (847 ff.). Both in this article and in his 'Lese-früchte' he corrects or annotates many texts in W. M. Calder’s Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua, i, as do also W. M. Ramsay, P. Kretschmer and W. Piek. In an archaeological and epigraphical farrago W. M. Ramsay publishes an epitaph from Boz Eyuk containing a reference to the πότων Καίσαρας (p. 267), an honorary inscription of Mossyna (281) and a mamunmission-record (286), and deals, by way of restoration or comment, with a dedication from Iconium (274 f.) and with inscriptions throwing light on the temple of Dionysopolis and on the people and cult of Lairbenos (275 ff.). P. Kretschmer calls attention to the initial γ- of several Phrygian words and A. Cameron to the term ἱσικά reported as Phrygian by Plutarch (De Iside et Osiride, 360b) and to the special
meaning of μανία μετά γνωσιός found in a text of Badinlar. Wilhelm comments on a decree of Aludda; Calder deals with the epigraphical evidence for the site of Pepuzan, the ‘New Jerusalem’ of the Phrygian Montanists, and with the inscriptions of that sect and neighbourhood, and J. G. C. Anderson’s discussion of the genesis of Diocletian’s provincial reorganisation includes an inscription from Laodicea ad Lyicum referring to a Αγγέλων Φρούγια τι και Καρινος. M. Holleaux and L. Robert provide a new edition of the edict of Eriza, now in the Louvre (OGl. 224), which is dated in 204 B.C. and emanates from Antiochus III, and G. Buckler publishes a sixth-century epitaph, found at Synnada, of a member of the important Botanites family. E. Jastrow and A. Wilmshandel deal with inscriptions (JRS. ii. 87 ff.) from ‘Pisidian’ Antioch, and W. M. Ramsay, returning to the famous ‘acte administratif’ of Iconium (Rev.Phil. xxxvi. 75), declares its first four lines to be a valueless restoration but the remainder genuine, and sees in it the receipt for the last payment of tributum before Claudicium became a colony in A.D. 137: he also edits an epitaph of Azak, twenty hours N. of Iconium.

There is little to report from Galatia save W. Peck’s publication of four metrical, or semi-metrical, epitaphs from Ancyrhostone—one of them in a revised version, the others as unpublished—and K. O. Dalman’s account of recent discoveries there; for, valuable as are the articles on the Monumentum Anamurium (also to some extent on the Monumentum Antiochenum) which have recently appeared, they deal rather with its origin, the impensae recorded in its central section, the arrangement of the provincial texts and their relation to the Roman archetypal, and its style, or with particular passages in the text, than specifically with the Greek translation of the Latin original.

W. Peck publishes an epigram from Dyeta in Pontus, preserved in the Museum at Constantinople, and F. Cumont six epitaphs from Pedachthoe (Bedochtôn) and neighbouring villages of the Yildiz Dagh, between the Halys and the Lycus. A. Wilhelm restores and explains epigrams from Amisus, Nicopolis and Neoclaudiopolis commemorating doctors and two prose inscriptions from Kavsa in the Phazimontis giving thanks to Asclepius, the Nymphs and the doctors for

\[\text{Gnomon}, \text{ix. 315 ff., Historia, vi. 677, A JA. xxxvi. 547.} \]
\[\text{AW. iii. 1496 f.} \]
\[\text{U. Wilcken, SBBerl. 1934, 772 ff.; cf. PhW. ii.} \]
\[\text{1272, Gnomon, ix. 312 ff., Historia, vi. 676 f., Deutsche} \]
\[\text{Literatur 1934, 3093 ff.} \]
\[\text{R. Rau, Klio, xxxiv. 209 ff.; A. von Pernetstein,} \]
\[\text{Klio, xxx. 197 ff.; cf. Historia, vi. 676.} \]
\[\text{G. Rusenberg, Synops. Oslo, x. 148 ff.} \]
\[\text{W. W. Tarn, Mélanges Glotz, lii. 801 ff.; W. Emslin,} \]
\[\text{RMAr. lxxix. 335 ff.; K. Scott, CIPh. xxvii.} \]
\[\text{284 ff.} \]
\[\text{AM. i. 131 f.} \]
\[\text{Byz. vi. 520 ff.} \]
\[\text{OJ. xxvii. Beiblatt, 73 ff.} \]
\[\text{Bibl. 84 ff.; cf. Byz. vi. 445 f.} \]
recovery of health. F. Cumont adds a historical commentary to an honorary decree of Greco-Roman date from Anisa in Cappadocia, whose short-lived existence ended before A.D. 17. A curious epitaph from Caesarea published by A. Salač (BGCH ii. 398 ff.) has attracted the attention of B. Ryba, who finds in it a previously unknown adjective τρυς, and of F. Bradač, who suggests several new readings, including ἕων for τρυς.

No new inscriptions of Lycia have appeared, but A. Wilhem has restored an epitaph of Arystandra; R. S. Rogers has distinguished, by the aid of a text of Cyaneae (IGRom. iii. 703), Quintus Veranius, comes of Germanicus and governor of Cappadocia in A.D. 18, from his son and namesake, who was consul in 49 and subsequently governor of Britain; A. Pridik, while admitting a doubt as to his restoration ὡτὶ [ποτὸν] in TAM. ii. 1. 22, reasserts his view that Ptolemy son of Lysimachus, governor of Telmessus, was not the son of King Lysimachus but the nephew of Euergetes, son of his younger brother Lysimachus; and A. Wilhelm corrects the restoration of a Xanthian text given in TAM. ii. 261. A. M. Woodward points out that in a Pamphylion dedication (SEG. vi. 672) αὐτὸς τὸν must be read in place of αὐτὸν τὸν. For R. Heberdey's article on the history of Termessus major in Pisidia during the Roman period inscriptions afford invaluable materials: in particular he discusses TAM. iii. 66 and makes some additions to his Termessische Studien. K. Latte restores a record of victories from Adada (IGRom. iii. 370. 14 ff.) and W. M. Ramsay interprets a medical prescription from Pisidia (SEG. vi. 601).

In their great work Denkmäler aus dem Rauen Kilikien J. Keil and A. Wilhem edit three bilingual and 800 Greek inscriptions, the overwhelming majority of which were previously unpublished, from various sites in Cilicia Trachea, notably Seleucia ad Calycadnum, Diocaesarea, Corasion and, above all, Corycus. A line-drawing or a photograph is, where possible, given of each text, and though their contents often seem insignificant taken individually (No. 62, however, is important not only for conditions in the priestly state of Olba but also for the history of the last days of the Seleucid Empire) and a very large proportion of them are simple epitaphs, yet taken together they throw a valuable light on the religious, social and economic life of the district. H. L[ietzmann] comments on the Jewish epitaphs in this collection, and L. Robert traces to Celenderis two inscribed grave-stones which have travelled by way of Rhodes to Taormina. F. Cumont adds to his list of epitaphs bearing

850 REA. xxxiv. 133 ff.; cf. AJA. xxxvi. 548.
851 REA. xxxv. 375 ff.
852 REA. vii. 456 ff.
853 REA. vii. 456 ff.
854 REA. vii. 456 ff.
855 REA. vii. 456 ff.
856 REA. vii. 456 ff.
857 REA. vii. 456 ff.
858 REA. vii. 456 ff.
859 REA. vii. 456 ff.
860 REA. vii. 456 ff.
861 REA. vii. 456 ff.
862 REA. vii. 456 ff.
863 REA. vii. 456 ff.
864 REA. vii. 456 ff.
865 REA. vii. 456 ff.
866 REA. vii. 456 ff.
867 REA. vii. 456 ff.
868 REA. vii. 456 ff.
a symbol of prayer to the avenging god an example, dating from the third century A.D., from Salamis in Cyprus; P. Roussel discusses an honorary inscription from Citium (OGI. xvi. 26), and H. Seyrig publishes a leaden weight, now at Larnaca, bearing a royal inscription in Cyprian characters.

IX. SYRIA AND PALESTINE

No further instalment of Jalabert and Mouterde’s Corpus of Greek and Latin inscriptions from Syria has yet appeared, but several reviews of the first fascicule (cf. JHS. lii. 251) make material contributions to their study. P. Perdrizet discusses the Atargatis cult in connexion with the inscribed money-box (ibid.) dedicated to that goddess, and H. Seyrig collects the evidence for the worship of Nemesis in Syria and examines in detail Nemesiac reliefs from Palmyra and Dura. P. Maas reviews the various interpretations given to the phrase ἐπ’ ἄριστον, found on a number of Syrian vessels, and himself suggests ‘Der Herr segne dein Vorhaben!’, while in a later note he cites a passage from Iamblichus pointing to the ellipse of γένοις σοι. In a long and valuable article R. Mouterde publishes with full commentaries 36 gems, amulets and other objects—all of them except three inscribed and all except three previously unpublished—throwing light upon magical practices in Syria; they come from various sites in N. Syria, but most of them have now found their way to Beyrut or Aleppo. Among the most interesting are a long devotio from Beyrut, directed against certain horses and drivers, a well-known theme appearing here with certain novel features, and a leaden defixio from Damascus.

An epigraphical journey from Alexandretta to Tyre, undertaken by Mouterde in preparation for the Inscriptions grecques et latines, led to the discovery of some ten new inscriptions, mainly in or near Homs, including a third-century dedication of an Actolian who served Ptolemy IV (No. 11), and the revision of some previously known texts, among them an asylum-boundary (No. 3) published in the Princeton University Archaeological Expeditions to Syria (III, 1, 1962); two other inscriptions in the same collection, from Der Sim’an (1160) and Brăd (1185) respectively, are commented upon by G. Stuhlfauth. The problem of the right of ἄνδρια in the Byzantine period has been exhaustively discussed by L. Wenger à propos of a petition for the grant of ἄνδρια to an oratory near Tyre (JHS. lii. 251). H. Seyrig and M. Holleaux announce the discovery, at Seleucia in Pieria, of an edict or πρόστασις of Seleucus IV followed by a decree of that city dated 186 B.C. M. Dunand has edited 140 texts.
copied in the course of his repeated journeys in the Jebel Druz and Hauran, chiefly at Maximianopolis (Shaqqaa), Orela (Djouneine), Kanatha (Qanawat), Mardouche (Mouridouk), Namara (Nemre) and Moushannaf: four are revised versions of inscriptions already known, while the remainder (for the most part epitaphs, but also building-inscriptions and dedications to Greek and Syrian gods) are new. Dunand’s memoir on the Roman road in the Leda has deals with a number of milestones and with a Greek inscription of Menara Hemou containing the name of Avidius Cassius, legate of Syria under Marcus Aurelius. Mouterde has published a dedication Διὶ σωτηρία καὶ φωτισμὸς from Soada-Dionysias (Souweida) and an altar from “Ahiré recording a death by lightning in A.D. 225–6; F. Cumont has discussed an inscription from the Hauran appealing to heaven for vengeance on the murderers of an innocent man, and W. K. Prentice has added an epitaph from Kaš Burkah in the Syrian desert.

In his Caravan Cities M. Rostovtzeff gives an account of caravan-trade in antiquity followed by brilliant sketches of four of its main centres—Petra, Jerash, Palmyra and Dura—based to some extent on inscriptions, while elsewhere he discusses twenty honorific texts which tell us much about the organisation of the caravan-trade which passed through Palmyra. Among the most interesting of these is the bilingual decree (cf. JHS. ii. 252) found 22 km. from Palmyra on the ancient trade-route from Hit to Palmyra: a revised text of this, edited with full comments by R. Mouterde and A. Poidebard, proves the use under Antoninus Pius of a route running between Palmyra and Vologesias, gives new data for Palmyrene history and topography and recalls the services of a doughty merchant-prince, who blended the diplomat and the soldier with the trader. J. Dobias’s article on the same inscription I know only at second hand: a subsequent examination of the stone by H. Seyrig has proved correct a suggestion made by A. Wilhelm. T. Wiegand’s impressive report on the results of the German expeditions to Palmyra in 1902 and 1917 contains a building inscription (p. 28), sixteen epitaphs from the vast cemeteries of the city (pp. 55–70), a fragment (p. 115) from the Corinthian temple E. of the Theatre and the dedication of the great temple of Bel (pp. 138 f.); all of these, except one epitaph (p. 70, No. 191), were already known. J. Cantineau has undertaken the useful task of issuing, in topographical order, revised texts, accompanied by translations and brief notes, of all inscriptions still found in or near Palmyra: seven fascicles have already appeared, dealing respectively with (i) the Temple of Beel-Shemin, (ii) the Honorific Columns, (iii) the

409 Among the most interesting are Nos. 76, 80, 106, 115. In No. 69 s' (= s) should, I think, be read in place of $s'$.
412 Rendic. Pont. Acad. III. v. 73 ff.
413 AJA. xcv. 46 ff.
415 Mélange Glotz, ii. 793 ff.
417 Lüty Fild, iviii. 1 ff.
418 Byz. vi. 465.
419 Palmyra, Berlin, 1932.
Great Colonnade, (iv) the Valley of the Tombs, (v) the Transverse Colonnade, (vi) the Camp of Diocletian, and (vii) the N.W. and N. Cemeteries. He has also devoted two articles to inscriptions from Palmyra: in one he publishes, in addition to a number of documents in the Palmyrene script only, five bilingual texts copied in 1928 and the surviving fragments of the Greek inscription on the tomb of A'ailami and Zebida, dated A.D. 149, while in the other he deals with the epigraphical results of the excavation of the temple of Bel in 1930, including three brief but interesting bilingual honorary inscriptions and two fragments. J. B. Chabot criticises and annotates a number of texts, mostly Palmyrene or bilingual, contained in Cantineau's Inventaire and articles, and calls attention to the appearance in one of them of a corrector lotus Orientis. H. Seyrig gives a fuller reading of a Greek text published by Cantineau, shewing that it records the completion of Diocletian's baths at Palmyra under the auspices of the governor of Phoenicia, Sossianus Hierocles, well known as a persecutor of the Christians: he also discusses a Palmyrene votive relief, now at Brussels, bearing a representation of Nemesis. Two valuable theses have been written by J. G. Février, in which sources are largely epigraphical, surveying the pantheon (the Arabian gods, Bel and his congers, the Syrian and foreign gods), the organisation and ritual of the cult and its relation to other religions, and concluding with a sketch of the development of the Palmyrene religion: in the other he examines the political and economic history throughout the whole of the city's existence, paying special attention (pp. 29 ff.) to the fiscal law (OGL. 629) of A.D. 137.

The excavation of Dura-Europus, carried on jointly by Yale University and the French Academy of Inscriptions and Letters, provides us with a series of thrills. I must not here linger over the historical and juristic value of the parchments, to the interpretation of which P. Koschaker and E. Schönbaumer have made valuable contributions, and over the cartographic record on a leather buckler (cf. JHS. xliv. 215), further discussed by R. Uhden. C. Hopkins has made a special study of the sanctuary of the Palmyrene gods, and H. Seyrig has examined an inscribed relief attesting the cult of Nemesis at Dura. Two more Preliminary Reports have appeared, almost belying that title in the fullness with which the discoveries are discussed and the excellence of their

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412 Rev. Asyr. xxvii. 27 ff.; cf. Syria, xii. 79. This is reprinted in Inscriptions palmyrénienes (Damascus, 1930), in the latter part of which work Cantineau adds 33 inscriptions in Greek and Palmyrene or in Greek alone.
413 Syria, xii. 116 ff.
414 CR. Acad. 1930, 542 ff.
415 Syria, xii. 512 ff.
416 Inscriptions palmyrénienes, p. 33, No. 49.
417 Syria, xiii. 116 ff.; cf. 62 ff.
419 Essai sur l'histoire politique et économique de Palmyre, Paris, 1931.
422 Hermes, lxvii. 117 ff.
424 Syria, xiii. 53 ff.
illustrations. One deals with the season 1928–9 and includes a publication by C. Hopkins (pp. 83 ff.) of one Latin and 63 Greek inscriptions found in the Roman temple, the temple of the Palmyrene gods, the Baths and the N.W. tower of the Citadel; the majority are graffiti, but the Latin building-inscription of the Roman temple (No. 1), the text on an altar erected to Zeus Ψυκτός after an earthquake in October, A.D. 160 (No. 2), and a dedication to Iaribol (No. 3) are of unusual interest. J. Johnson edits (pp. 114 ff., 217 f., Pl. xvi) 143 Greek inscriptions from the Palmyra Gate, mostly short graffiti but occasionally indicating the dates, ranging from 183–2 B.C. to A.D. 182–3, or the status of the writers, and discusses (pp. 151 ff.) their significance for the history of Dura; to these he adds (pp. 161 ff., Pl. li) a horoscope of July, A.D. 176, inscribed on the wall of a private house, an inscribed store-jar, six new inscriptions from the temple of Artemis and notes on 21 texts published by Cümmont (Fouilles de Doura-Europos, ch. vi). M. I. Rostovtzeff and C. B. Welles summarise (pp. 201 ff., Pl. xxviii) their publication of a parchment loan-contract of A.D. 121 and add notes on parchments and a papyrus found in 1928–9, and a useful epigraphical index completes the volume (pp. 219 ff.: for inscriptions on pottery see pp. 52 ff., Pl. xiii). The principal Greek texts discovered in 1929–30 were surveyed by H. T. Rowell, and more adequately published by him and A. R. Bellinger in the third Preliminary Report (pp. 40 ff.): they number 24, including a dedication to Iaribol (No. 143), one to Atargatis by a legatus Augusti (No. 145), the inscription beneath a statue of Julia Domna, wife of Septimius Severus (No. 149), a fragment bearing the name of Seleucus Nicator, founder of the Seleucid dynasty (No. 151), and other votive and building-inscriptions. The remarkable finds made in the ‘House of the Archives’ were discussed by Rostovtzeff and Welles and have since appeared in the fourth Preliminary Report, which, issued in 1933, falls outside the scope of this survey. J. Johnson has published three valuable studies based on materials brought to light at Dura; these deal with (i) the Dura horoscope and the Seleucid calendar (1 ff., Pl. i); (ii) the hereditary ἔτος τῆς ἡλικίας and the genealogy of a family which played a prominent part in the city’s life for two centuries (17 ff., Pl. ii); and (iii) Parchment II, of which a revised reading and restoration is offered (35 ff., Pl. iii). The results of later campaigns still await publication.

F. M. Abel’s address on recent epigraphical finds in PALESTINE specially stresses those from Gerasa (Jerash), where fresh mosaic and other inscriptions have come to light in the American excavation and have

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426 CRAProc. 1931, 162 ff.: cf. REG. xlv. 228.
been published \(^{433}\) by C. S. Fisher and C. C. McCown; the latter has also edited \(^{434}\) two texts found at Beit Rás, probably Capitolias of the Decapolis,—a dedication of a chapel and statue in honour of Commodus, and a sarcophagus-inscription. H. Seyrig has commented \(^{435}\) on a Gerasene inscription published \(^{436}\) by A. H. M. Jones, whose article \(^{437}\) on the urbanisation of the Ituraean principality rests mainly on epigraphical foundations. S. Krauss's discussion \(^{438}\) of recently discovered synagogues in Palestine deals (pp. 405 ff.) with the inscriptions found in those at Jerash and at Beth Alpha, the latter of which is illustrated \(^{439}\) by E. L. Sukenik. M. Avi-Yonah has begun the publication \(^{440}\) of an annotated list of Palestinian mosaic pavements, giving the texts of any of them which are inscribed, while the mosaic inscriptions of Shiloh and Mukhmas have been separately studied by H. Kjaer \(^{441}\) and by R. W. H[utchinson] \(^{442}\) respectively. —To A. Alt we owe a scholarly essay \(^{443}\) on the beginnings of Christian epigraphy in Palestine and Arabia. A metrical epitaph from Caesarea Philippi has been edited \(^{444}\) by J. Jeremias.

Considerations of space debar me from speaking at length of the διάστασις Καίσαρος from Nazareth (cf. JHS. li. 252), which has evoked a wide variety of opinions regarding its author, date and occasion, the place where it was originally exhibited, the nature of the document and its juristic interpretation. An admirable survey of the conflicting views will be found in an article \(^{445}\) by F. de Zulueta, who inclines to regard the διάστασις as an Augustan rescript set up at Samaria or in the Decapolis. L. Zancan, indeed, denies \(^{446}\) its authenticity, but this scepticism has won no support. To the bibliography \(^{447}\) of the document drawn up by de Zulueta I have only to add brief notes by J. Carcopino, \(^{448}\) E. Cuq, \(^{449}\) E. Levy \(^{450}\) and S. R[cinach]. \(^{451}\)

Some epigraphical finds have been made \(^{452}\) by G. M. FitzGerald at Beth Shan (Scythopolis), including a mosaic of A.D. 521–2, the chronologival value of which has been pointed out \(^{453}\) by A. Alt. The mutilated

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\(^{434}\) Syria, xii. 318 ff.

\(^{435}\) JHS. xxviii. 145, No. 2.

\(^{436}\) JRS. xxix. 265 ff.

\(^{437}\) Rev. Ét. Juifs, bxccix. 385 ff.

\(^{438}\) Art and Arch. xxxiii. 2101; cf. Quart. Dep. Ant.

\(^{439}\) Pal. ii. 144 f., No. 22.


\(^{441}\) Journ. Pal. Or. Soc. x. 137 f.; PEFQS. 1931, 71 ff.

\(^{442}\) Quart. Dep. Ant. Pal. i. 194 f.

\(^{443}\) Palästinajahrb. xxviii. 89 ff.

\(^{444}\) Ibid. 61 ff.

\(^{445}\) JRS. xxii. 184 ff.

\(^{446}\) Atti R. Ist. Veneto, xcvii. 51 ff.

inscription on a third-century triumphal arch at Caesarea (Turris Stratonis) has been copied by F. M. Abel and A. Barrois, two epitaphs from Joppa by E. L. Sukenik, and a fragment from the monastery of St. Euthymius in the Wilderness of Judaea by D. J. Chitty. Jerusalem is represented by two epitaphs from a cemetery at Karm al-Shaikh, five Greek inscriptions now in the Archaeological Museum, edited by J. H. Illiffe, one of which is a milestone of the early fourth century found at ez-Zib on the coast, H. Seyrig's re-edition of a curious hymn the genuineness of which was doubted by P. Thomsen, and L. H. Vincent's collection of the occurrences of the names Jesus and Joseph in Greek ossuary-inscriptions. H. Lamer offers a new interpretation of puzzling graffiti found in a tomb at Marissa; F. M. Abel and J. B. Chabot discuss a Christian epitaph from Ghör es-Sáfi, S. of the Dead Sea; an interesting grave-epigram from Gaza, now in the Jerusalem Museum, is published by J. H. Illiffe and commented on by R. Mouterde, who rightly assigns it to the Ptolemaic period, and the record of a late repair of the wall of Gaza is studied by Abel. Alt dates in A.D. 503 a mosaic from el-Jándūde and thus determines the era used at Philadelphia (Ammān).

One Greek inscription has come to light among a number of Nabataean votives in the temple of Allat at Iram, S. of Petra and E. of Aqaba. M. Rostovtzeff has published a remarkable essay in which he collects, classifies and discusses the official bullae and seals of clay or bitumen found in Babylonia, chiefly at Orchi (Warka, Uruk), and now preserved in various European and American museums, notably at Chicago: very many of them bear short Greek inscriptions throwing light upon the record-office and the taxation of the Seleucid Empire. In an excursus (pp. 98 ff.) R. H. McDowell deals with the bullae from Seleucia-on-Tigris, adding 62 further examples to the 18 previously published by him. A Greek text, found in the temple of Nabû at Nineveh but now lost, has been published by R. W. Hutchinson. It remains to mention a group of inscriptions unearthed at Susa and edited in four articles by F. Cumont. The first records the rediscovery of OGI. 747, copied by Loftus in 1857, and contains a tantalising fragment of a poem relating to Phraates IV and Tiridates, probably the general who usurped the Arsacid throne and finally fled to Rome: the poem may refer to the repulse of Antony in 36 B.C. The second contains two texts of the Parthian period.
—an honorary inscription of 98 B.C. erected by a company of the Palace Guard, and an epigram engraved in A.D. 1–2 by the guard of the Acropolis below the statue of Zamaspes, who had successfully carried out irrigation works—and seven fragments from the shrine of Artemis Nanaia, dating from the Seleucid period, one of which records a dedication of 183 B.C., Ἀπόλλωνι και Ἀρτέμιδι Δαίμονις. The third provides a provisional publication of a rescript written in A.D. 21–2 by Artabanus III to the city of Susa, confirming an election the validity of which was challenged: it is the only letter of a Parthian king of which the text survives and is of outstanding historical interest. The fourth comprises seven documents from the donjon which crowned the southern point of the hill on which rose the royal city,—that beneath a statue of the daughter of Timon τοῦ ἅγιου τῆς αὐλῆς τοῦ βασιλέως, an epigram on a statue of Apollo, four dedications of slaves to Nanaia, and an inscribed sherd of pottery. A parchment from Dura enables Rostovtzeff to restore the prescripts of two Greek inscriptions of Babylon, one of which is now in the British Museum (IBM. 1052).

X. Africa

Greek inscriptions from Egypt and Nubia I summarise in my biennial bibliography in the Journal of Egyptian Archaeology.

G. Oliverio's report on the excavations carried on at Cyrene in 1928 includes forty Greek and three Latin inscriptions, together with a number of brick-stamps: most of these are dedications on stone or earthenware, inscriptions on statue-bases, or lists of names (Nos. 8–12 are especially interesting). At the close (pp. 230 ff.) is an index of all proper names and technical terms found in the inscriptions contained in the four preliminary reports on the excavation of Cyrene. S. Ferri comments on one of the texts published by Oliverio (pp. 182 f., No. 9), interpreting the phrase λόχος ἀπὸ τῆς θύσεως αὐχάς as referring to athletic contests rather than to war, and restores the signature of Alcamenes on a fifth-century statue-base found near the temple of Apollo (Afr. Ital. i. 156).

But the most interesting recent find is a perfectly preserved marble stele, discovered near to Apollo's Fount, bearing the text of the will by which King Ptolemy ὁ νεωτέρος (known to us as Euergetes II or Physcon), younger son of Ptolemy V Epiphanes and brother of Ptolemy VI Philometor, prays that by the grace of heaven he may fitly punish those who have plotted to rob him not only of his kingdom but of his life, and leaves to the Romans his rightful realm in the event of his dying without heirs, entrusting to them the preservation of his land in case of attack. This remarkable historical document, first published by G. Oliverio with a
full legal, historical and linguistic commentary, has naturally evoked keen interest both among lawyers and among historians. The date assigned to the will by Oliverio, 155 B.C., has been generally accepted, though S. Ferri regards the year 167 as historically preferable and U. Wilcken, to whom is due a valuable re-edition of the inscription, argues that it was not actually engraved on stone until after the death of Physcon or, more probably, of Apion, who by his will bequeathed Cyrene to the Roman people. Other important contributions to the study of the document are those of G. De Sanctis, F. E. Adcock, W. Schubart, who examines the use of the word παρακατανασθέναι in the official language of the Hellenistic age; E. Bickermann, who argues that we have before us not an authentic copy of the will but an official extract, published in 155, of an earlier will, and emphasises the duty imposed upon the Romans of maintaining the existing régime in Cyrene; P. Roussel, who accepts Bickermann's main conclusions and challenges Wilcken's view that the stele was engraved long after 155; M. Segre, U. Ratti, and M. A. De Dominici, who disagrees with Oliverio's interpretation of the document as a donatio mortis causa of the Roman type, regarding it as a Greek testament subject to a suspensory condition.

The significance of three Cyrenee documents previously published (the wheat-donations, the 'Magna Carta' and the Augustan edicts) is appraised by W. L. Westermann. The 'Magna Carta' has further been discussed by V. Arangio Ruiz in an essay which is out of my reach, and the question of civitas optima iure as envisaged by it has been examined by A. Gitti. A valuable contribution to the study of the Augustan edicts is A. von Premerstein's critical review of all the works relating to them which appeared from spring 1928 to the close of 1930, to which he has prefixed a valuable bibliography of the relevant literature and appended some further notes on textual criticism and exegesis. R. Laqueur has put forward a new interpretation of the second decree, according to which P. Sextius Sceva, who has hitherto been regarded as proconsul of the province, was in reality a delator, whom Augustus commends for his action despite the fact that the charges which he had brought had been disproved. P. Wahrmann makes some observations on the linguistic aspect of the decrees.

Peck corrects a Cyrenee epygram (Sammelbuch, 5873), which he mistakenly assigns to Egypt. The religion of Cyrene is the subject of a work by L. Vitali, who, after marshalling all the available evidence,

879 Historia, vi. 432 ff.
880 Studia, 1932, 317 ff.
881 Ric. Fil. lx. 59 ff., 450 ff.
882 Cambridge Univ. Reporter, lxii. 1290.
884 Grammon, viii. 424 ff.
885 REG. xlv. 286 ff.
886 Monde Classique, ii. 424 ff.
887 Ric. Fil. lx. 373 ff.
888 Atti Ist. Veneto, 1932.

891 Egyptus, xii. 145 ff.
892 ZSae. ii. 431 ff.
893 Hermes, lxvii. 237 ff.
894 Giotto, xix. 182 ff.
895 Hermes, lxvi. 317.
literary, epigraphical, numismatic and archaeological, deals with each of the attested cults singly. A. Braun discusses at considerable length the 'Aeolisms' in the Cyrenian dialect and in Dorian poetry; E. Fraenkel investigates some grammatical questions raised by the inscriptions of Cyrene, supplementing or correcting their treatment by G. Devoto, and E. Benveniste's examination of the word κολοσσός, and of other Greek terms denoting 'statue' or 'image,' starts from the evidence afforded by the Cyrenian lex sacra or 'Decretals.'

From Carthage come an interesting leaden plate, now in the collection of the late Dr. Carton, with a magical inscription fully discussed by A. Audollent, sixteen leaden bullae and three epitaphs published by A. L. Delattre, whose death has robbed Carthage of a most picturesque figure as well as of a tireless excavator, an inscribed mosaic and a fragmentary dedication. Otherwise, apart from the remarkable submarine finds off Mahdia, to which I have referred above, the western portion of North Africa has remained unproductive save for a sepulchral epigram from the cemetery of St. Salsa at Tipasa and a bilingual epitaph of A.D. 587 found at Hippo Regius (Bône).

Marcus N. Tod.

888 *Riv. Fil.* lx. 181 ff., 399 ff.
891 *Glott.,* xx. 87 ff.
892 *Riv. Fil.* lvi. 365 ff.
893 *RePhil.* vi. 118 ff., 381.
894 *CRAchur.* 1930, 303 ff., R.A. xxiv. 349.
896 *AFA.* xxxvi. 349.
897 *Bull. Arch.* 1928–9, 80.
898 *CRAchur.* 1932, 84 ff.
899 *Bull. Arch.* 1928–9, 90 ff.
ARCHAEOLOGY IN GREECE, 1932–1933 1

ATHENS AND ATTICA

The American excavations in the Athenian Agora were resumed in February 1933, and continued till the middle of July. An account of the work up to May 1 has been published in AJA. 1933, 305 ff. The work is being carried on in four sectors (see AJA. pl. 35).

The wells and cisterns cleared during the latter part of the summer of 1932 are described by Homer Thompson in AJA. 1933, 289 ff. These provide clear evidence of the existence of houses where all traces of walls and foundations have disappeared, notably along the north foot of the Areopagus and north-east of the Theseum, and their contents show that the inhabitation of this area goes back at least to the early sixth century B.C. In some cases (wells closed in the late sixth and early fifth centuries) the pottery found in the wells seems to indicate the proximity of potters' workshops or warehouses, and pots have been found which had contained millos. This is further proved for the fourth century by the presence of misfired vase-fragments and lamps. Several pieces of archaic pottery found in these wells are illustrated in the article mentioned above—notably a large one-piece amphora of the earliest class, decorated with a massive sphinx (loc. cit. fig. 3), and from the same shaft an exquisite plastic vase (loc. cit. fig. 5, here Pl. XVI)—Ionian, or Ionising, work of about 540 B.C., and without question one of the finest of all existing plastic vases. 2 The same shaft contained red-figure vases: one of the latest of these, an interesting cup with a woman wearing a veil, and a dwarf slave, is illustrated in AJA. p. 293, fig. 5. This would seem to be a little before the end of the sixth century. Finally, some of the many ostraka found are shown in figs. 6–11, p. 295.

1 The following account is based on material supplied to me by excavators, on recently published accounts of excavations, and on Professor Karo's report in the forthcoming Arch. Anzeiger, typescript and proofs of which Prof. Karo kindly sent me, thus enabling me to fill up many gaps in my own material. This report is also the source of two important sections—those dealing with the German excavations in Athens and on Samos. To him, and to all who have supplied reports and photographs, I wish to offer my sincere thanks. The conduct of two excavations in the summer of 1933 (at Perachora and at Knossos) has made it difficult for me to collect first-hand evidence by visiting excavations in progress.

2 Ht. 25-5 cms. The gesture is explained as that of one binding a fillet on his head, but the position first of the hands, with palms forward, and second of the fingers, makes this unlikely: a less convenient grip for such a purpose is hard to imagine. The explanation would seem to lie in comparison with earlier plastic vases in the shape of kneeling and squatting figures, which were often made for suspension by a cord passed through the hands (e.g. Maxïmova, Vases Plastiques, pl. 42, 157, 159); the position of the hands of the Agora figure suits this interpretation, and though the idea seems strange, and in so delicate a figure unsuitable, we have the positive evidence of the earlier vases to prove that it was popular. The later gem, Beasley, Lewis House Collection, no. 93, which the terracotta might recall, seems not to be a relevant comparison.
Prof. Shear has kindly sent me the following account of this year's work:

1 In the Agora during 1933 excavation was conducted in four areas covering about two acres. The most important topographical results were the uncovering of the east front of the Royal Stoa in the northernmost area, the discovery of a long rectangular building in a central area where the Bouleuterion might be expected to be located, and the clearing of a great wall in the eastern area, just south of the Stoa of Attalos. Overwhelming evidence was secured to date the wall in the 3rd–4th century A.D.

Fig. 1.—Athens: Marble Head from the Agora.

1 An interesting discovery was that of a Mycenaean burial with Late Helladic III pottery and a gold signet ring which was decorated with a group consisting of a man with an animal's head who is leading by a double rope the foremost of two women.

1 Another well yielded a deposit of objects all of which fall into the second half of the fifth century. In addition to a large amount of household pottery of great diversity of shape there were many pointed wine amphoras, some of which were stamped with a seal similar to the coin-type of the Island of Chios, indicating that they were used for the importation of Chian wine.

1 In another well, which contained Roman pottery of 2nd–3rd century A.D., were 45 lead tabellae defixionum. These are tightly folded and have not yet been opened and read.
The season's work brought to light many pieces of sculpture. Fragments of two statues of winged Nikai were found in front of the south end of the Royal Stoa. The face of one of them is largely preserved (fig. 1), as is also one of the bodies. They were probably akroteria which stood on the projecting south wing of the Stoa. Architecturally the Stoa has been dated at the end of the fifth century and this sculpture may be placed in 5th-4th century B.C.

The Hellenistic period is well represented by three figures carved in relief on the panels of a triangular base which was evidently the support for a bronze tripod. The figures are a draped man who may be Dionysos, a dancing girl, perhaps a maenad, and a nude youth. A remarkable series of realistic portrait sculptures belongs in the Roman age.

The epigraphical harvest of the year has been especially rich. The number of inscriptions in the Agora collection now approximates 1100. They include laws and treaties, honorary decrees, sales' lists and dedications, and in addition to much historical data they have furnished information which has necessitated some thirty additions and corrections to the previously accepted lists of Athenian archons.

Fifteen thousand coins were found during the year, of which the largest groups are coins of Athens, and Roman coins of the fourth century A.D. The entire history of Athenian coinage is represented and there are scattered pieces from all parts of the Mediterranean world. The cleaning and cataloguing of the coins are proceeding contemporaneously with the progress of the excavations.

In the Roman Agora, as is described by Stavropoulos in Δελτιον, 1930–1, Παράγραφος, 1 ff., late Roman and Byzantine walls have come to light; also remains of a pottery of the 10th-14th century A.D. which is described by Xyngopoulous. Among the finds are a head of the late fifth century B.C., a Julio-Claudian portrait head, the base of a charagic monument with an archaising inscription of Roman period. The Greek head is in the Acropolis museum; other finds in the Tower of the Winds.

Bronner's excavation on the north slope of the Acropolis was continued in the autumn of last year, and resulted in the discovery of a Mycenaean staircase which leads to a gate in the Acropolis wall. A quantity of Mycenaean pottery, and some neolithic, was found in the debris above this staircase: it is thought that this comes from a house which was built after the staircase had fallen into disuse. In the sanctuary of Eros and Aphrodite he found some terracottas, a couple of much-damaged marble figures from the frieze of the Erechtheum, inscriptions and pottery from an unknown sanctuary. These are shortly to be published in Hesperia.

Orlandos has cleared the whole north wall of the Odeum of Pericles, shewing that its original length was 60-60 m. = 200 feet; the north wall is illustrated in Προκτικό, 1932, 27, fig. 1, and of the few finds, the most interesting (p. 28) is an early black-figure fragment, with Herakles and an Amazon.

The German excavators in the Kerameikos have had an even more
successful season than last year. A long account, by Kübler, of this year's work will be found in A.A. 1933. The finds are in the Kerameikos museum, which has been rearranged and greatly improved. The following is an abbreviated version of Kübler's account, which contains much more detail than I am able to give here.

The mound on which the church of Hagia Trias stood proves to be a grave mound, some five metres high and thirty in diameter, which was built over a cist-grave of about the middle of the sixth century. The grave, which lay at a depth of three metres, contained remains of a skeleton, which had once lain in a wooden coffin, and fragments of ivory and amber. The earth of the mound seems to come from a Proto-geometric and geometric necropolis, probably that of the Pompeion; for it contained pottery, bronze and gold objects of this period. Soon after the construction of this mound other graves were sunk in it; these produced amber objects, two Lydian pots, and an unsigned lekythos by the Amasis painter. From the end of the sixth century to that of the fifth, the upper layers of the mound received child burials in amphorae and basins, as well as cist-burials, burnt and unburnt. In the burnt layer of a sacrificial area were found fragments of a very fine black-figure cup with wishbone handles, decorated with a prothesis. A fine late black-figure amphora, decorated with comasts and a mounting horseman, had been used for a child burial.

Before the construction of the mound this area had been relatively flat; on its original surface was found a remarkable grave, a rectangular structure of mud brick, with a poros coping: over the coping, some slanting courses of mud brick, then a flat roof of the same material (see fig. 2). The exterior is coated with poros cement, on which was a layer of reddish stucco. A broad red band ran round the foot of the grave. On the roof lay, in fragments, two dinoi decorated in polychrome technique (matt red on white slip) with plastic figures of mourning women on the rims; they were evidently placed on the grave for ritual purposes (presumably to hold liquid for libations); inside the grave was a Corinthian pyxis of about 600 B.C., a date which suits the style of the polychrome vases. The back wall of this grave is cut by two small earlier grave-mounds, each of which was built over a cremation grave. One of these yielded nothing; the other, however, contained fragments of an Attic crater of the end of the seventh century, decorated with lotus flowers and rosettes; this had been placed on the grave either as a grave-monument or, like the vases mentioned above, as a libation-vase. Carbonised matter from burnt-offerings was found by it.

The wall which bounds this area on the south lies over an earlier grave-monument (seventh century) which was already destroyed when the grave just described was built; like several others in the neighbourhood, this proved to be empty. These graves are, however, of a type which is characteristic of the seventh century in the Kerameikos, the central cutting down the length of the grave (the object of which was to create a draught when the cremation-fire was burning) having cross cuttings at either end (see the plan, fig. 3). The lack of objects from these burials is
explained by the presence of several long sacrificial channels, like gutters, constructed of mud-brick and covered with poros cement, in which the

Fig. 2.—Athens: View of the Excavations in the Kerameikos.

Fig. 3.—Plan of Tomb in the Kerameikos.

funerary offerings were placed. Four out of six of these are well preserved and may be seen on the plan, fig. 3; as their relative dates are fixed by
external evidence the offerings which they contained are naturally of great importance for the chronology of the seventh century. It is satisfactory that they confirm one of the existing chronological systems. The terracotta votives were accompanied by burnt bird-bones, charcoal and ashes; and the whole was tightly packed into the channels and covered, as described above. The earliest of these channels contained magnificent Proto-Attic pottery of the first quarter of the seventh century: a large terracotta sphinx with a dish on its head (Pl. XVII), a work of extreme austerity, and the first evidence that we have for Attic sculpture of this date; and several other thymiateria in the form of standing women, each with a dish on her head. These terracottas are all painted with red, white, and pale brown colours, like some Proto-Attic and Protocorinthian vases. There is also a tall jug with three standing women on the shoulder, whose raised hands support the trefoil mouth of the vase (fig. 4, left). Between the figures are plastic snakes which go through the neck of the vase so as to emerge from its mouth and rest their heads on the rim; painted on the neck of the vase is an heraldic group of lions with a
vertical cable between them; while on the body there is a fine prothesis, with twelve figures. The whole group of objects from this channel is of one date and belongs to the first quarter of the seventh century: it shews several points of contact with the Nessos amphora in New York. The second channel contained a group of vases which are obviously later and shew a decay of the previous style: these are said to be contemporary with the Kynosarges amphora (JHS. 1902, pl. 2—4). The third, which is at a higher level, contained a large Corinthian ope of early transitional style (cf Payne, Necrocorinthia, pl. 11 bis), and a skyphos of late Proto-corinthian type with running dogs (cf. Necrocorinthia, p. 23, fig. 9c); the fourth and latest a transitional jug of more developed style, close to early Corinthian (cf. Necrocorinthia, pl. 12, 1). It is certain that these channels were not designed to carry blood offerings into the graves, as the only complete example found is closed at either end. Parallels are known from Vourva, Velanideza, and possibly also from Marathon.

In the western area (AA. 1932, 193 ff.), two Protogeometric cremation burials in amphorae were found; by the west wall of the Dipylon, a geometric grave; and a sixth-century sacrificial area in front of the Themistoclean wall, which contained vases and votive pinakes.

Fig. 5 shows a stele found below the level of the Sacred Way in front of the grave-enclosure of Antidosis (AA. 1932, 190). The surface of the stele, as may be seen, is extraordinarily well preserved; the background is brilliant pale blue, and there are traces of red on the hair and on the edge of the cloth over the chair. There are patterns in the architectural part above; flesh and clothes are unpainted. The stele stands between the decree of 410—9 and the stele of Phainareta (Diepolder, Att. Grabreliefs, 22 ff., fig. 4 and pl. 17), and in respect of development is obviously close to the Nike Balustrade. The epigram on the architrave is as follows:

τεκνοῦ εὖς δυνάτρος τὸ ἐκω φιλον ὀμπέρ ὀτε σαγας
ομμασίων ἀλαυνίαν γωνίας ἐδερκομέδα
ἐκω εὔως γονασίων καὶ νυν φιμιεύον φιμιευχήχω

Despite the excellence of the scheme, technical competence, and pleasant sentimental quality, the stele is perhaps a trifle disappointing as a work of sculpture; this could not be said of the archaic rider, fig. 6, found built into the foundations of the Themistoclean wall, near the Sacred Gate. This statue is evidently a work of the third quarter of the sixth century, and is rather later than the earliest of the Acropolis riders.* It is of Pentelic marble. Near it was found a lion of Parian marble, which resembles somewhat a lion from the Acropolis (Dickins, p. 282, no. 3832).

Interesting results are being obtained in the Greek excavations, financed by Mr. Aristophron, at the Athenian Academy. East of the chapel of Hag. Tryphon, at precisely the distance which Livy gives from the Dipylon, the ancient road leads to an enclosure, the wall of which is built

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* AM. 1890, 320; Del. 1890, 16; Sitz. Ak. Bay. Dickins, p. 124, no. 590.
1900, 267; AM. 1893, 53.
of good ashlar masonry; it is thought that this cannot be anything but the Academy. On the south there is a short stretch of the wall built in different, apparently earlier, technique, which the excavators identify with the ἢππάρχοις Τεχνοι (Suidas s.v.). North of this, on the ancient road, there was a series of nine stone sarcophagi, containing gold crowns and gilded clay pine-cones from thyrsi; above these an altar-like structure of large blocks: these are identified as the graves of Agonothetae. To the west there are remains of Roman baths of the early imperial period and of a gymnasium, still further north are what appear to be the foundations of a large colonnade, and part of a small building, to which some late sixth-century antefixes, and a terracotta metope-fragment with a stag painted in black-figure technique, may belong. Further excavation will, it is hoped, make the whole topography of this area intelligible and lead to really important discoveries.
Some recent accessions to the National Museum are published in Δελτίον, 1930 ff.: the seated Dionysos mentioned in JHS. 1931, 188, and the Athena head from the Pnyx (119 ff., 171 ff.; the paint on the panther-skin of the Dionysos has been retouched in the photo), an archaistic relief of Dionysos from near Chalandri (I.c. parartema 15 and ff.; cf. ASA. 1932, pl. E). Of other accessions the most important is undoubtedly an archaic Herm which was stolen from the Museum of Siphnos (Lullies, Die typen der Gr. Herme, pl. 2); some small geometric bronzes from Zakynthos (nude male figures with pointed helmets, presented by Miss Benton); from Athens, fragments of an Ionic column with an archaic inscription ιπνος και τεκνονογος; fragments of a grave relief of the late fifth century (warrior, [Αρ]τωνορός); another, and a loutrophoros, of the fourth century; Roman table-leg with Marsyas bound to the pine tree; colossal head of Hadrian; archaistic Herm-head of early classical style from Taenarum; a Submycenaean amphora, a Protocorinthian jug, a red-figure pelike of the third quarter of the fifth century (silen and maenad; youth and girl); and a fine pointed amphoriskos of the late fifth century (preparations for wedding).

In the Benaki Museum is a newly-acquired late geometric amphora—a remarkably fine vase, in excellent preservation: on lip, handles and shoulder, plastic snakes; prothesis-scene; below, a frieze of warriors, each of whom has the very exceptional feature of a white device on his shield.

The Peloponnese

In Old Corinth the American School has completed the installation of the new museum, and excavated at several points within the city. Of the two main galleries of the museum one is devoted to sculpture, the other to vases and small objects generally. The vases include such of the material from the Kerameikos as is ready for exhibition (in this are many excellent archaic terracottas, and a fair number of fragments of fine Protocorinthian vases decorated in the animal frieze style) and the fine series of geometric and sixth-century vases from the tombs; these, however, are not yet exhibited in tomb-groups.

The Claudian temple near the museum has now been further studied by Miss Freeman, who distinguishes two periods; the second in the second century a.d., when the building was completely reconstructed a short distance to the west. To this later temple belong some fragments of gable figures. By far the most interesting finds from this neighbourhood are some fragmentary clay figures found in wells or cisterns close to the foundation of the temple. These are of late archaic style, and are parts of a high relief, or series of high reliefs. They might be from the pediment or pediments of a temple. They are not absolutely uniform in style or technique—some show no traces of paint, while on others the paint is well preserved. The subject was certainly an Amazonomachy: the finest head is that of a fallen Amazon, with closed eyes, which at once recalls the

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* Abridged from Karo's list.
* JHS. 1932, 239.
Corinthian clay heads of equally fine technique from Delphi, Halae and other sites. These, however, are all acroteria: the figures from Corinth are, as already stated, high-reliefs, and are the first examples of their kind hitherto found on the Greek mainland. The regular use of clay for such purposes in the Greek west, the tradition of the migration of Corinthian artists to the west, and in general the influence of Corinth in that quarter, make this an exceptionally interesting discovery. In this connexion I may mention a fine clay sphinx-acroterion found not long since at Corinth: though headless, it is obviously very closely related to the sphinxes from Calydon, Olympia and elsewhere which have already been thought to be Corinthian.

The largest undertaking of the American School this year has been the excavation of a vast Stoa south-east of the temple of Apollo. This building is no less than 165 metres long: it faces north, and has a Doric façade with an inner row of Ionic columns. Its date is not yet fixed with certainty; on the one hand, a number of fourth-century architectural terracottas were found in wells within the building (and as these wells were closed in the Roman period when the building was reconstituted, it is thought they belong to its first phase): among the terracottas from these wells are, however, some which, in my opinion, are archaic (so that the contents of the wells not being uniform, they may not be a safe guide to the date of the building). On the other hand, some terracotta statuettes, found below the floor level and thought to be contemporary with the building, have been dated in the third century, and this is the date of a coin (Ptolemy III) found in the same place. It is naturally too early to expect a final solution of these problems, as the building is still in course of excavation. In both Greek and Roman periods the Stoa was divided
internally into a number of compartments which were used as shops: each of these contained one of the wells referred to above. Towards the end of the excavation a large Roman mosaic, in an excellent state of preservation, was discovered. North-west of this Stoa it appears that the Romans erected a Propylon of columns taken from the ruins of the archaic temple: in any case five columns and a capital similar to those of the temple were certainly put up here in Roman times. Not far to the north is a round podium of good style, part of which would seem to be Greek work: it is suggested that this is the base of a Hellenistic monument completed in Roman times.

The area of the fountain Lerna (JHS. 1932, 239; AA. 1932, 137) has now been completely cleared. On the south side of the rectangular paved area are four tunnel-cisterns, on the west one, which has been fitted up as a museum for many of the objects found here (these are chiefly architectural terracottas, archaic to Roman). The Asklepieion at Troizen (where Welter has recently excavated), with its rooms surrounded by stone benches, and a Hellenistic building at Perachora, which also has a room with stone benches, offer obvious parallels. Karo further compares an archaic scheme of the same kind at Lato in Crete (BCH. 1903, 211 ff.; 216 ff.; AJ. 1933). Lastly, I may mention a surprising chance discovery—a group of Mycenaean vases from a tomb or tombs in New Corinth, I believe near the railway station. This site is to be excavated by the American School.

The British School's trial excavation at Isthmia, begun in 1932, was completed in 1933. The Byzantine fort (see plan in BSA. XXXII), which has up till now been regarded as the site of the temenos of Poseidon, was thoroughly examined both by excavation and close observation of its walls. The conclusions arrived at were these: the earliest settlement which existed on this spot must be dated to the first century A.D.; it lasted until about the middle of the third century A.D., and was flourishing at the time of Pausanias' visit. The area was at that time not enclosed by any wall whatsoever, and formed part of a quite gradual incline towards the west. In the sixth century A.D. Justinian built a fort on the spot to hold the eastern extremity of his great Transisthmic wall: the only portion of the walls of this fort which is anterior to the sixth century is the first-century A.D. Roman arch which was included in their circuit to serve as the north-east gateway. The buildings of Justinian's epoch form the upper of the only two strata discoverable in the temenos: the Roman remains were disposed of by being hurled indiscriminately into the deep fill of the east side of the Byzantine circuit wall, in order to make a level area of the sloping ground enclosed by it; a Roman portrait bust of the middle of the third century A.D. was, however, found in the foundations of a Byzantine house. This fort can no longer be regarded as the ancient temenos.

The discovery of a handful of sherds deep down in the only pit dug in this area last year led to a hope that these sherds lay on the fringe of a

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* The following is the report of Mr. R. J. H. Jenkins, who carried out the excavation.
Greek level: the hope was utterly belied—the total of classical (there were no archaic) sherdv found in the extensive digging this year was seven.

Westward, two areas were examined and proved to contain remains of Roman occupation of the first to third centuries only. C was proposed by Fimmen as the true site of the classical temenos, but the small wall which bounds this area to the north is of Roman construction, and the large limestone blocks lying in the surface of the field are not connected with any discoverable foundations: there was not one classical sherd.

Finally, a site lying on both banks of the Kyras Vryse ravine did yield traces of an extensive archaic and classical settlement, though very badly destroyed by subsequent occupation and earthquake. Evidence was secured from pits in which, however, the occupational soil was exceedingly shallow, and from a classical water channel which, originally entirely subterraneous, has been broken open by a fall in the east bank of the ravine. Excavation of a very small area produced sherds of Geometric, Protocorinthian, Corinthian, Attic black-figure, late Corinthian imitation of Attic and Roman wares: also a votive terracotta of late sixth-century date, and a good painted terracotta revetment datable to the end of the fifth century B.C. Some idea of the size of the settlement can be formed by the extent of the space honeycombed by underground water-passages, shafts, etc.

As this is apparently the only archaic and classical site in the district, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the archaic temenos of Poseidon was originally near the ravine, about half a kilometre west of its traditional site.

A short campaign was conducted by members of the British School, in April and May of 1933, at the Heraeum in Perachora. The principal objective was the removal of the Chapel of St. John (see JHS. 1932, 243, fig. 8); this task was carried out, and the chapel was rebuilt a short distance away, higher up the hill.

Before and during the demolition of the chapel, some trials were made immediately to the south of the triglyph altar, uncovered last year (JHS. 1932, 243), which stands between the chapel and the sea (fig. 7). Just below the foundations of the altar some very early Protocorinthian sherds were found, and the whole area was therefore systematically explored. The result was the discovery of a thick stratum of geometric pottery, much of which is obviously earlier than the earliest geometric from the temenos of Hera Limenias. Study of the successive strata will certainly make possible chronological distinctions within the pure geometric. In the upper levels of this stratum were found a great number of bronze spits, some gold rings and discs, and three scarabs—of which last it may be said that, in view of the enormous numbers of scarabs found in the Limenia temenos, their rarity in this geometric deposit is obviously significant: the geometric deposit belongs to a time before the establishment of trade relations with the Near East. But the most remarkable finds from this area—indeed some of the most remarkable which the site has yet produced—are fragments of several clay models of houses, or temples, of the geometric period.
One of these models is comparatively well preserved, being intact, almost throughout, up to the eaves, and there is enough of the roof to indicate the angle at which it stood. The plan is apsidal, and the building narrows perceptibly along the whole of its length towards the apse. The door is flanked on either side by an anta, and above it are three small square windows. In front of one anta (the corresponding part on the other side is missing) is a small rectangular base, on which are two slender columns, side by side. Unfortunately the upper part of the columns,

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FIG. 7.—PERACHORA: THE SITE, LOOKING EAST.

In the foreground, the harbour temple; beyond, the triglyph altar and stoa.

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* Length 36 cms; greatest height 21; width 21.
together with the capitals, is lost. The exterior is painted with a large maeander, above which is a row of small impressed triangles (cf. the model from the Argive Heraeum). Although the roof is for the most part lost, it can be restored with certainty from two fragments which are obviously from the roof of another similar model. These shew that the roof rose very steeply, that it was slightly curved, and that a twist of rope ran along the spine; there is good reason to suppose that the actual roof was of thatch. A third model had a roof of a different type. These models were found with geometric pottery and are purely geometric in style: their early date (not later than the middle of the eighth century, and in all probability well before this) cannot be doubted: it may be said,

Fig. 8.—Perachora: part of the site, looking West.
In the foreground, the stoa; beyond, the triglyph altar.

therefore, that they give us our first detailed picture of the architecture of the pure geometric period. One of them, at least, would seem to be Argive, and this may well be true of the others. Fragments of several large Argive geometric vases were also found here, as well as an Argive geometric seal.

It soon became obvious that the geometric deposit just described was a temple deposit, but there was no trace of an early building until the chapel had been removed. Then, almost exactly below the north wall of the chapel, part of the foundation of an apsidal building, about six metres long, came to light, and immediately explained the presence of the geometric deposit, for this foundation can only be that of a geometric temple. The foundation is laid in a stratum of prehistoric (predominantly,

*Oikonomos, *Eph. 1931, 1 ff.*
at least, early Helladic) pottery, but geometric was found at the level of its upper part, and the foundation itself is certainly geometric.

There can be no doubt that this primitive temple, the earliest of the buildings at the Heraeum, is one of the predecessors of the large harbour-temple uncovered in 1930–31. This, it will be remembered, lies a few yards to the west, and is dated in the third quarter of the sixth century. It is, moreover, certain that this is the temple of Hera Akraia, which is mentioned by ancient authors: in 1932 a fragment of an inscription with the letters AKP had been found in the 'Agora' south of this temple: several similar inscriptions on black-glaze pottery were found there in 1933, and leave no room for doubt as to the deity to whom the successive temples in this area were dedicated. The topography, moreover, confirms this identification, for the site is but a very short distance from the western extremity of the promontory.

Minor excavations were carried out in other parts of the site—in the Agora, and in the cisterns and houses of the town. In the temple of Hera Limenius it was discovered that three of the stones which lined the sacrificial pit (JHS. 1932, 240) were inscribed with votive inscriptions of very early date. At some time, as yet uncertain, they had been built into the sides of the sacrificial pit. That they do not belong there is proved by several facts: for example, one of the inscriptions was upside down. Two of these three dedications are comparatively well-preserved, and both refer to Hera as Hera Leukolenos, a unique example of this epithet in a dedication. These two inscriptions are not precisely similar in style: one is as early in appearance as any Corinthian inscription known, except that of Deinias—the other is rather later. That all three are earlier than the latter part of the seventh century is possible, and this would tally with the fact that the only sherds found below the fourth lining stone of the sacrificial pit (and this stone was almost certainly put in position after the others) were Protocorinthian.

A large geometric bronze bird was found near the Hellenistic houses west of the temenos. In the Agora, the most interesting discovery was that of a thick deposit of pottery exclusively of 'Transitional' and early Corinthian character: a closed deposit of this kind is naturally of importance for the chronology of new types, and of terracottas, scarabs, etc. found with it. A quantity of Roman pottery was obtained from the small Roman buildings in the Agora. In the town, east of the Heraeum valley, it was established that several of the houses are at least as early as the sixth century.

The Greek excavations at Sikyon were continued by Orlandos in the summer of 1932; they are described and illustrated in Πρακτ., 1932, 63 ff. The work was concentrated on a large wall, about 100 yards S.W. of the great Roman ruins, and resulted in the discovery of a considerable terraced area (some 70 × 35 metres), backed on the north and west by a Stoa, and containing on the east a well-preserved spring house (see plan, Πρακτικά,

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10 There are some foundations within the sixth-century temple which are evidently remains of an earlier building, intermediate between this and the first, geometric, temple just described.
The terrace is reached by a staircase which runs through the middle of the east wall. The spring house contains a cemented basin, which lies immediately behind a façade of two Doric half columns, joined by a parapet over which the water was drawn. The outer façade of the building was formed by two complete Doric columns (cf. loc. cit. 68, fig. 6; at the back can be seen the emplacements for the spouts through which the water ran into the basin). The roof is thought to have been flat, and wooden. The date of the whole is not yet precisely defined, but it is thought, in any case, to be Hellenistic.

Some of the objects found during the excavation are illustrated in Προεκτικά: a fifth-century agonistic inscription, several Roman portrait statues, and an Artemis torso (cf. Krahmer, AM. 1930, 237 ff.). From a Hellenistic tomb, near the edge of the plain on which the Hellenistic town lay, were obtained a number of terracotta figures and some pottery. Lastly, a survey of the whole site has been carried out.

Orlandos conducted two other excavations in the summer of 1932—one at Pellene in Achaea (Προεκτ. 1931, 76), where the temple of Athena (?) was partially cleared—it is now dated in the archaic period and not in the late fifth century—and traces of a Hellenistic building with a stone grill (Προεκτ. 1932, 62, fig. 1) were found, and at Alipeira in western Arcadia, some two hours west of Andritsaina. This is a vast acropolis, with an immense expanse of terraced corn-fields, and some well-preserved walls at the top (Frazer, Pausanias, ad. loc.).

Near the highest part of the acropolis foundations of a large building were previously visible, and this must, I imagine, be the site of a temple excavated last year by Orlandos. The building measures 29·70 x 10·65, and is a Doric temple of early classical style. Limestone column-drums, capitals, and marble roof tiles and antefixes were found; also five votive bases, in front of the temple, which is thought to be that of Athena. A treaty between Alipeira and Lepreum was found, and confirms Leake’s identification of the site. A Hellenistic temple, perhaps that of Asklepios, was found further to the west; the statue base and a table of offerings are preserved. At the foot of the acropolis are some Hellenistic rock-cut tombs, which were cleared and studied.

**North-West Greece**

The final publication of Thermon, by Rhomaios, is expected shortly: some supplementary digging was done last summer, and is described in Προεκτ. 1932, 55. Some ill-preserved prehistoric apsidal houses were found west of the great temple of Apollo, and the apsidal house found in the previous year was cleared (Προεκτ. 1931, 64). This, like the apsidal building below the great temple, contained clear traces of a burnt votive stratum, and is thought to confirm the view that the geometric temple-cult itself developed out of domestic cults, of which burnt offerings were a regular feature. More fragments of painted metopes were found: there is by now a remarkable collection of fragments of these metopes in the Thermon Museum.
Half an hour south of Thermon (near a chapel of the ‘Panagoula’) a complex of apsidal buildings was excavated. These contained no pottery but Hellenistic, and if they are of Hellenistic date they afford evidence of the survival at that date of an architectural tradition which at Thermon goes far back into the prehistoric period.

An account of a small excavation at Dodona will be found in Ἱστορία 1932, 47 ff. (Evangelidis). The most noteworthy find is a fragmentary archaic torso of a ‘kore’ (fig. 1, p. 48), interesting owing to the rarity of marble sculpture at Dodona. The other finds are mostly small fragments of bronze; there are also a number of the usual oracular tablets of lead, with questions and answers (op. cit. p. 52).

Traces of a prehistoric settlement have been found at Palaeokastrizza, on the west coast of Corfu, by Dörpfeld, who sees in this the Phaeacian town Scherie.

The English excavations on Ithaca were not continued in 1933, but it is hoped that they will be resumed in 1934. The mass of pottery found in 1932 contains a great quantity of important geometric and orientalising,
many of which can be restored. Much of this pottery is a local form of Protocorinthian. A singular vase (or stand, perhaps, as it has no bottom), signed by one Kalikleas, is shewn in Fig. 9: the form ποισω which is there used seems to be unique. The alphabet is Corinthian. The fabric and style point to an Ithacan workshop, imitating Protocorinthian of the early seventh century. An interesting development in connection with the bronze tripods from the Cave of Polis is the discovery that one of them was mounted on wheels, like the tripods which Hephaestus was making in II. xviii., 37—

χρύσας δὲ σφι ὑπὸ κύκλα ἐκάστωρ πυθμένι δῆκεν
διπλα εἰς αὐτόματοι θείον δυσάσθι τρόμον ἀγωνία,
ἡ δ᾽ αὐτικὰ πρὸς δῶμα νεόλατο, θαύμα ἰθέαθαι.

Some bronze wheels from the Idacan cave in Crete almost certainly also belong to some of the tripods found there: and there is a clay tripod leg from Samos, unpublished, which is evidently part of a miniature copy of a wheeled tripod, as it is perforated at the bottom.

Miss Benton, of the British School, excavated for three weeks at Astakos, in Akarnania, at the mediaeval site of Grapes, about half an hour's walk along the road from the sea. On the northern flank the rock had been washed almost bare, but the 6–20 cm. of soil left contained only Early Bronze Age sherd.

Several trenches in a cave below the cliff yielded a big Mycenaean pithos in situ and a good many sherds of L.M. III B date, and some L.M. III A. Below the Mycenaean pottery was an Early Bronze Age deposit. Another cave 500 feet above sea-level, near the Chapel of H. Nikolaos, was excavated: here there was neolithic painted pottery, interesting because of possible contacts with Italy and Thessaly. There were also a 'crusted bowl' and some polished sherds.

The Mycenaean pottery at Grapes included a bevelled kylix stem and shewed other close contacts with Ithaca. It was on the whole earlier than most of the Ithaca Mycenaean. Wish-bone handles suggested connections with Macedonia.

On Cephalonia Marinatos has opened two more Mycenaean tombs, south of Lakithra (JHS. 1932, 247; AA. 1932, 148), and found a quantity of local Mycenaean, as well as various small objects of gold, glass, layence and semi-precious stone. There is a sard amulet which resembles Cycladic marble figures of much earlier date. The excavation was continued in July 1933.

Thessaly

Observations on prehistoric sites near Larissa, in Thessaly, are reported by Karo in AA. 1933. Grundmann, to whom these are due, noted a chain of neolithic settlements running north from the Pagasean Gulf, including one on an island in the middle of Lake Bibeus: see AA. loc. cit., and Grundmann’s previous observations in AM. 1932, 102 ff. Béguignon’s researches in the neighbourhood of Pharsalos are described in BCH. 1932, 89 ff. (cf. JHS. 1932, 248).
Macedonia

A report on recent work at Olynthus, by D. M. Robinson, will be found in *AJA.* 1932, 118 ff. At Dion, Soteriades continued, on a small scale, his work in the Basilika, noted a Chapel of St. George at Spi, an hour from Dion, and a chamber tomb at Vergina, where remains of a marble door and painted stucco are visible.

The French excavators at Philippi (Collart and Ducoux) have made progress with the task of clearing the forum. The following is taken directly from Karo’s longer report. The square is surrounded by a water channel made in part of re-used blocks. The buildings which face it stand on a base of three or four steps. The east side corresponds to the west, excavated previously, and appears, from an inscription, to have contained a library. There is a Corinthian temple similar to the one on the N.W. side: it has a pronaos with two columns on high pedestals, and a wide cela with a bench running round it. In the pediment was a shield in relief: there were marble acroteria (Athena between Nikai). A votive inscription to Victoria Germanica was found. On the north side was a temple on a podium, between two similar buildings. The clearing of the Basilika has also progressed under Lemerle’s direction, and should be completed this year.

Near the arch of Caracalla at Thasos, Laumay and Avezou have completely cleared a building which was discovered in 1911–12. This turns out to be a Doric porch, approached by a broad flight of steps; behind this a room 15 metres across, with an internal peristyle of Ionic columns—in fact a hypostyle hall as at Delos. Fragments of a votive inscription of the third century were found in the previous excavation. This is evidently a religious building, though its purpose has not yet been defined. Near it was found a fine male torso of the first half of the fifth century.

The Islands

The excavation at Antissa, in Mytilene, was continued by Miss Lamb, with the assistance of other members of the British School. The following is Miss Lamb’s report:

Ⅰ. The apsidal buildings AC.—The apse found last year at the foot of the acropolis proved to belong to the later of two buildings, one below the other. The lower, built of small, roughly-dressed stones, has an apse at the east end. On the west a cross wall cuts off a shallow porch, of which the north wall ends in a well-defined anta, while the south wall is destroyed. Another cross wall screens the apse, a third runs diagonally across the middle compartment, and incomplete subsidiary walls outside on the north may possibly represent a side entrance.

Ⅱ. Within the building and immediately below it were found fragments of the native Lesbian bucchero and of imported geometric wares, some of which are Rhodian.

Ⅲ. The apse of the upper or later building (fig. 10) is at the west end, and in the middle of the apse was a door blocked up at a later date. The
walls are of polygonal masonry in its earliest form with occasional small stones filling difficult angles. There appear to have been two cross walls, but the east end is not preserved.

' Beneath the walls was fine bucchero; inside, a very shallow stratum of earth containing bucchero, Protocorinthian and Rhodian; above this stratum came fill, including small stones, Hellenistic pottery, and archaic wares evidently part of the original deposit. There is evidence to show that the building had been dug into and refilled in the Hellenistic period (BSA. xxxii).

' Between the centre and the apse was a flat slab of burnt earth supported by a pile of stones. This looks like an altar. Payne, JHS. 1932, p. 240, gives examples of altars inside early temples, and epigraphical evidence, for a later date, is provided by an inscription from Cos.11

The question, however, arises as to whether the two apsidal buildings at Antissa were temples or not. The arguments in favour of their being temples are, (i) a large deposit of fine bucchero, including one or two phialae, in the earlier one; (ii) the presence of good imported pottery in both, and (iii) the repetition of the rare apsidal plan. It is true that practically no votives are present except fibulae, but much may have disappeared when the later building was excavated by the Hellenistic Greeks.

Other erections on this part of the site include a paved area like a street, below which were found Attic black-figure fragments and pieces of

11 JHS. IX, pp. 327 ff.
two or three fine Corinthian craters. On the south of AC is a long narrow structure, probably Hellenistic and evidently used as a Stoa.

II. The Necropolis.—Two main forms of burial were employed: interments in coffins, and cremations in jars. The coffins, usually of the shape associated with Clazomenian sarcophagi, date from the sixth to the fourth century or later. The vases, of various shapes, also belong to the sixth, fifth and fourth centuries. Among the contents were terracottas, Attic lekythoi of various periods, and two small glass jugs. Of these, one was found with an Attic lekythos belonging to the late sixth or early fifth century (decoration lost by corrosion), the other with late black-figure lekythoi decorated with palmettes (first half of the fifth century).

At the Samian Heraeum, Buschor has carried out further excavations below the great altar of the dipteros of Rhoikos and Theodorus. They revealed traces of a sacrificial area which goes back into the second millennium; above the earliest strata is an altar which was reconstructed no less than three times in the geometric period, each time at a higher level, and yet once more before the building of Rhoikos's altar. There were five buildings, presumably treasuries, dating from the seventh century, in the neighbourhood of these early altars. Below the third treasury (AM. 1930, 10, fig. 4) was found an electrum owl which is thought to come from a silver vase, as it has holes for attachment and traces of silver oxide at the back. The head, details of the body, and outstretched wings are finely granulated; the eyes were inlaid in another material. The style is considerably earlier than that of most Rhodian jewellery (cf. Marshall, pl. 11), and is comparable to that of jewellery from Ephesus and Lydia (Marshall, pl. 10; BCH. 1879, pl. 4 ff.). The earliest pottery is Mycenaean (the presence of which below the geometric altars gives evidence of the continuity of the cult from Mycenaean times), the latest sixth-century: the geometric and sixth-century finds are particularly rich. Clay, bronze, fayence, and limestone figures were found; also a sixth-century marble head, and fragments of bronze, ivory, bone, glass and gold objects. The southern part of the temenos was cleared, and bronze figures of a Laconian warrior (fig. 15) and of a dog were found. The foundations of the apse of the Basilika yielded fragments of the late marble restoration of the Rhoikos altar, and poros fragments of its predecessor. Near the northeast corner of the south building a poros relief of the Polycratean period was found: the upper part of a draped figure, over life-size. A Kore statue of the third quarter of the sixth century has been acquired from outside the excavation: the Kore is of slight build; she holds her skirt in one hand, and flower in the other, against her breast; the style continues the tradition of the Gneuileos statues. The archaic sculpture of Samos will shortly be published by Buschor and the geometric pottery by Eilmann.

Some important chance finds from the necropolis of the town have reached the museum, notably palmettes from stelai, one of which, a work

20 Cf. ibid. Beilage 25.

14 Cf. AM. 1930, 59 ff.
Fig. 11.—Mytilene: Bucchero Cup.

Fig. 12.—Samos: Foundations of early Altars.

Fig. 13.—Samos: Subkromistric Terracotta Head from the Heraeum.
of the early fifth century, recalls the Lydian stele, *Sardis*, II, 78, fig. 92. From a hill near the shore there is the upper part of an archaic statue of a bearded god, nearly twice life-size: though badly damaged this is still a highly impressive piece of work.

Wrede has continued his researches in the town area. The north necropolis (Boehlau, 32 ff.) is now known to cover the whole eastern slope of the hill on which the town wall lies. A couple of sixth-century graves were found (containing unpainted lekythoi), one of which had a poros roof, the other a tile roof; also traces of a large sixth-century rock-altar, and a couple of Hellenistic graves, which contained strigils, terracottas, and Megarian bowls. An ancient road, which emerges from gate 6 in the town walls, leads to this necropolis, and the presence of sixth-century graves in this area is regarded as evidence of the early date of the wall. Trials were made by the western town-wall (*AM*. 1884, pl. 7, south of tower 31). Below the Hellenistic courses were found remains of a massive wall of poros blocks, some flat-dressed, some rounded: the first is thought to be the wall of the sixth century, the second that of the Peloponnesian War (*Thuc*. VIII, 51). The strata were disturbed, but the majority of the sherds were archaic. Their quantity proves that this part was inhabited as early as the sixth century: among them are some prehistoric sherds. Finally, a quantity of waste pottery seems to indicate the existence of a potters' quarter in the immediate neighbourhood.

**Crete**

In February of this year a peasant planting vines in a field between *Knossos* and *Fortezza* came upon two geometric tombs, which were subsequently cleared, in the absence of a member of the British School, by the local authorities, Marinatos and Platon. In the summer the field in question was systematically explored by Blakeway and myself, and six other tombs were found: this group of tombs is by far the best preserved, and the most important, of the post-Minoan cemeteries of Knossos, and, as will be seen, yielded a vast quantity of vases and other objects which can be placed with certainty, on external evidence, in their relative chronological sequence.

I will first describe briefly the tombs which we excavated. These are all chamber tombs, with dromoi, cut in the soft rock, and orientated east and west. The hillside on which they lie is the western face of the so-called Acropolis of Knossos, about half a mile due west of the Palace. The plan is roughly as in *BSA*. 1927–8, p. 226, fig. 2. All had collapsed, but in every case the great majority of the vases were lying, or standing, in their original positions; many were unbroken, and in nearly all cases the small vases and other objects which had been deposited could be attributed with certainty to the pithos in which the ashes had been placed. Four of the six tombs were closed protogeometric tombs, never re-used in a later period: in two the earliest vases were protogeometric, and from these there was a continuous sequence, through geometric to early orientalising (about 700 B.C.). The closed protogeometric tombs contained from one
to four burials, the cinerary vases being accompanied by smaller vases (stirrup-vases, kalathoi, etc.), and in some cases containing bronze fibulae and small gold objects; in one instance, the cinerary vase, a large bell crater (decorated with goats in a style directly descended from that of the goat-crater from Mouliana⁴), contained a bronze cup in which was a fayence ring with hieroglyphs. The protogeometric vases from these tombs shew no great variation in style, and belong, like those from other tombs

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⁴ Epn. 1924, pl. 3.
at Knossos,\textsuperscript{16} to the latest phase of the protogeometric period. The fact that in each of these instances the stone wall built across the mouth of the tomb chamber was undisturbed, combined with the obvious stylistic unity of the contents of the tombs, is clearly of great importance for the separation of protogeometric from geometric proper, and, it may be added, entirely confirms the reality of the protogeometric category defined, without the aid of such external evidence, in BSA. 1927–8, 267 ff.

Of the other two tombs excavated during the summer I will describe only the more interesting. This contained no less than 30 pithoi (each with ashes), standing in position. In the dromos were several polychrome pithoi standing side by side in a recess (with one of these was an early Protocorinthian kotyle)\textsuperscript{17} and in the middle of the dromos a bronze bowl, like some from Afrati,\textsuperscript{18} in which was a very fine early orientalising Cretan aryballos. The mouth of the tomb was blocked by a thick mass of stones; in the tomb the pithoi were stacked over each other at four levels: the latest were polychrome orientalising; some other orientalising pithoi were decorated with varnish paint, some were geometric, some protogeometric. Much external evidence is afforded by the relative position of these vases, which, further, are of course necessarily all earlier than that found in the dromos. The small objects found include scarabs (from an orientalising pithos), silver and electrum pins, bronze fibulae, iron pins, engraved stones, and iron spear-heads and daggers. The wooden sheath of one dagger was comparatively well preserved,\textsuperscript{19} while in two bronze vases the cloth in which the ashes had been kept was clearly traceable, attached to the sides of the vase.

The larger of the tombs found by the peasants, and excavated by the local authorities, was, however, far richer than any of the others. The vases are not yet mended, and in consequence little can be said of the find as a whole, save that the tomb had certainly contained about eighty burials of the same kind as those described above (cremations in pithoi: protogeometric to orientalising), over forty of which are orientalising. An extraordinarily large proportion of these are exceptional for one reason or another—usually for their elaborateness and the fineness of the technique. The tomb is obviously that of a family considerably more prosperous than most. This interpretation is supported not only by the unusually fine painted vases, but by the presence of a large number of bronze vases, and by two very elaborate bronze reliefs—the one a large oblong, diminishing towards the lower end, decorated with five bands of figures—three of helmeted sphinxes, and two like that shown in fig. 16, top (compare the small relief from Kavousi, which is obviously from the same workshop\textsuperscript{20}); the other is a long narrow strip, decorated in the middle with a square panel with three figures, while on either side is a battle scene: three archers, one above the other, facing chariots moving towards the centre, one behind the other (fig. 16, below). My drawings were not done under ideal conditions

\textsuperscript{16} BSA. 1927–8, 254 ff.
\textsuperscript{17} Type Johansen, Vases Sieyonm, pl. 9, 6.
\textsuperscript{18} Annuario, x–xii, 128, fig. 110.
\textsuperscript{19} Another sheath was apparently of leather.
\textsuperscript{20} Kunze, Kretische Bronzereliefs, pl. 56a.
(the fragments not yet having been stuck together), but they are, I think, fairly accurate both in the proportions and in the rendering of detail.

Both reliefs, despite their many oriental features, are certainly of Cretan workmanship.

Of the pottery I can illustrate only one or two examples. The most remarkable vase—one of the finest Greek vases from Crete—is the alabas-
tron (fig. 17). The detail is slightly enlarged: there is a third sphinx between the two here shewn (in an intermediate attitude, half between the two schemes, crouching and walking). Shape and patterns are characteristically Cretan (compare Payne, *Nero Corinthia*, p. 270, fig. 1144), and this is true of the style, and of many of the details, though I know of no Cretan vase that comes so near to Protocorinthian.

The disc shewn in fig. 18 could be used as wall decoration, or as a pithos lid: no doubt it was as such that it came into the tomb. In the centre is a plastic dog's head, with a star-like ornament between the ears. The decoration of the upper part, with triangular mounds of 'scales' springing from the edge, is obviously derived from late Minoan tradition: compare Forsdyke, *British Museum Catalogue I*, t, p. 192, fig. 275. The principal decoration shows that the 'lid' is late geometric: a figure (face outlined) approaches a tripod, below which is a human protome: in one hand he holds something which can only be interpreted as fire or water—and fire is clearly more probable: a thunderbolt has been suggested, which would make this figure the earliest representation of Zeus. The bird on his other hand may be fortuitous, in the same sense as the other birds on and by the tripod. In addition to the bronzes mentioned above there is a very curious object, shewn in fig. 19, which is presumably oriental; there is also a Phoenician bowl, with goats and palmettes, and a frieze of bulls, a quantity of iron (axes, spears, swords, and thin bars which may be spits), and a deep bowl of pale greenish glass. The whole find will be published in the *Annual* of the British School.

Other early tombs were excavated by us in the same neighbourhood, and close to the main road below Fortezza. One of these last had obviously been partially excavated, but it still contained a number of vases of very early Protogeometric, or perhaps, rather, Sub-mycenaean style; another, of the later Protogeometric period, yielded a quantity of vases and an inhumation burial.

An interesting chance find from near the Royal Tomb at Knossos is reported by Marinatos: a steatite seal in the form of a recumbent lion; engraved below, a squatting figure, with a small globular vase in one hand: in front is a large double loop-ornament. This seal is thought to be Asiatic, not Minoan or Egyptian. Other chance finds are a remarkable fragment of a steatite vase (from Apodulis in the province of Rhethymnos), with eleven signs of the Minoan script; a very large Minoan clay statuette of the familiar type with cylindrical body and raised hands (from Pankalochori, in the same province); three relief pithoi, gigantic and magnificent, from Phaistos, of the same class as one found there a few years ago. These each have an animal in relief on the neck (two bulls and a horse) and relief patterns on the body: the other found previously

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21 Marinatos, in Karo's report, calls it a bull's head with the Minoan rosette on the forehead. This would, of course, be very interesting, but the head, which is very neatly modelled, cannot be that of a bull.

22 Cf. the tricorpor from the porsos pediment on the Acropolis. For the form of the "fire," we have an almost exact parallel in the Hittite relief, Weber, *Hitt. Kunst*, pl. 2.

23 Marinatos and Platon estimate the total of vases at about 500.
has a cock. They would seem, from the style, to belong to the later seventh century: they are to be published in Karo's report. Fragments of other such relief-pithoi are reported from Kastelli and Astirioti Pedaites. In the fields near Archanes a quantity of Middle-Minoan sherds, fragments of unpainted sarcophagi, and some house-walls, have come to light.

Both at Phaistos and at Mallia works of conservation have been carried out in the Minoan palaces. At Mallia Chapouthier has established that

the palace in its present form is not earlier than M.M. III, the plan of the earliest (M.M. I) building being in many details uncertain: he has also excavated a number of M.M. I houses which are partially covered by the foundations of the M.M. III palace. Demargne has cleared more M.M. III houses, south-west of the palace. Further excavation at Chrysolakkos has brought to light a number of fragmentary half columns of stuccoed limestone, the first of their kind to be found in Crete, which are naturally of considerable importance in connection with the half columns of Mycenae (Tombs of Atreus and Clytaimnestra); unfortunately it has not yet been possible to say how the half columns from Mallia were used. Demargne

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has also excavated at Dreros, where he found an archaic relief, with a winged running figure, a sphinx, and two other figures; below this is a Gorgoneion of very early style.

The task of piecing together the frescoes from Marinatos’s excavation at Amnisos, the harbour-town due north of Knossos, has made remarkable progress, and several very considerable panels have been reconstructed. The motives are entirely floral, and so far no trace of human figures or animals has been found. The style is curiously unlike that of the majority of Minoan frescoes, severely conventional in composition, and more restrained in its choice of colours. The north wall of the room which produced the majority of the fragments was covered by a design of lilies on a dark red ground (detail, Προκτ., 1932, 88, figs. 8–9); on the west were plants, resembling some kind of mint, which may have been in large vases, as well as lilies and irises (cf. Προκτ., 1932, 90, fig. 9); on the south, tendrils, crocuses, and a band of circles and papyrus flowers. The lily fresco is executed in a curious impressed technique, carried out with great skill, which gives a remarkable degree of definition to the design.

A general account of the excavation at Amnisos will be found in the article cited above: the villa from which the majority of the finds come yielded little pottery and few other objects, but these are sufficient to show the building goes back to the beginning of M.M. III, and was destroyed early in L.M. I by a violent earthquake. Marinatos connects this with the great volcanic upheaval which destroyed a large part of Thera, and brings down the date of this disaster from 2000 to 1550–1500 B.C.

At Hellinës Amariou, near Rhethymnon, the excavation mentioned in my previous report has been concluded. In addition to the early Minoan pottery there mentioned other early Minoan objects, and a grave, were found, as well as Greek sherds of the 6th–5th centuries, and remains of modern times, when the cave was used as a refuge from the Turks.

Lastly, at Chersonesos, on the road towards Mallia, Marinatos and Sotiriou have discovered two early churches, one of which appears to cover the sanctuary of Britomartis: it is hoped to excavate these in the near future.

Cyprus

I have received the following account of recent work in Cyprus from Mr. P. Dikaios, Director of the Cyprus Museum:

The archaeological work of this year has been carried out firstly under my direction on behalf of the Cyprus Museum, and secondly under the joint direction of Mr. F. A. Claude Schaeffer, as representative of the National Museums of France, and of myself representing the Cyprus Museum.

The work carried out by the Cyprus Museum is marked by the important discovery of an extensive Neolithic settlement at Erími, eight

26 JHS. 1932, 255.
27 See Marinatos in Karo’s report, A.A. 1933.
28 JHS. 1932, 255; A.A. 1933, 177.
miles west of Limassol, and not far from the site of ancient Curium. Trial digging at the beginning of the work revealed several layers, and during this year's season we reached the depth of about two metres in an area of 400 square metres. In this I have been able to distinguish four superimposed layers, each of which is marked by a house of a circular type with substructure built of stones. The first house was of a very developed type and had several divisions. The second layer house was
simpler and had been destroyed by conflagration. A third house again of a circular type with a grinding place in the centre, and lastly a fourth house, were laid bare. The most important documentary results will be those given by the pottery. All the four layers yielded abundant pottery, including a fair number of whole vases. This pottery is both painted and unpainted. The painted is covered with a thick buff slip on which red paint, sometimes turning to brown, was applied. The unpainted is covered by a slip either creamy or red-polished. The shapes are mostly deep bowls with flat base and spreading or convex sides. Besides these there are jars with ovoid body, narrow concave neck, and raised pointed base. Remarkable is the vase fig. 20 from the second-layer house. Among the finds are abundant stone and flint implements, steatite ornaments, idols, spindle whorls, etc. The excavations will be continued next year into the deeper strata.

The importance of this discovery is evidently great. It will be possible to make a complete study of the Stone Age in Cyprus for which evidence has been more or less scanty. The Bronze Age and the question of its origins will also be greatly illuminated. As regards the date of the Neolithic settlement of Erimi, it will be difficult to express any opinion as yet, since it will first be necessary to go through all the strata. The date of 3000 B.C. for the upper layers may be considered as the lowest limit, but a close examination of the finds and the establishment of statistics of the pottery are necessary before we come to definite conclusions.

Excavations have also been carried out in a site near Curium, where tombs of the transitional period from the Late Bronze Age to the Iron Age have been opened.

The joint archaeological work carried out by Mr. Claude Schaeffer and myself was devoted to the opening of some tombs in the Early Bronze Age necropolis of Vounous-Bellapais, where interesting discoveries were made during excavations carried out by the Museum in 1931 and 1932 (see Syria, 1932, p. 354 sq.).

TROY

The excavations at Troy conducted by Professors W. T. Semple and C. W. Blegen for the University of Cincinnati, to which the German Archaeological Institute last year ceded its prior claims, were resumed during the months of April, May and June 1933. Professor Blegen has kindly sent me the following:

In this second campaign the chief attention of the expedition was devoted to the examination of the stratification of the site, continuing what had been begun in 1932. In the central part of the citadel, in area E 6, some 2 m. of accumulated deposit were removed layer by layer, the successive floor levels being carefully recorded together with all the material found upon them. These floors belonged to the Fifth and Fourth Cities of Schliemann’s and Dörpfeld’s enumeration; some of the walls were still preserved, and each room contained an oven or a hearth. The

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* As marked on the plan, Dörpfeld, Troja und Ilion.
material recovered comprised objects of bronze, stone, bone, terracotta, and an abundance of pottery, including many complete vases. The evidence brought to light made it clear that the Fifth City must be regarded as transitional between the Early and the Middle Bronze Age. The discovery of a late type of Early Helladic ware on floors belonging to the earliest stage of Troy V gave a valuable chronological clue for dating the beginning of the Fifth City. Work was also continued in the broad cut begun last year through squares F 8–F 9 on Dörpfeld’s plan, in the outer part of the citadel. Toward the southern end of this cut the upper courses of the Sixth City wall were finally reached. Inside the wall part
of a house of the Seventh City was laid bare, on the floor of which a mass of shattered pottery came to light, permitting the reconstruction of a good many vases. A short distance to the eastward of this cut the great South Gate of the Sixth City and its flanking tower were investigated; the Roman walls uncovered by Dörpfeld in 1894, which, to a great extent, concealed the earlier remains, were partially removed and the constructions of the Sixth City have now been fully exposed to view. The roadway leading through the Gate has preserved three successive stone pavements, the earliest of which, provided with a well-built covered drain, probably belongs to a reconstruction carried out in Troy VII. The great stone pillars, or baetys, which Dörpfeld discovered outside the south wall of the flanking tower were completely cleared (fig. 18): four are still more or less well preserved, and there may originally have been one or two more. These baetys, of impressive dimensions, constitute one of the most remarkable features of Troy VI, and their significance for the religious cults of the Sixth City has not hitherto been adequately recognised. Probably to be associated with the baetys is a massive, altar-like base surrounded by a circular stone-paved area inside the tower. At various points along the eastern and southern course of the wall of Troy VI pits were dug to examine the stratification, and some useful evidence was recovered to co-ordinate the ceramic periods with those established on architectural grounds by Dörpfeld. According to the evidence of the pottery the Sixth City began a long time before the walls and towers were built. The early pottery of Troy VI, chiefly grey and black Minyan ware together with some yellow and red and a few matt-painted sherds, corresponds closely to that of the Middle Helladic stage on the Greek mainland, and the beginning of Troy VI must consequently go back well into the first half of the second millennium B.C. A small area in square J5 was excavated very carefully; the deep deposit here contained many successive layers belonging to Troy VII, and probably VIII, which yielded a ceramic sequence of considerable interest. Along the western side of Schliemann's great North-South Trench the undisturbed layers of Troy I were meticulously examined down to the native rock. Troy I was clearly a very long period; at least four successive phases were recognised, the pottery of which appeared to show a regular development. It seems clear that there was no break between Troy I and Troy II, but a continuity of occupation. Two large trenches were begun on the northerly slopes of the hill in squares A 2-A 3 and D 2-D 3 in order to ascertain if any remains of the circuit walls of Troy II and Troy VI were still preserved on this side. Neither trench was completed this season, but in D 2-D 3 great masses of stones came to light, apparently fallen material from the Second City wall. In squares A 2-A 3 no fortress wall has yet been identified, but a thick layer of debris extending a long distance down the slope of the hill was recognised as having been thrown over the edge of the citadel at the time when the Romans levelled off the top of the acropolis and cut away the layers of Troy VII and VI. Professor Dörpfeld's explanation of the disappearance of these layers is thus fully substantiated. On the western slope below the acropolis some further
investigation was carried out beneath the undercut ledge of rock discovered in 1932. A large levelled space below the ledge was revealed, and immense quantities of shattered pottery were recovered, apparently a pure deposit dating from Troy II. Further digging will, however, be necessary before the significance of this deposit can be understood.

'On the plateau to the south of the citadel many exploratory trenches were laid out in a search for tombs. In all these trenches Hellenistic and Roman remains came to light in abundance, and it is clear that the Agora of later Ilion lay in this region; part of it seems to have consisted of a great open square surrounded by colonnades, from which a roadway led to the acropolis. To the west of the Agora the basilica-like building found last year was almost completely excavated. It appears to be part of a palaestra with thermae adjoining. Several periods are represented by successive floor levels, one of the earlier of which includes some fairly well preserved mosaics—boxers, wrestlers, pygmies and cranes, etc. In the large Roman theatre the western half of the orchestra was cleared. Among the objects found here may be mentioned some fragments of inscriptions and of sculpture of late Roman times: a headless herm, a torso of a colossal Herakles, etc. Several complete inscriptions in Greek and in Latin ranging from the second to the fourth century A.D. were found on marble blocks which had been re-used in the substructure of a late Roman building erected over the Sixth City wall on the south side of the citadel. Some architectural fragments from the temple of Athena were also recovered from this same region. All the identifiable remains of the Temple, both at Troy itself and in the surrounding villages and cemeteries, were carefully studied and drawn by the architect, H. Schleif, who was sent out by the German Archaeological Institute to complete the preparation of this material for the definitive publication of the Temple. The University of Cincinnati's excavations at Troy have not yet been finished, and the Expedition hopes to continue its work next year.'

H. G. G. Payne.
A Portrait of Ptolemy III Euergetes.—A small glazed earthenware portrait-head of a man, found accidentally on the site of the Middlesex Hospital, has been acquired by the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities at the British Museum, as a gift from Mr. C. E. Grünspan. It is 32 millimetres (1½ inches) in height; and is made of buff clay, covered all over with a vitreous glaze which varies in colour from brownish-green to bright blue. The neck is broken off from the nape to the base of the chin. The back of the head is cut off obliquely, but evenly, as though for attachment to a flat background; the oblique cut gives the face a quarter-turn to the left. The head is hollowed out behind, and even this cavity is blue-glazed.

The man represented has a fleshy jowl, rather projecting lips, prominent eyes, and a somewhat retreating forehead, over which the straight hair is combed forward in a roll, held in position by a plain rounded diadem. His left ear is preserved, but the right is cut off by the oblique slice at the back. The tip of the nose is broken. Otherwise the features are distinguishable, though superficially indicated.

The material points to Egypt: we may compare it with the miniature portrait from Naucratis, also in the British Museum and identified as Arsinoe II (JHS, xlviii (1928), pp. 239 ff. and pl. xv). The diadem shows that it represents a Ptolemy. Comparison with coins (e.g. BMC, Ptolemies, pl. xii 2-5) indicates Ptolemy III Euergetes as the most probable subject. The only certain marble portrait of this monarch is the bust at Alexandria (Führ in JdI, xlv (1930), p. 35, figs. 18-19); and this little head is thus a valuable, if modest, document for the study of Hellenistic iconography.

Aeschylus, Prometheus Bound. In his notice of my edition of this play, your reviewer questions the emendation, which Headlam proposed and I adopted, of v. 370 (To μάκαρα παίρνειν τοιοῦτον δι' αὐτὸν πάσην θεόν, and says: 'Even if we suppose that Typhon could be called a god, yet the word comes awkwardly after the accusative παίρνειν.' The first point was fully dealt with by Headlam himself in C.R. 1900, pp. 106-7, where he notes that Typhon is called a god by Hesiod (Th. 884, κρατεῖ τούτον, 874 ὅτι δ' αὐτὸς γαῖας) and by Hesychius (Ὑπόνοι τῆς τῆς γαιῆς), and that his divinity is implied by Aeschylus in Thes. 497-501. In the same article he refers to copious examples of the insertion of πάντων contra metron.

With regard to the second point, postponement of the relative pronoun is not common in Aeschylus, though it is found in P.V. 501, 1102, Pers. 601, 874, Ag. 170, and perhaps in P.F. 914. But it is very common in Pindar: O. v. 12, καὶ συνόλος ὁχύρωσθαι, ἵπποις οὐκ ἀδρυσίν φιμένα; viii. 75-6, χειραμνὸς διαμήκειται ἀθάνατος, ἢποτοι τοίς στάρεσσι παρέχει; P. ii. 4-5, ἀγγύλων τυφθομείρει διαθήκη, τύπομενς πέρι τοῦ κράτους; iii. 113-14, καὶ ἔτοιν καλλαθείσαν κέωντος ὧν ὑπόκειτο ἄρωσιν; l. i. 12-13, καὶ τὸν ἀδικοῦντον Αἰασίν τις παρακαταρρίψει τὸν πάντων πανταξένιον κόσμον; vii. 24-5 ἀκτριαίος ἄρα μετεχέων μερῶν τῆς ᾽Αργον ταχύτητα; see also O. ii. 8, 99, ix. 33-4, P. i. 74, 99-100, v. 10, 40-2, ix. 44-5, λ. ii. 26-2. It is indeed characteristic of his style, and therefore is not out of place in the Aeschylean passage, which is probably intended to be reminiscent of Pindar’s First Pythian (see my note on 364).

I regret that I did not deal with this matter more fully in my commentary, but I think there is no doubt that Headlam’s emendation is right.

R. P. HINKS.

George Thomson.
NOTICES OF BOOKS


This magnificently produced volume completes the account of the excavations conducted by Mr. Wace at Mycenae on behalf of the British School from 1920 to 1923, the researches on the Acropolis and in the tholos-tombs having already been published in Volume XXV of the Annual of the School. This final instalment contains in the first place a description of the chamber-tombs, with a plan and section of each, or, where stratification was observable, as in Nos. 517 and 529, plans of the different levels, and a full description of the objects found in each. This is followed by a discussion first of the structure of the tombs and the methods of burial, and next of the material under the appropriate headings—pottery, metal-work, etc. The book is what we should expect of the author’s unrivalled knowledge of prehistoric Greece and rigorously scientific methods of research.

A good deal was already known of the chamber-tombs from the excavations of Tsountas in the ‘eighties and ‘nineties, in the course of which about two hundred were opened; but in those days the methods of excavators were apt to be somewhat rough-and-ready and their records were frequently defective. In the excavations of the British School twenty-four tombs of the Bronze Age were opened and subjected to a rigorous scrutiny, with the result that we have a far more complete and detailed account of Late Helladic burial practice than any hitherto available. The main results may be summarised as follows:—Nothing runs counter to Tsountas’ original hypothesis that the chamber-tombs, which are found in small clusters, are the burial-places of clans or townships grouped around the royal residence; for the Acropolis of Mycenae was no more than that. Some half-dozen of the tombs excavated by Mr. Wace were in use from LH. i. down to the end of LH. iii. or near it; and, in common with those more numerous ones which only cover the LH. iii. period, show no trace of hostile disturbance or change of population. That the separate chambers are family tombs is a natural inference, which derives some support from Professor Fürst’s observation that in No. 529, which was in use from LH. i. to LH. iii., all the measurable skulls had the same cranial index, 74. While emphasising the scantiness of the Mycenaean material which for the Late Helladic period consists of twenty-two skulls, Professor Fürst feels fairly confident that these represent at least two racial strains. Combined with the archaeological evidence of peaceful continuity, this suggests that fusion had taken place before the opening of Late Helladic I.

A careful examination of the tomb-structure shows that while some variations appear to be arbitrary, the proportions of the dromos have a chronological significance. The dromoi of the tombs which contained LH. i. and LH. ii. material are short and relatively wide, those of the LH. iii. period are long and narrow, a difference also observed at Asine. A similar change of proportions occurs in the dromoi of the tholos-tombs, and for these the evidence from the chamber-tombs confirms the chronological sequence proposed by the excavator. Sepulchres which remained in use for periods varying from two to four or five centuries were inevitably subject to clearance or rearrangement. This was done in various ways; the bones and offerings of earlier interments might be transferred to a repository pit excavated in the chamber or dromos; or they might be removed and packed in one part of the chamber, or again they might be merely swept out into the dromos. There can be no doubt that on these occasions valuable grave gifts were frequently removed; for the small objects of value recovered, which presumably had been dropped or overlooked, suggest that the dead, especially in the case of the earlier burials, were richly equipped at the time of interment. The most valuable finds from an artistic point of view were a number of engraved gems, found in LH. ii. and LH. iii. contexts.

Pottery naturally bulked largest in the contents of the tombs. A remarkably large number of vases were recovered entire or in a condition

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1 The notion of a ‘Lower Town’ of Mycenae has long been exploded, though the misleading term crops up from time to time.

2 Appendix, pp. 239ff.

3 See B.S.A., XXV, pp. 387ff.
admitting of reconstruction, and form a welcome addition to our knowledge, especially of the L.H. ii. and L.H. iii. periods. Furtwangler and Loeschcke published the vases from the shaft-graves, but from the later periods hardly anything but fragments, while with a very few exceptions the finds of Tsountas have not been published at all. The re-emergence in L.H. iii. of Middle Helladic designs and vase-shapes suppressed in L.H. i. and L.H. ii. is a significant feature of that vigorous if inartistic age.

Mr. Wace has added a brilliant chapter to the long history of Mycenaean exploration and has so presented his material as to make the book an invaluable work of reference. The completeness of the bibliographical notes and the perfection of the index lay under deep and lasting obligation all students in the field in which he is an acknowledged master.

For the admirable plates which illustrate the volume as well for the figures in the text we are indebted to the generosity of an American benefactor, Miss M. B. Wright of Washington, who undertook the cost.


The earlier work of Miss Roos, *Oorsprong der geometrische Kunst*, was reviewed in this Journal eighteen months ago (lii. 129). In it she found among the earliest ceramic remains of Elam a series of striking parallels to the more complicated motives of Greek geometric art and hence was led to conclude that some relationship existed. Her thesis has aroused considerable interest, though there is a nasty chronological gap which at the moment she has not succeeded in bridging. Still, it is becoming increasingly evident that the geometric art of Greece is not the simple home-grown product it was once thought to be, and the possibility of Asiatic elements is by no means to be disregarded. In the present essay, which is written in English, she returns to the charge but along a different line of attack and with a wider sweep in material, incorporating the geometric art of Italy. She begins with the assumption that the motives and forms of
NOTICES OF BOOKS

geometric art are so few and so constant that they must be symbolic representations with set meanings; to which many of us will give a measure of ascent. She then explains the whole geometric repertory as symbolic of sun-worship— not only the swastikas, circles, and rectangles, but also the horses, birds, fish, etc.; on which *quotominiae, totsententiae*. However, Miss Roes states her case very fairly, and for those to whom the difference in time is an inapparent bar to the acceptance of her Elamite-Greek theory she brings up a new argument—why is it that the same symbolism recurs on the native coinage of Gaul, which has no apparent relation to the Greek geometric age? It will be admitted that she has tackled a difficult problem with courage and resourcefulness.

**Untersuchungen an griechischen Theatern.**


Despite its modest title this is one of the most important books on the Greek theatre that has appeared since Dörpfeld and Reich laid the foundations of the study in 1896. Within the limits of this review only the broadest aspects of Bulle’s conclusions can be indicated. About two-thirds of the book is filled with detailed descriptions of some twenty theatres in Greece proper and the West, almost all studied first-hand by Bulle and Wirsing, though in many cases very rapidly. The most important new observations concern Athens and Segesta. Bulle insists on the urgent necessity, on almost all the sites, of fresh investigation, and emphasises the fact that many of his conclusions may be upset by new knowledge. The last third (from p. 209) is a systematic study of development, down to Augustus, followed by a discussion of the inner significance of the external changes in theatrical architecture. Great use is made of the evidence of Vitruvius and Pollux, and also of Pompeian paintings and mosaics. There is an excellent table of contents and admirable indices, and the plates are exceedingly good.

Athens naturally occupies most space, being of the greatest intrinsic importance. Here Bulle believes himself to have found remains of a long rectangular altar on two steps, cutting off an arc of the well-known early orchestra on the stage side. He connects this altar with Thespis, and regards its erection as the decisive step which turned the old cyclic dance into a drama played before a background. He assumes that the altar was soon expanded by wooden additions and adorned with scene-painting. To this period he assigns polygonally-arranged wooden benches on the hill-side, which twice collapsed, first about 500 and again in 458. About 465 Agatharchus produced for Aeschylus a more developed wooden skene, adorned with perspective painting, and probably anticipating the general shape of the earliest stone skene, which he would assign to 458, and which he calls ‘skene I’. This ‘skene I’ is an inference from scanty remains: Bulle holds that it had paraskenia like those of its successor, skene II, but shorter.

With skene II we reach firmer ground, for it is no other than Dörpfeld’s ‘Lycurgean’ skene, a solid structure whose general ground-plan is not disputed. Bulle puts it back to the time of Nicias, about 420 B.C., and makes detailed suggestions for its restoration, based partly on the evidence of the plays, partly on the remains of other theatres of the same general type. He concludes that it had a low wooden stage, three steps higher than the orchestra, between the paraskenia, and that the main back-wall carried a pediment, used for theo-phaneies; and he believes these features to have been inherited from skene I and even from Agatharchus’s scheme. To Lycurgu, himself, besides the completion of stone seating in the koilon, begun by Nicias, Bulle ascribes a complete remodelling of the skene wall, with columns and statues, and the erection between the paraskenia of a much higher wooden stage, with panelled front. For these conclusions also the direct archaeological evidence is slight. After Lycurgu there was at Athens no important change till the Sullan destruction, and Hellenistic developments must be studied elsewhere. The so-called ‘Hellenistic’ proskenia at Athens is post-Sullan, and its columns are all re-used, most of them coming from a dismantled choregic monument. The Roman stage is Neronian, and important modifications took place under Hadrian and again in the early fourth century A.D.

For the reconstruction of the fifth-century skene at Athens, Bulle relies chiefly on the poorly-built Eretria I, which he dates between 441 and 411. He argues from its doors (three in the back-wall and two in each paraskenia) that it had a wooden stage one step high. For the fourth-century Athenian skene he has chiefly used Segesta, whose skene is remarkably well preserved. While assigning it to the third quarter of the third century, Bulle maintains that it follows the Lycurgean model more.
faithfully than Epidaurus, where the paraskenia have lost their importance; Epidaurus, however, provides the crucial evidence for a high wooden stage before the end of the fourth century, since its ramps are demonstrably original, though its half-column proskenion is not earlier than 200 B.C. The introduction of the high stage is connected by Bulle with the elimination of the chorus and the dominant importance of the New Comedy.

The restoration of the Segesta skene (plates 23-25, with some modifications in the text) is astonishing, but well documented; many authorities, however, would date it much later than the third century. A high wooden stage, with panelled front, connects the lower parts of the stone paraskenia. Above this an engaged Doric colonnade runs along the face of the skene, and is continued as a partly open colonnade round the paraskenia. Higher still is a similarly arranged Ionic colonnade, and the upper part of the skene wall is set back to provide a second stage; a large pediment rises over the central portion and a small one over each paraskenion. The main stage is approached by three doors in the back wall, the upper stage by one. To this general type, Bulle assigns the skenai of Syracuse, Tyndaris, and many others, all attributed to the third century B.C. or a little later, and mostly in the West. The Sant' Angelo terracotta at Naples, if rightly assigned to the late fourth century, gives important support to Bulle's arguments.

In sharp contrast with all these stands the third-century Eastern group, Delos, Priene, Assos, and Ephesus, which have no paraskenia. Of these Delos was at first of wood, and has not been adequately published. All the rest have been remodelled, and the original appearance of their skene fronts is uncertain, but Bulle believes that pilasters were the usual decoration. It should be observed that he rejects von Gerkan's reconstruction of the original form of the Priene skene, and agrees with Dorpfeld in supposing that the stone proskenion, with half-columns engaged to pillars, has there replaced a wooden logeion. Such stone proskenia were probably invented at Alexandria, and first appeared at Delos in the middle of the third century, and a little later at Oiniadai. They were added to many old theatres during the second century.

In the second and first centuries the skene with 'thyromata,' familiar from Oropus and from the later forms of Ephesus and Priene, becomes dominant. In this type the skene wall is reduced to plain pillar-like stretches between three, five, or even seven large openings. The oldest example may be of the late third century, at Oiniadai, but the date of this theatre is disputable. Simultaneously with this type we find at Magnesia a ground-plan which suggests the combination of side thyromata with free-standing columns in front of the central part of the skene wall. Thasos, at an uncertain date, seems to have had similar arrangements, together with an open proskenion of free columns, a late type known from several second-century examples. The Magnesian skene anticipates Roman forms, and Termessos, in the Augustan age, goes further in the same direction. Vitruvius's Roman theatre closely resembles the Termessos type, and was probably based on Pompey's theatre at Rome, which was adapted from the theatre at Mitylene. The height of the Termessos logeion lies between the Greek and Roman limits, but is nearer the Greek: Pompey probably adopted the low Vitruvian pulpitum, descended through the Attelana from the Phylakes. In this connection Bulle proposes to shift Vitruvius V 6, 8, to after V 7, 2 (from the Roman to the Greek section), a somewhat arbitrary suggestion.

The closing sections, which are largely concerned with the evidence for stage production and decoration provided by Pompeian and other paintings and mosaics, are among the most novel parts of the book. Bulle is excellent on such definitely theatrical pictures as the Dioscurides mosaics, but he seems to exaggerate the general influence of the stage on Greek and Campanian mural decoration. He produces, however, much evidence in support of his view that the theatre was the main inspiration of spatial representation in ancient painting. The chief difficulties in his interesting attempts to connect various types of painting with the periods of theatrical architecture seem to lie in the number of the thyromata in many theatres (seven at Ephesus) and in the rarity of indoor scenes in the New Comedy: he may be right in falling back on the little-known requirements of the mime.

This sketch gives no adequate idea of the range and quality of Bulle's work. His mental alertness shows itself again and again in brilliant flashes of insight and in ingenious combinations of fragmentary evidence. One notable merit of the book is the fact that he never forgets the importance of the non-dramatic uses of Greek theatres, which is especially relevant to the understanding of Megalopolis, Sparta, and Tyndaris. It should be added that he regards the whole book as preliminary to an intensive study of the internal evidence afforded by Greek drama of the classical period.
In conclusion a few slips may be corrected. In the last line of p. 150 'Hieron I' should be 'Dionyssios I'; on p. 133 n. Pollux 3, 154 is wrongly said to refer to horse-rolling; and in the neighbourhood of p. 200 the order of the pages is utterly chaotic, though nothing is lost.

D. S. R.


Once again the excavators of this famous site have a rich harvest of finds as the reward of their labours. First of all comes an important addition to the history of the town; Rome occupied it in 115 or 116. and erected a triumphal arch of which fragments of the inscription have been recovered. This discovery compels the editors to abandon their previous view that Roman troops first entered the city in 165 under Lucius Verus; but the evidence remains that during the interval the city was in Parthian hands, and it is probable that Dura was one of the Trajanic conquests abandoned by Hadrian.

Further work has been done on the fortifications and on various shrines; the frescoes of the temple of the Palmyrene Gods have now been removed and safely bestowed, part at New Haven, part in the museum of Damascus. The Palace and several blocks of interesting private houses have been cleared; from one of these came the best single find, a large silver vase with two garnets in repoussé work, perhaps Syrian work of the early third century of our era.

A large fresco in one of the houses represents a battle in which heavy cavalry of Iranian type are victorious. Mr. Little is inclined to identify them as Sassanians rather than Parthians, in which case the capital importance of the fresco as filling a gap in the remains of Sassanian art requires no emphasis. In any case the painting was left unfinished at the time of the catastrophe of 256. A large number of inscriptions are again published, mainly graffiti from the House of the Archives; they include interesting horoscopes and several trading accounts; there is also a dedication to Zeus Betylos, a deity who appears here for the first time. The sensational find of Christian frescoes was made at a later date and will presumably be published in a future report.

J.H.S.—VOL. LIII.


Saul's emotions when instead of his father's asses he found a kingdom must have been reproduced by the excavators who set out to locate Babylonian Opis and came upon that great city Seleucia. The first two reports of the joint expedition of the University of Michigan and the Museums of Toledo and Cleveland have now appeared; they are well illustrated and tell briefly and simply what has been done. The main operation was the examination of a single large insula of which the uppermost level, built in the early first century of our era, is described in the first report. The uncovering of a second and a third level, thought to begin about 45 B.C. and 142 B.C. respectively, forms the subject of the second report. The first and second layers reveal an Oriental civilisation, in the third the Greek megaron occurs; and below all is a fourth stratum still to be dug of which we are only told that it is 'purely Hellenistic.' In addition, the first report contains a note on a Parthian villa; sealings with Greek inscriptions; coins and terracottas, Greek and Parthian; while the second adds an account of the numerous burials found within the house, in accordance with Babylonian custom, and of some interesting jewellery discovered among the burials.

In the Mountains of Greece. By H. D. F. KKRRO. Pp. 150; 4 plates, 1 map. London: Methuen, 1933. 6s.

To write a good book on modern Greece, it is necessary (1) to travel off the beaten track, appreciatively and at leisure, (2) to record one's experiences before they lose their novelty, in other words before the country becomes really familiar. Such a combination is rare; for the more adventurous travellers usually postpone writing till too late. Fortunately the author and his wife made their first trip in the wild country round Vardouzia, from which they went to Akarnania, and then to the Peloponnese; they acquired sufficient command of the language to make friends with the many amusing people they met; and they had enough leisure to stop as long as they liked wherever they liked. While their journeys were still vivid in their minds, the author wrote this book wherein he recorded, with just the right amount of detail, those characteristic sights and sounds, those enter-
taining encounters, that make Greece irresistible. The preface contains some useful practical hints; the rest of the book I will not forestall except to recommend you to meet without delay the pig-dealer who was enraptured by the Olympia pediments, the Leipzig park-keeper whose enthusiasm carried him round Greece on tenpence a day, and, if you can bear his kind, the American Greek who woke the travellers in order to borrow their opera-glasses for his mother-in-law to look at the moon.

One criticism: a less inadequate map should have been provided. One correction: it is inaccurate to say that the inhabitants of the Maina do not speak Greek. Finally, one warning to those who know Greece well: the book will cause a nostalgia acutely painful. But do not omit, on that account, to buy it and put it in your pocket where it will comfortably fit.

W. L.


This is a book which should be carefully studied by all archaeologists. It deals extensively with a large subject. One might wish on certain points for greater detail, but the method of treatment and the plan of the work are excellent, and the lack of detail is counterbalanced by the full references. The illustrations are numerous and for questions of subject, composition, etc., the line drawings are sufficient, for the subtler problems of lighting, colouring, and perspective are explained by the single coloured and twelve photographic plates. This book gives an admirable frame-work into which more detailed studies might well be fitted; for instance, the chapter on composition with its insistence on the distinction between Ionian and Doric methods is excellent as far as it goes, but it needs completing with a detailed study of the same character as Hermine Speier's Zwerggruppenkomposition, and the chapter on horror vacui might well have more reference to vase painting; it is after all remarkable that, while sculptors were frightened of the vacuum, painters, like those of the Fikellura group, exploited it to the full. But a study of this size cannot be expected to answer all these questions. The main lines of the work are admirably clear; it is an inquiry into 'bandeaux sculptés, conçus comme élément décoratif d'un ensemble architectural.' The first half of the book discusses the origin of the Ionic frieze in Eastern parapets (i.e., it was originally not ornamental but protective), discusses the Eastern and Creto-Mycenaean forms of frieze, traces the development of the Ionian frieze from the decorated parapet (terracotta or stone) through the great friezes of the fifth century B.C., on to the Roman period. The contrast of climatic conditions in Asia Minor and the mainland of Greece and their effect on the architecture is excellently written. The theory that the abandonment of terracotta for stone friezes caused a wholesale migration of Ionian potter's to Etruria is interesting. The second half of the book deals with the decoration, subjects, composition, horror vacui, isokephalia, perspective, colouring. Here too there are excellent ideas: the gradual change of the character of the decoration, apotropaic, religious, ethical, formal (perhaps there might have been more references to literature, particularly for the fifth century); the change of decoration when the stone frieze, where exact repetition of ornament was no longer economical, supplanted the terracotta; the account of the elements which go to the composition of the Parthenon frieze; the gradual development of the sculptured frieze from painting to sculpture (though here there might well have been a word on the technical and stylistic differences between Ionian, Athenian, and Peloponnesian relief). This is a suggestive book and its neat phrasing sticks in the memory: 'L'Ionie, c'est déjà la Grèce, et c'est encore l'Orient'; 'au récit s'oppose le drame; à la frise ionique la métope.'

T. B. L. W.

The Technique of Early Greek Sculpture.


The author has here expanded the earlier, briefer exposition of the results of his scrutiny of technique, and embodied the previous conclusions of other scholars; adding a systematic catalogue of the tools and their functions. It is the first complete account which has been attempted, and should be a useful, if rather lengthy, compendium of our knowledge. The most important original contributions are the study of prehistoric sculpture, in which, when iron was unknown, stone tools were used; and the observation of the extent and effect of the employment of stone tools, particularly rubbers of emery, in the archaic and early classical periods. It was known that the surface of nearly all finished sculpture of marble or limestone was smoothed by rubbing with soft stones, such as pumice, but it has not been remarked before that
NOTICES OF BOOKS

hard stones were sometimes used for one stage of the carving.

Not much new knowledge has been added to the earlier account, but the aims of this book are wider and rather different, and it might be described as a survey of early Greek sculpture from the technical point of view. Two objections might be suggested to an essay of this kind: it is bound to be largely hypothetical and uncertain, and too much importance is apt to be attributed to technical methods. Blümel usually confined himself to the observation of the marks left by tools on unfinished surfaces, and drew conclusions which are mainly sound. Here the author, often dealing with finished sculpture, is forced to rely on guess-work about the first stages of the carving. Theories, for which the evidence is wanting or vague, are often introduced as hypotheses and later assumed to be facts.

The serious consideration he gives to the nebulous descriptions of wooden *xoana* in ancient authors (which he believes may be Mycenaean statues which survived into Hellenic times) appears to have influenced him in his assertion that soft stones were regarded by the Greeks as similar to wood and carved with the same tools. But the hardness or softness of a substance affects its tractability less than its texture does, and it is the grain of wood to which the particular character of wood-carving tools is due. The punch is as suitable for the first stages of limestone sculpture as for marble, and there is no evidence for the positive statement made here that it was not used. The surface of all finished statues, where the marks of chisel or knife are not visible, must have been smoothed by rubbing with stone. The suggestion that a 'fine surface finish' was unnecessary, because it would have been covered with paint, is misleading: paint need not obscure fine qualities of modelling.

While the author is no doubt correct in the importance which he gives to the use of stone rubbers in marble sculpture, there is no decisive evidence for the statement that in many early works only a punch and rubber were employed. It is difficult to be certain that a claw or flat chisel were not used at an intermediate stage, especially for details in the face and drapery. A gouge or flat chisel would have been convenient for the ear of the Dipylon head, for example, and some other tool, besides the punch, must have been used in the hair. Sometimes the author seems uncertain in his own mind of the advantages and limits of stone tools, how far they were used to shape and when only to smooth. He speaks in some places of the method of rubbing as 'long and laborious,' in others as much quicker than working with iron.

Much less convincing is the assertion that the flat chisel alone was used to carve low relief. It is based mainly on the observation of eccentric and unimportant works, as the archaic Spartan reliefs, or slight works, decorative adjuncts in very low relief, like the Athletes base, the style of which has much in common with draughtsmanship. There is no reason to suppose that in works like the Ludovisi Throne and most parts of the frieze of the Parthenon, where mass and contour are used in a wholly sculptural way, the point and the claw were not employed for the first stages. On the archaic grave stele in New York there are marks of a claw on the unfinished part of the youth's head and marks of a file on the ground. It is misleading to say that it is quicker to work with a flat chisel; up to a point, for removing material and blocking out a figure, the punch is quicker. Almost all low reliefs were smoothed by stone, including the Parthenon frieze (see p. 201).

Kluge's main conclusions about the technique of bronze-casting are accepted and reproduced here. It is difficult to form a judgment at second hand and from written accounts only; but even if, by the beginning of the fifth century, the Greeks had not perfected the cire-perdue process of casting, it is hard to see what reason there would be for using a wooden, instead of a clay, model. Since the model is only a medium for the metal, the definition of the qualities of a statue as 'plastic' or not is beside the question; the shape of the drapery of the charioteer at Delphi, for example, is perfectly suitable to the bronze material. The description of the treatment of the surface of the bronze after casting, and the tools and methods used in finishing and chasing are the author's most interesting contributions. It is not easy to decide whether the Greeks used artificial patination. It can scarcely be said that bronze has a 'native colour'; when cleaned and burnished it has a dazzling glitter, proper only for a particular kind of sculpture, and probably unbearable in brilliant sunlight; while the natural tarnish due to exposure cannot be called very beautiful.

It is doubtful whether the 'important chronological results,' claimed in the Preface, can be obtained by an analysis of technique; the conclusions are usually too vague and too uncertain. On the other hand, many of the dates here assumed, and on which important conclusions are often based, are disputable. Reasons could be given for placing the Acropolis torso 393 in the sixth instead of the seventh century, and most of the seated figures from Branchidae in the first half of the sixth century, instead of the second; for believing that the Kore with the peplos, no.
NOTICES OF BOOKS

679, is considerably later than 360 B.C., and that the majority of the Korai were made between 520 and 490 B.C., rather than between 340 and 520. The sculptures of the Nereid Monument are more often dated to the late fifth than to the fourth century.

The least convincing passages are those in which aesthetic conclusions are drawn, especially the theory of the influence of technique and style upon each other. The thesis that technique often controls and forms style is put forward at the beginning and is made very prominent throughout; and an enormous importance is attributed to surface detail. The artist naturally selects the material he can get best suited to his work and the tools with which he can best execute his designs; it is his mind which forms his style, and technique is no more than a means to it. Surface details, which are here so emphasised, are only really effective when they define the main proportions of the sculpture: as modern sculptors never cease to tell us, 'Sculpture is the Composition of Masses, defined by planes.' It is easy to illustrate and prove that mere technique is not decisive by comparing the statues reproduced in figs. 34, 36, 38 and 39; the technique is said to be the same in all, but the styles are widely different. The artistic qualities of the statue dedicated by Cheramyes and of that illustrated in fig. 38 are not at all alike, although the drapery has been carved in the same way. The early Attic Kore in the Berlin Museum may be a 'masterpiece of craftsmanship,' but that does not make it good sculpture. The contrast drawn here between the face of Cleobis and that of the Sunitum Apollo is unimpressive, because the face of the Sunitum Apollo is almost entirely restored.

There are signs of lack of revision and co-ordination (e.g. on the same page the Dipylon Head is said to be made of Island and Pentelic marble); this is probably the reason why, in some cases, it is so difficult to discover what the author himself believes. On a number of important and controversial problems a later passage seems to contradict or modify an earlier. This may be due to a too great desire to reach certainty on points for which there is no evidence. The parts of the book where real observations are recorded, such as the use of the tubular drill in prehistoric works, are valuable and important; others, in which vague generalisations or unfounded theories are made, are regrettable, because they tend to obscure and detract from the good. Some of the unaccountable and startling expressions may be due to the style, which is almost too dashing and picturesque; but what is one to make of such a statement as:

'certainly Polycleitus devoted a major part of his energy to hair' (pp. 163-4)?

H. J.


The Klopfradesmaler is the sixth number of the series Bilder griechischer Vase, edited by J. D. Beazley and Paul Jacobsthal. Text and illustrations are of the high standard which we have been led to expect from the preceding 'Berlin painter' and 'Pan painter.' The painter's development is traced forwards and backwards from the two magnificent cups in Paris, one with the Amazonomachy of Heracles, the other with the deeds of Theseus. There are appendices discussing the arrangement of the fragments of which these two cups are composed and the cups are published complete for the first time. The list of the painter's works in Attische Vasenmaler has been increased by one neck amphora, two pelikai, two calyx craters, two lots of fragments and eight black-figure Panathenaic amphora. The list has been rearranged and renumbered, the vases now being arranged chronologically inside the shapes. Small misprints may be noted: p. 14, Taf. 24 should be Taf. 24; p. 26, 43 (45) should be 43 (49); p. 27, 47 should be 57 (52); p. 29, 82 (66) should be 83 (66).

The Klopfradesmaler should be popular; it is an invaluable contribution to the interpretation of Greek art. Professor Beazley doubts if the Campana Fragments will ever be really popular. This may be true, but it is certainly a masterpiece of scholarship. In form it is a commentary on Dr. Doro Levi's catalogue of the Campana fragments in Florence. This has necessitated the renumbering of Dr. Levi's figures in all but twelve plates of the catalogue: seventeen 'Ißmiss' are provided to put over the other plates; they have tracings of the outlines of the fragments and the new numbers. The commentary describes first, joints and pertenences; second, subject, when not obvious, and interpretation; third, period, style, and authorship. The labour and the kind of scholarship involved can be understood when it is realised that well over a thousand fragments in Florence are described and attributed, many of them about a quarter of an inch square, and that fragments joining them 'crop up all over Europe and America';
for instance the frontispiece is a fairly complete cup by Otros, composed of fragments in Rome, Florence, Heidelberg, Brunswick, Baltimore, and Bowdoin College. In the commentary various lists of attributions are given: the most important are—p. 24, the Splanchnopt painter; p. 30, the painter of Tarquinia RC 1122; p. 31, the Comacchio painter.

T. R. L. W.


The collection, in great part the gift of Paul Hartwig, consists of 17 complete vases and many fragments. The publication is excellent, both text and plates. Many archaeologists do not mind what their pictures look like; they leave that to the block-maker, and concentrate on higher things; but if they can spare a moment let them look at these plates, and they will learn what collotype can do, and should be expected to do. A word of praise too for the printing, paper, and linen binding.

A collection of fine fragments gives a good view of the development of the vase-painter's art, and draws the eye to beauties of detail that might escape notice. Many of the best artists are well represented at Heidelberg; there are characteristic and useful examples of the rank and file; and there is no restoration. A relief from row on row, or page after page, of half-bogus antiques.

Dr. Kraiker is not of those who count time spent on fragments time frittered away: his catalogue shows not only the right care, but a nice feeling for distinctions of style. Work on fragments exercises this sense and develops it. For amusing proofs of Kraiker's acumen see my Campana Fragments (GF. pl. 7. 29, on his nos. 76 and 77; and GF. pl. 3, 1, on his no. 18).

I had already been able to connect 21 of Kraiker's numbers with fragments in other collections, as belonging to the same vase or even joining (JHS. 51, pp. 39-56; BSR. 11, p. 16 note 1, on his no. 2). I was later able to place 22 others (see the index to GF. under Heidelberg). With these 43 one may mention a few fragments till lately in Heidelberg, but not catalogued by Kraiker, as they had already been ceded to other museums in exchange (see CV. Oxford, ii, p. vii, on pl. 23, 1, and pl. 60, 1).

On the painter of 10, see CV. Oxford, pl. 51, 1; of 143-145 and the inside of 146, GF. pl. 16, 29; of 149, GF. pl. 20, 26; of 160, GF. pl. D, 2; of 209, GF. pl. 17, 22, and add a cup in Athens, from the Stables (I, women: A—B, centauromachy); of 211, GF. pl. 18, 55-20 is now shown to be by the Cerberus painter, not the Eurygides painter (GF. pl. 1, 8). The inscription of 32 plus the Dresden fragment joining it, reads ΑΥ[αισθησαν]). On 67: the Perugia Euphronios cup seemed to me, when I last saw it, as far as one can tell in its ruined state, to be by Onesimos himself. In 85, the thing hanging a diptychon, on end, not a flute-case. 85 now seems to me by Douris, not Makron. 90, 91, 92, are by a single hand, but not from a single cup. 110 and 112 would be better in place in the next section. 115 is perhaps from a column-krater. 118 is close to Myson, but by a follower rather than himself. 131: the plate-reference, 20, has dropped out. The lip of 151 did not seem black to me. 178 is nearer to the Altamura painter than to the painter of the Berlin hydria, a later member of the same school. On 197 see GF. pl. 14, 21. On 205: the Palermo dinos is now figured by Hahlkand, Vase in Medias pl. 5. On 216: a clay object in Eleusis, 314, of the geometric period, appears to be a rattle of this kind. 217: see CV. Oxford, pl. 52, 3; Cupa 229 is another replica. 243, now that it has found its place as a bit of the Villa Giulia—Florence Castle Ashby Phrixos cup (GF. pl. 15, 24), must go back into the fifth century.

Dr. Schaal has just published an eye-cup (Vase in Bremer, pl. 11), which is by the same hand as Heidelberg 10, and which confirms the connection, noted on GF. Oxford pl. 53, 1, between the Heidelberg cup and eye-cups in Winchester and Dresden.

J. D. B.


Corinthian and Attic.

III C a. Corinthian. The relative chronology of proto-Corinthian and Corinthian, established, beyond cavil, I think, by Johansen and Payne, is rejected by Mr. Potter, who still holds that the Macmillan lekythos and the Chiigi vase are contemporary with the Amphikiasos krater and belong to the first half of the sixth century. Pl. 15, 6: the animal is not an aigailettrion, since there is no cock in him. Pl. 18, 20, a bull's head, not a bucrane: the Morin aryballos is surely not Bocotian but Corinthian like the Louvre vase Pl. 19, 6: for kindred design, cf. CV. Oxford, III H, pl. 3, 28.

III C e. Corinthian plastic vases. Should not the general bibliography have contained a
mention of Payne's treatment of these in NC., which corrects older notions and adds very much. Pl. 1: surely all these are wearing their own hair and not a 'klaft.'

Pl. 4; pl. 1, 4, 7, 8: very doubtful if these could be called satyrs. Pl. 4 wears a pantherskin, not a nebris. Pl. 5: the bull's heads in Oxford and Wurzburg are East Greek: and this? Pl. 7, 1: not a 'klaft' either, is it?

III I c, Attic rf. earlier. Pl. 38, 2: there is more restoration than is given in the text: for example, in the satyr pl. 59, 3, the toes, most of the arms and shoulders, and the horrible mouth, are modern. An 'ephebe playing the flute' is out of place in a thiasos: the figure (pl. 59, 2) is female.

III I d, Attic rf., later. Pl. 36, 1 (and pl. 42, 5 and pl. 46, 1): I have often pointed out (e.g. JHS. 50, p. 162) that the formula 'meme attribution' is misused. Pl. 37, 1 was assigned not to the group of the Phiale painter, but to the Phiale painter himself (cf. JHS. 50, pp. 161-23; and below, pl. 49, 1). Pl. 37, 4 (G 437): Shuvakov painter (Att. V, p. 438 no. 5). Pl. 37, 7: after 'Petrograd' add '702.' Pl. 38, 1, near the Boreas painter. Pl. 38, 6, the inscriptions, xalos, xalos, omitted. Pl. 40, 1: placed in the mannerist group in Att. V, p. 249 no. 15. Pl. 40, 8 is largely modern. Pl. 4, 1, cf. the Cambridge Sinis pelike, CV, pl. 33, 3 and pl. 34, 5. Pl. 41, 9: a list of the painter's works in Campana Fragments, pl. F, 5. Pl. 42, 1: Paes in Poland is subsequent to Att. V. Pl. 43, 1, 5, 6 (not 1, 4, and 5): the pattern above is, is largely modern. Pl. 43, 2: group of Polygnotos and the Hector painter. Pl. 43, 4 (not 6) and 7-11 is only loosely connectible with 'Meidias.' There is a sigma after the first inscription, so the name is hardly Dione. Pl. 44, 13: Att. V, p. 326, above, no. 3. Pl. 44, 5, Italiole. Pl. 44, 8, Attic. Pl. 44, 11, Italiole. Pl. 45, 1: the mouth of the vase is alien, and much later than the rest. Pl. 45, 10, youths, not girls. Pl. 46, l (Pammar, pl. 23, 3) was not attached to the workshop of the Pan painter, but assigned to his hand. Pl. 47, 10, Italiole. Page 35, the subjects of some Kerc vases may refer to the north, but no Attic style was specially created for northem customers. Page 36: 'Atticizing Italiole' is not a recognisable category.

J. D. B.


This is called 'fascicle 1,' but I think it must contain nearly all the vases at present in the collection. The vases are well classified and described; and good photographs are supplemented by a few good drawings, the work of Miss M. A. Banks.

East Greek. The Camiran oinochoe pl. 4, 1 came into the market along with that published in CV, Oxford, II d, pl. 2, 1-3, and I remember that both were said by the dealer to have been found in Rhodes. The animals are those that Kinch has shown to be not 'gazelle' and 'ibex,' but fallow-hind and wild goat. The bibliography at the head of the page omits the best account of the fabric, in Miss Price's East Greek Pottery, a work that seems to elude the contributors to the Corpus (cf. JHS. 52, p. 142), although it is actually one of the Corpus Classifications.

Attic geometric. Pl. 8, 1 has an un-Attic look at first: cf. however, Athens 11456 (Nicolle pl. 3, 774). Pl. 8, 2: certainly horses. The neck-picsure is said to be a 'prothesis scene of six female figures,' which would seem to require
NOTICES OF BOOKS

further explanation, as there is no sign of prothesis in the part of the picture reproduced.

Attie bi. Pl. 9, 11: already published by Jacobiathal, Om. pl. 19, a-b. On each side, a man courting a youth. A good vase, by the same painter as the Louvre hydra F 53 (CV, III H e, pl. 67, 3-6): see BSA, vol. xxxii. Pl. 9, 2: the same graffito on two other Nikosthenes amphiare in Beside: Louvre F 1003—London B 296 and Brussels R 989. Pl. 10, 2, the device is a bull's head, not a "boukrion" (cf. BSA, 29, p. 204, note 6). Pl. 12, 4 is part of a kylix, a replica of that in Thebes published by Ure, Sixth and Fifth Century Pottery, pl. 18, no. 102, 67, and the white thing is a cock held by the boy who is being courted.

Attie cf. Pl. 13: eye-cups of this type (eyes changing place with palmettes) are not very rare. On the form of the aryballos held by the boy in A, see BSA, 29, p. 196, where I mentioned this cup. The boy on B is carrying not a wine-skin, but the leg of a sacrificial beast—bull or cow: I made the same slip in Att. V, 5, but see Campana Fragmentata, p. 11 on pl. 5, 2. Pl. 14: my note gives remains of a maenad as well as a satyr on I, but I cannot check the view. This can hardly be an early Epiketos. Pl. 15, 1 is certainly very like the work of the Nikon painter: as Mr. Luce observes. Pl. 15, 2: a three-figure scene split up between the two sides of the vase. For the way the victor wears his cloak, cf. the contemporary Nolan amphora and the Dionysian painter Coll. Lascug, 2, plate, F 3. Pl. 15, 3 came from the collection of a Mr. Kvitka in Rome. H. R. W. Smith is doubtless right in connecting it with the school of the Berlin painter. Smith and Luce mention three Nolan of the same kind: others are in Vienna (two), Villa Giulia (Castellani), Birmingham, and there was one in the Hamilton collection (d'Hancarville, 2, pl. 45): cf. also the kylix by Poulsen, Etrusker und, pl. 11 and p. 14, and oinochoai in Villa Giulia (Castellani) and Munich (2459, Law pl. 22, 2). Pl. 17, 1 is from the Giudice collection. I figured pl. 17, 2, and spoke of subject and painter, in JHS, 47, p. 233. I think the lekythos came from Greece. It seems to have lain on a cloth, which has left red cipressos stains on it; the same stains show on a vase which came into the market at the same time, the alabaster pl. 22, 3; and on a white lekythos by the Aischines painter in Oxford, 1909, 3, which was found in Athens: may this point to the three vases having come from a single grave? Pl. 17, 3: the lost cup is in Berlin, inv. 3217, and is by the painter of the Bowdoin eye-cup. Pl. 18: the same graffito occurs on one other vase, the neck-amphora of the same shape and by the same painter in the Vatican (no. 2 in my list Att. V, p. 192, bottom). Pl. 19, 2: this charming lekythos was in the Giudice collection by the Pan painter, I think. Pl. 19, 3: the bird should be a partridge: see Payne, NC, p. 174. The inscription is meaningless. The style can hardly be called archaic. Pl. 19, 4: similar lekythoi in Bowdoin and Koenigstein: group of the painter of the Bowdoin box. Pl. 20, 3 the gesture seems to be that of holding a wreath. Pl. 21 is mentioned, and placed, in CV, Oxford, p. 3. Pl. 22, 1: there is a photograph of this in the British Museum (Miscell. photos, i, 46, 2). By the Christie painter: cf. his hydra in London (E 188: CV, pl. 85, 2). Dresden, Mykonos, and Gotha (53). Pl. 22, 2: cf. the Athens vase of the same shape 1255 (GC, 1237): they recall the manner of the Alkimachus painter. Pl. 22, 3: see pl. 17, 2. The mother recurs, but without the boy standing beside her, on the Euaichme painter's kylix in Boston (Jdll, 17, pl. 2) and there inscribed Atycoche, while the old man facing her is Atoke. Engelmann wanted her to be the Atycoche, daughter of Atoke, and mother of Askalaphos and Talmenos by Ares, who is mentioned in the Homeric Catalogue (II, 2, 513); but hesitated because on the kylix she has only one child. Well, she has two; although it must be admitted that they don't look like twins. I took the thing in the bigger boy's hand to be a hoop-stick, which would be more suitable to his age than 'a dagger.' The little boy, by the way, is sleeping, as in the Boston vase. For the mother's gesture, see also the Villa Giulia painter's hydra in Cambridge (CV, pl. 35, 1) and the Syleus painter's fragment in Reggio (Nds, 1917, p. 147). Pl. 23, 1: a maenad is inscribed Eudia: 'Mr. Pottier suggests that this name should be E(k)na, perfume.' But Eudia occurs on two other vases as a maenad-name (Charlotte Fränkel, Satyr- und Bakschismaten, p. 63), and Galene, which is similar (cf. Soph. El. 994 with Eur. Andr. 1145), is used twice, perhaps thrice (Fränkel, l.c.; and the Boston psycer Jdl, 7, pl. 5). Pl. 23, 2 seems earlier than the Medias painter. Pl. 24, 1 is not yet 'Kerch' in the accepted sense. A calyxkrater belonging to Dr. Hinsch, with the same subject, is in the same style; cf. also Munich 2986.

Attic white. Are not mouth and neck of pl. 25, 2 modern? If the figure on pl. 25, 3 is naked, it must be Eros, not Iris. Pl. 25, 5 is by Buschor's Reed painter. Pl. 25, 6 and 7, are more than repainted, they are false.

Italian. On 'Saticula' see Vases in Poland, pp. 75-6. Pl. 28, 1: see also ibid. p. 73. Pl. 28, 2: a good example of epithalamia. The thing
in front of the woman is not the base of an incense-burner, but the *diasos*: see Jacobathal, *Aktien Tod*, pp. 5-6.

"Faliscan." I don't think pl. 29, 2 is Faliscan. Plates like this are very common, but this is the only one I know with a painted inscription—painted before firing: it gives the name of the Latin owner, P(oppia) Genucilia.

Italiate. The pyxis pl. 29, 4 has an interesting peculiarity—a pair of nicks on the lid, and a corresponding pair on the lip, to show where the lid is to sit (though as it happens the lid fits better if you ignore them). A replica in the Louvre (ED 337) is also nicked: I have no note of nicks on the replica from Locri in Reggio (493), or that from Nola in Berlin (3015), but they may be there.

J. D. B.


Delos has been known for a generation as one of the most important sites for the early history of mosaics; the new finds, carefully published by M. Chamonard and Mlle. Devambrez, confirm its importance and supplement the evidence of earlier discoveries in several interesting respects.

The four pavements described in this fascicule were found in a building which has been named the House of the Masks. This house, situated about 100 metres S.E. of the Theatre and near the House of the Dolphins and the Hostelry, is unusually large, but roughly constructed and carelessly decorated. M. Chamonard thinks that it may have served as a rehearsal-place for visiting theatrical companies and as a store for stage-properties. The mosaics are superior in style to the rest of the decorations in the house, and were perhaps given by a successful choregos, father of an athletic victor, whose statues were found in the ruins of the building. In estimating the date of the building, M. Chamonard observes that the walls were repainted at least twice, and that the house was thus erected hardly later than the middle of the second century B.C.; nor would it be earlier than the end of the third, when the theatre was finished.

1. Hall of the Centaurs. The pavement of this room contains an *emblema* in three parts, consisting of a rectangular panel flanked by lozenges. The rectangular panel, which alone is the *emblema*, strictly speaking, represents Dionysos (?) riding on a panther. The god is of an unusual type, being bearded and effeminate (after the Hellenistic fashion), but elaborately accoutred (in the Oriental style). His costume appears to be influenced by the conventions of the theatre, judging by the descriptions of Pollux (Onom. iv. 116 ff.; ed. Dindorf, i. p. 213); and this fact in itself, easily intelligible in a building connected with the drama, might well explain the unusual attributes. M. Chamonard, however, adds the supplementary hypothesis that the artist may have been a Syrian, like the Asklepiades of Arados who signed the mosaics in the neighbouring House of the Dolphins (Delos viii. 2, p. 400 and pl. liii); and may have represented the god in a mixed Syrian form, or even simply displayed his imperfect knowledge of orthodox iconography.

The central panel was brought ready-made from the workshop and set, rather askew, in the pavement, which was accommodated to it as well as could be managed. Except for the dark ground and the complicated polychromy, which are Hellenistic, the simplification of the drawing is more characteristic of Roman, and even late Roman, work. The figures are partly in *vermiculatum*, partly in fine *tessellatum*; in the background the tessellae are laid in horizontal rows, except round the outlines of the figures, where, incidentally, they are smaller. The technique of the lozenges containing the centaurs is much rougher, the background being done in what M. Chamonard calls *opus barbaricum*, or small natural pebbles. In the saw-toothed border the black teeth are separated from the white by thin strips of lead: a common practice at Delos, but not one which seems to have been adopted much elsewhere.

2. Hall of the Masks. In the centre is a repeating pattern of cubes seen in perspective, flanked by two borders of comic masks interspersed with tendrils. Three of the masks are female and seven are male, five being bearded and five not. M. Chamonard attempts to identify the characters of the masks according to the descriptions in Pollux, and the categories established by Robert and Navarre. The technique is *tessellatum*: there is no use of *vermiculatum* or of paste cubes.

3. Hall of Silenus. The *emblema* of Silenus with a flute-player is unusually schematic and coarse for a Hellenistic pavement, and might be used in support of Shear's contention that the mosaics in the villa at Corinth are of this early date.

4. Hall of the Amphion. The pavement has an elaborate border of imbrication, which is exceedingly rare as a border motive. The
inner frame of bead-and-reel is typically Hellenistic device; the infrequent examples dating from the Roman period are practically all found in Greece. The intricate sexfoil rosettes on either side of the amphora in the middle of the floor are of the early plastic type.

Mlle. Devambez’s coloured drawings of the Dionysos emblema and the Silenus panel deserve special praise. They are large enough in scale to show the actual forms and individual colours of the tessellae; the minute variations of shape and tint seem to have been most carefully rendered, and the resulting version is of high technical value.

R. H.


The reissue in a revised form of Head’s Coins of the Ancients, now restricted to Greek coins, but including those of the Imperial period, is very welcome, and the changes in the selection of examples for illustration have brought it well up to date. It would have been an advantage for students generally if the notes had been less severely numismatic: but, so far as they go, they supply useful information. The only point to which serious exception need here be taken is the attribution of early electrum coins to mints in European Greece, which would give a wrong idea of the function of this coinage; and all known examples are definitely Asiatic in fabric and style. But the main purpose of the book is presumably to provide illustrations of the coins; and it may fairly be said that the plates are unrivalled in their excellence.

J. G. M.


This second volume of the Sylloge presents to us what is probably the most representative collection of coins of ancient Italy at present in private hands. Historical and archaeological interest pervades the whole volume, from the strange one-sided coins of Etruria at the beginning to the noble didrachms of Thraceum at the end. We see Greek art in its own characteristic excellence at such mints as Tarentum, with a grand series of horsemen types, or Metapontum, with a glorious range of didrachms in exceptionally fine preservation, occasionally as far north as Naples—an outpost in barbarian land. But it is a fascinating study also to trace the changes which that art undergoes as it is adapted to the use of one after another Italian community. Many of these Italian issues are of exceptional rarity—the small bronze piece of Pel (Peligni?—no. 40) and the small silver of Samnium (no. 43), will serve as examples.

It is most important to have all specimens of such coins made available for study. The notes, though short, contain the essential minimum, carefully recorded. The plates are probably as near perfection as is possible to-day. It may be added that the price is so low that the last excuse for neglecting this invaluable work is removed.

H. M.


The sixth volume of this useful work (useful if used with discretion) astonishes one with the diversity of opinion among the many distinguished contributors with regard to the reading of 842 inscriptions which are here quoted. Perusal leaves one under the impression that Asia Minor epigraphy offers a free field for ingenious speculation, unfettered by any regard for the possible accuracy of the original抄写ists or the agreement of several independent witnesses to the text. That the first copyist has sometimes erred is true; and he is generally the most ready to admit error, and to consider dispassionately any proposed improvement: he remembers many loci where he found the text obscure and hesitated whether to read θ or Ω, θ or T, and similar uncertainties.

Yet the first had the best chance. Stones deteriorate or are broken.¹ I may quote a case where Dessau asked me to verify my text, as he found it difficult to accept my reading on historical and geographical grounds. I travelled eighteen hours specially to verify it, and found on long careful study that I could not maintain my old text. Then suddenly the sun shone out and my text stood forth clear and certain, as strokes became visible that had been obscure. Truth depended on the light. The difficulty has long disappeared, and Dessau’s recent History of the Empire records the inferences that he drew.

SEG. is a record of details, and any useful review must examine the details: it would re-

¹ Frost and rain and snow in the long bitter winter wear away stones. In JRS. 1924, p. 35, Professor Calder shows that 40 letters had been lost since I first copied the stone in 1907. My more careful copy in 1905 shows many more.
quire a volume to treat the work as it deserves with its innumerable suggestive remark and new readings, which reward careful study even if rejected. The work is also a marvel of compulsion. It facilitates our task to use the convention that every remark in Latin is adopted from SEG, (often my briefer statement of the intention of SEG), while my criticism or praise or addition is expressed in English. I take examples intentionally at random. Most of them I have seen and studied. Some I had to hurry for varied reasons (e.g. 571). Criticism is more useful from one who has seen the stones; some suggestions in SEG would not be made if the stone and surroundings had been seen: e.g. in 560 Crönert suggests Τίγγας γάρ τόδε διάβαον ἀπετείρατο ζώος (i.e. ζώος) [μοσχεύσεως] collis esset proprie Ant. in speciem marium suillum.

The ancient names are assigned sometimes in puzzling fashion: 'olim Eumeniae' is attached to Karamanli, Tchirvil, Baljik Hisar, Emirjik, Ishkeli, Tchirvil was a tiny village of no account till the railway went to it. Thereby hangs a tale.

1. ΟΥΚΤΙΟΣ: Οὅδοι. Non attractaverim Crönert (rightly). Οὐκέτι ed. (de Jerphanion) dubitavit Vicerius. Oὅδοι(τ)ος (τος) Zingerle. De Jerphanion is a trustworthy and careful copyist. The titulus is interesting: Fl. Ouktrios Aphrodisios dedicatus τιμήθη εἰς τὸν Θεοῦ τίμημα, that he evidently identified (or assimilated) Isis with Aphrodite.

3. Οὐκαιμία Ἀρτονίας and—

4. Οὐκκαὶ Ἐλ. Why not leave 4 as the stone has it? 3 and 4 are dedicated to Elagabalus, doubtless at the same time (A.D. 217), and El was taken as the name of his wife.


1 Franz points out on CIG. 4042, that it dates about Dec. 176. In Nov. 176 Marcus and Commodus had a very dangerous voyage, which caused Apollonius to place in the Temple of Sarapis (images of) the Dioscuri.


Here I can vindicate the accuracy of R. de Rustafjall d’Orbeliani. These words occur at the end of a long inscription; yet they are described by M. d’Orbeliani (1924) as a separate fragment. In this he is correct. I copied both the fragment which d’Orbeliani copied, and also the entire inscription on an unbroken basis. The latter is published in part as CIG. 4042 and in IGR. III. 155: but as given there it breaks off in the middle, ending with the dedication: Ἀπολλόνιος Ἀπελλάνος, the stone continues Ἀλέξι-

56. Βύστοιν (i.e.) i.e. 1 perhaps is a false stroke, as often; but my copy notes that the lapicida began to write Μ, then erased it, and put it in next line.

Ι(οπίοις)? Alexandros libertus of Maximin I or Philip married to Baga[da]nica, a slave. Oinoandensis as published by Jerphanion cannot be defended (by σωμάτι κ.τ.λ.), but may be a false stroke, or more probably Crönert rightly (θανάτος): the praenomen, once so honourable, ceased to be used soon after 212, when all freemen in the Empire had the right to use it.

38. τρόφος καί διπλωτός. A ἄργιτα in Anatolian custom was of intermediate status between free and slave: he often married the daughter of the household. Roman law did not recognise this status, and a ἄργιτα was often made ἀπολύτης in order to ensure his rank by dedication to a god. 4

40. Ἀστάρτης πρὸ Ἀσταρτῆς (metri causa vel lapicidae errore). Zingerle rightly.

43. τσεκούσι corr. Wilhelm: rightly.

57. Very difficult: incised on a pila of very small diameter; copyst and lapicida cannot keep the lines apart. I copied it in 1927 and again in 1928. Some names which I thought quite certain are doubted by others and vice versa. I put in ΒΙΟΛΟΥ ΕΤΟΥΣ (edd. TOYTOUS) and ΕΝ for ΕΠΟΙ: in 13-14 ΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΟΣ certain, T inserted small. Names of XII Phylarcha are uncertain, and there are not 12. The first are ΧΑΚΑΛΟΥ (or ΧΑΛΑΣΟΥ) ΑΚΥΛΟΥ (where perhaps the lapicida mixed ΑΙΛΟΥ and ΑΓΑΛΩΥ): ΒΩΙΚΕΡΙΤΩΣ; ΖΗΝΩΝ (for ΖΗΝΩΝΟΣ), ΧΡΗΣΙΜΟΥ; ΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΑΝΟΥΣ with a blank space after it at end of line, ΖΩΡΗΣΙΟΣ (only one letter lost, ΖΩΡΗΣΙΟΣ impossible). Nomina Phylarchorum XII certe distinguunt non possunt. This is true. Many corrections are

4 There are many cases, published and unpublished.
proposed. I found it often impossible to determine what the lapicidae intended. Perhaps Ξαμανος for Ξαμανως, a Jew (as coins of Sala).

Οὐριακας is strange but clear. The use of ΟΥ (initial) in Phrygian and Lycean dialect deserves study. At Novia Isaura there is ΟΥΡΙΑΝ (accus, Λατίν Horta?) at Lumen-Binda Ουριαν (Latin Hosidia) at Sahinai [W]'icemio (Evdóntos); Ουριακας = Volcacius; Ουριακας in Νο. 1.

59. I have maintained that the stone originally had Παταξ[σ] «ουλος Παθηματας; and after study of the stone in 1928, still think so. The words fit the space; there is abundant room: although no trace remains, the stone at this point has been much exposed to rubbing. The name of this great Laodicene family is to be expected. Moreover, the lapicidae at Anycra were careless and coarse workmen, and syllabary division is rarely considered by Greek workmen and often violated even to the extent of dividing a diphthong between two lines.

60. The many editions have added little to the first edition in AM. 1896; 466. My copy (1928) adds something to the letters and much to the restoration. The deceased gladiator was killed at Anycra; his name was P. Aelius [Amynatas]; his wife Aelia took it with him. Παταξιας έποιησαν[ντις] is clear. He died aged 37. He held (honorary) citizenship of many cities, Θεσσαλ[ιώ] | Νικαιας[ντις] | Αθηνας | Θυμιπασ[ντις] | Βιο[ντις] | Θεσσαλ[ιώ] | Θεσσαλ[ιά] θεος. ΑΙΩΝ, on the stone, and ΒΟΣ (not ΚΟΣ). I do not know what city is meant by ΒΟΣ. The epigram must be quoted in full (as my text differs much from others), except the first couplet.

61. Read Χαμανως, χ αμαρας: that is certain; not αμαρας.

93. Zingerle (who has made many good suggestions, though sometimes too violent) changes Θαμανως to Θαμανως (lapis E Θ). If change is needed, I prefer Θαμαρας, which is a known ethnic in that region. There is no village Θαμας. (Sgerca or lagella recalls Scheria of the Odyssey.)? Follow the stone.


99. Μεσαν, Egyptian slave. The text is mere guess-work.

100. Hexameters followed by family names; one is Καναρας, for which Cnrtz suggests Κανας (K for Κ, a frequent error, corrected rightly often by Wilhelm); but the text is mere guess-work: Καναρας ed. conf. Μαλακος.

117. Τασανας, local spelling of the frequent name Τασανας (i.e. Τασανας from the god Tarku). Z for S is found in Old Phrygian materex, in διυς for διως, and in MAMA. I. 123, where Calder reads Ο... ΙΑΔΑΣ, ethnic. A better restoration is Μανομας άιαν Υλος (i.e. "Oys"), a name taken from legend and used also at Novia Isaura.

119. Κολουμβει Βουκλερ c.s.: also Sterrett, 1889.

144. Αδωρος έτει τασανας έρμηνευε Βουκλερ c.s. T and S are frequently mixed by lapicardi and copyists; e.g. MAMA. No. 10, where Αδωρος should be [φωτει] τος: an Eiconian could not own land or a grave at Laodicene, but Paretta, Baretta, was attributed to Laodicene. See Juchheim in Hitz’s Ηπερμα, No. 6. Eumekis the mother had an Asianic name, often represented by Longus, Dolichos, Eumegethes, translations of the native name.

146. The name Sestus often occurs in Asian inscriptions (Sterrett, WE. 25); soldiers doubtless in many cases.

147. Μεθατας, cp. Μεθατης in CB. p. 562, Jewish Mattathias?

167. The same eues is honoured in 174, found at Acmonia. Κορεπας in BCH. 1895. Afterwards corrected to Κορηπας. Editores dant Κορεπας έρμηνευε. 174 it is Εμμαριας, i.e. curatorium.

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1 I copied a stone at Nacolea, which has Θαμανως twice.

2 Θαμαρας χ αμαρας Θαμαρας.

3 Wilhelm suggests ΑΤΝΟΝ; it is Homer’s ΔΕΑΛΟΝ.
NOTICES OF BOOKS

[...]should not be 'corrected' to (το)πος. In Phrygian Greek they formed a noun (το)πος on the analogy of ἁπάντων, ἄπαντος: ἄπαντος and ἁπάντως denoted what the Turks call Selamlik, where men meet, exchange greetings, have meals together—usually furnished by a rich man: the first show of wealth for a Turkish villager is that he makes a Musafir-Oda. A traveller who is wise asks before entering a village who keeps the best Musafir-Oda, and goes straight to it, dismounts, and enters as owner of all in it for the time. This custom probably hardly survives the modernisation of Turkey. Many of the old native names are connected with the practice of this duty of hospitality, ἔξοδον, etc.

174. In 1901 with aid from M. Chapot I copied this hardly legible titulus on the acropolis of Acmenia. ꝏγ. T. c. 2 μεν ἑαυτῶν ἡ ἡμέρα καὶ ὁ λόγος [τος καὶ ή] γνώσεως ἐστι οτι μεν ὁ δικαστὴς ἰοκέαν Ἔγγοτα [το σ. Λ. θέος Υπάλληλος Κύριος τον Ίπποχον χαρίσμα [τος ἢ] ἠγούσωρος ἀγιός [τος] ἰπποχον ἡμερ [τα] Ἀ[υ]γουστὺς καὶ ἡμερ [τα] ἐπί της παραβίον. Cohors II Claudia takes a title from Gordian III, giving date to the titulus 238–244; Καθαριστὴς is false: the cohors II Claudia is known only from Nos. 167 and 174 (Coh. I Claudia served in Armenia-Cappad.). Leg. VIII Aug. served in Moesia and on the Rhine. An Ala Augusta was in Egypt in 83 and perhaps Ala Aug. Syriaea was the same. An Ala Aug. was in Moesia at a station Augusta as late as c. 400.

177. There must have been ἀπάντως between Eumeneia and Sebaste, and the citizens had rights in common, e.g. competition in games (cf. titulus at Eumeneia, Buckler c. s. JRIS. 1926, p. 80), ownership of land (for burial, etc.). Strangers might not be buried at a strange city without permission.4

193. I have spelt as on the stone, Νεάπολις, Κορινθια, γενικα, etc.: quas novus editor inuicura corrigeavit. Buckler cum suis rightly adopts the same practice. Those who alter the spelling of the stone are not regular in their 'correction.' The spelling in Asia Minor often differs from accepted Greek usage (sometimes due to ignorance of Greek, but often important). οἰκία means perhaps 'laid in the grave'? In that case this altar with titulus was the first to be placed on the flat surface of the heroon.

221. τὸ ἡμέρως is unusual: the same construction serves as the home and temple of several heroes and heroines (i.e. deceased).

237. Fortasse non pertinet ad Sекторium, verum ad Hieropolim. It is impossible to be certain, the distance is short, and the stone might be carried from either. In v. 14 I had [M.] Αυρ. Edd. SEG. delen M. ante Ἰωσ.: This makes the date later: Zosimus was a freedman of the Septimian dynasty; Crescens libertus of the Antonines 175–180. Crescens had been known in the Pentapolis while procurator of Phrygia: now when he was promoted to a higher position this honour was paid him by Senate and people through Zosimus, who was in charge of the Emperors' interests in the Pentapolis. It seems clear that the place which Crescens now held was higher than the procuratorship of Phrygia. Zosimus was not very accurate in knowledge or terminology of Roman office.

238. ἱπποχος Kirch in Röm. Quartenhs., probably rightly. The best (earliest) edition of the prose legend attached to the Epitaph of Avicius Marcellus uses in the prose text ἱπποχος, evidently caught from the epitaph. Orth suggests (badly) ἤπαιναι τὰ γέραμα τούτα: Avicius had more to say than that: the old conjecture is preferable, though not convincing.

242, 243. I cannot accept the localisation of Tymion and Pepoura: the district is right, not the villages.

244. Seidi Sultan was close to Palaikon Beudos, which has hitherto been sought by me and others on a wrong line of march. It blazed into glory, and struck coins, when Hadrian visited it on his march from Ancyra by Melissa to Metropolis or vice versa. Symmada did not pay so much attention to him.

333. It is often difficult to distinguish ἡ and τ: I thought Ἰωάννης was more probable; but both are possible.

354. Ἀρης (Λού) should be changed to Ἀρης: the titulus is a dedication to Ares, a Phidian and Iasian and Lycaonian god. This common form of dedication to a god and to a mortal merged in the god has been misunderstood here.

474. Ara cum delineatione: Ramsay text correct: Calder: ᾽Ιερῶς x(i) Ἀρη[ς] οἱ τοιχοδοτοῖς, εὐκαλύτων οἱ τοιχοδοτοῖς. Τ. - -. Calder is right as far as φις.

1. 2 ends with a curious monogram, ligature of ιγ(γ) (which needs one line added to Calder's drawing). In a monogram ι may be repeated
in interpretation, giving the relative clause σκε- τηγείον [ἐπί θησαυροῦ]. AT in l. 9, though broken, were certain in 1904 in my copy.

550. L. 7. ΒΕΙΟΝC confirmat per epistolam Calder: BEKOC Zingerle, qui conferit Hesych. θεος ἢ τρισεπάτευς. I have been interested always in this Phrygian word since it was found in a Phrygian inscription (OJh. VIII. 1905, Bh. 965), and had it in mind when I copied No. 550. BEIONC is confirmed by several others, since Callander discovered it in 1906. In front the stone has θέος, as Callander read, but the titulus reads BEIONC: the latter N is added on the right side of the stone. Similarly in l. 8, A (fourth letter of κηρος) is added on the right side. I should be glad to learn what ΒΕΙΟΝC means; but certainly the money was not bequeathed to make bread for Zeus once every year.

555. Ἀργυρών Αργυριοκόσμῳ ed. D. M. Robinson: Κε θεότητος; ᾿Αργυρών (Adnitrct). Iden Paulinus honoratur in tit. Lat. JRS. II. 1912, 102, No. 34, at Robinson. This is also wrong: 555 gives the curule honorum of senatorial rank; the other gives an equestrian cursus.

560, 561. Titulos edito a Sterrett at a Mordtmann demo ed. Calder, RecPhil. XLVI, 1922, 132-4. These tituli must be taken in close conjunction with each other and with the locality. Calder separates the epigrams as of different times, because the form of letters and the treatment differ. Variety of lettering proves nothing as to age: at Dorylaion 7 tituli, praising a citizen who bore the expense of building the fortifications in the third century, are in most diverse forms of script. At Antioch the difference of treatment arises from the fact that two persons are praised: one the skilled engineer who made the water by his art flow uphill to the city (560); the other the governor of Pisidia.

Calder's restoration is on right lines but needs change. Read [κε θεότητος] ᾿Αργυρών, this work also [in addition to the many with which his art (κηρος) has enriched the city] (Imbr?) has perfected (κηρος); his achievement was to add the high-pressure system by which the water was made to flow uphill to the city. Previously the water from a mountain spring was brought near the city.

1 Probably Κοδαναγυναῖος is due to the laid Greek of the composer, but it may be due to the engraver, who handled κοπία | κοραλλίδα badly.
2 A ridge runs north and south about 4 miles, about 1500 feet above the modern Yallowad: it is
3 that the age of improvement was late. Antioch grew rich under the Antonines by trade: temples, a theatre, etc., were created, but the great age of town improvement was under Valerius Diogenes, governor of Pisidia. His many tituli show he adorned the province with numerous works and ruled the province for many years: his earliest titulus (CIL. III. 31561 at Apamea), in honour of the hapless Empress Galeria Valeria, probably was erected in 305, when her husband became Augustus: the latest honoured Constantine sole Emperor. Probably he was the first governor of Pisidia, when it was created a province by Diocletian. He organised the new province, and shewed such skill there, adapting himself to the policy of each Emperor, that he was left undisturbed in that troubled time. He persecuted the Christians under Maximin (and Diocletian): he guided them under Constantine. This was the time when Imbrasos worked. I prefer in l. 1 ἱκετα in for ἱκετέων; ἱκετα is reserved for the governor, who ordered the engineer. Valerius was civil and military governor of Pisidia; and therefore Crönert's ἱκετα[ν][α]βαρν for Calder's ἵππος[yi] is excellent. Wilhelm's ᾿Αργυρών (560) concluding with the governor's name (which we know to be Ποιγείον), may be right.

4 Calder's ἵππος and ἵππος beginning two lines are improbable. Crönert's suggestion has been quoted above. ΑΚΟΝC rests on Sterrett, Calder, and myself: our scrutiny was long and minute. There seems no opening to take ἵππος as gen. of the engineer's name. Calder makes it the name of the stream, and I see no other possibility. Calder's [560] pleases, for it points the contrast with the former poorer water stored in cisterns (which had become dirty in the centuries). This situation rejects Heberdley's ΑΝΑΝΤΑ for ΑΝΑΝΤΑ. Former officials or engineers had brought that excellent water near the city by an underground channel, but [Imbr?] ἀσος completed the work by delivering it inside the city.

5 I take the epigrams as engraved on the same occasion: 561 was engraved at the north gate and water-tower, 560 at the lower end of the steep rise of about 25 metres to the top of the tower, where the water was distributed. My old friend G. Weber, the sole authority on this

6 cut through by the Anthios in a steep ravine. Antioch lies between the ravine and the northern end of the ridge.

7 I have several unpublished.

8 It seems now to me that he allowed the destruction of the Hieron of Men-over-against-Antiochis in 344 (BOA. 1912-3).
NOTICES OF BOOKS

579. Add that Robinson’s restoration would imply that the priests who governed Antioch as an independent city worshipped Attalus III as a god, and appointed a priest of the cult, which is inconsistent with Anatolian history and religion. My restoration was professedly given to show that better restorations than Robinson’s could easily be made; it is possible, but other restorations are possible also.

580. Optimus was bishop as late as 361 at Concil. Constantinop.

596. Editam a Sterrett: plenius et correctius dedit Robinson. I saw this stone often, last in 1924 with Robinson. I told him the native superstition, and said that 1. 1 was probably Δαυθησ: 1. 2 can be read completely with difficulty. It is necessary to delete et correstis, and to put Δαυθησ in brackets. He omits the poppy capsule (plain in his photo).2

601 is an example of violent alteration of a text: when such ingenious changes are allowed, anything can be made out of a copy. Sterrett alone has seen this text. The rule should be to interpret, not to alter. Sterrett’s errors proceed from bad interpretation fifty years ago; alteration of his copy is almost always slight.

W. M. R.


The latest addition to the volumes of papyri published by the Egypt Exploration Society contains the first half of the texts extracted from the cartonnage of mummmies found at Tebtunis. The proportion of literary pieces is small—only 8 out of 196: the most important of these are fragments of the Inachus of Sophocles and of a treatise on Music. The great bulk of the collection is made up of official documents, dating from the latter half of the third and almost the whole of the second centuries B.C.: these supply a store of

1 High-pressure water supply in Anatolian cities. Others who treat it use his measurements and descriptions in Anatolia. Weber published several articles in> about and after 1880. That on Antioch I have lost.

2 Opium is extensively cultivated still in two places, Antioch and Afon Kara Hisar; this is the standard in the British Pharmacopoeia. The coins of Prinnesos and this altar at Antioch shew it. The altar is the Hermes; the dedication is not to Hermes.
information on the local administration of Egypt under the Ptolemies, a particularly valuable one being a long memorandum of instructions, probably from the dioecetes to the oeconomi, as to their duties in various departments of the royal service, ending up with some good advice as to behaviour (No. 703). For a wider historical outlook, the opening words of a decree of Antiochus IV (No. 698) are interesting, as supporting the old view, which has been questioned recently, that he actually exercised royal authority in Egypt: another reference to the Syrian invasion is in No. 781. But the student of almost any department of Greek learning may delve with profit in the volume, which fully maintains the reputation of the series to which it belongs.

The Berlin volume also deals with papyri from mummy-cartonnage, but more limited in period and character: the documents are all official, appear to belong to a single bureau in the Herakleopolite nome, and, with one exception, can be dated to the reign of Auletes or the first eight years of Cleopatra. The information they give is therefore what might be called more intensive than that of the Tebtunis papyri, and is specially concerned with the local administration of an Egyptian village: the lexicographer, as well as the historian, will find them interesting. Following the traditions of the Berlin Urkunden, the editors have restricted their exegetical notes severely; but there is a useful summary of the evidence furnished by the papyri in the introduction.

The balance between texts and notes in Dr. Amundsen's publication is very different: 28 ostraca, averaging about half-a-dozen lines in length, are the nucleus of 77 pages. The value of the book, in fact, consists less in the documents than in the dissertations upon them, which include summaries of the evidence relating to the salt tax in Egypt, the caravan service in the Eastern desert, the transport of corn, and the financial reforms of Diocletian, deserving special note: these summaries are very full and welcome.

J. G. M.

*Ente¯Axes: Requêtes et plaintes adressées au roi d'Égypte au IIIe siècle avant J.-C.*

Par Octave Guérard. (Publications de la Société Royale Égyptiennes de Pathylogie.)


This masterly volume illustrates well the results to be obtained from the patient and minute labour of successive scholars. Its nucleus consists of a group of papyri which have long been familiar to papyrologists. Found at the beginning of this century in the shape of mummy cartonnage at Medinet-en-Nahas, the ancient Magdala, in the Fayum by Jouquet and Lefebvre, they were edited by the discoverers in 1902 and 1903, were revised by various scholars, notably (in 1904) by Wilcken, and at last were admirably republished in the second volume of the Lille papyri by the late Jean Lesquier (1912). There remained, however, a quantity of cartonnage not at first dealt with, besides some which came from a different site, Ghorân. The present volume was originally intended to contain only these unpublished documents, but finding, in the course of his work, that the mass of fragments contained many which belonged to the published papyri, and that even after the labours of Lesquier it was possible to improve his texts by corrections and new readings, Mr. Guérard resolved to re-edit them also. The volume under review contains, therefore, all the documents or portions of documents of the particular type represented which are worthy of publication.

The type in question is that of the *ente¯axes*, a special form of petition, nominally addressed to the king, but in the vast majority of cases never seen by him, since the normal procedure was to present the petition to the local governor (strategos), who took whatever action seemed to him good. The *ente¯axes* long continued in use, but the examples here collected all date from the reigns of the second, third or fourth Ptolemies; they are followed, in an appendix, by four papyri, three of them of the same provenance, which, though not *ente¯axes*, are of a juridical character. The editor takes occasion to study afresh the many problems which, despite all the work which has been done on the subject, still attach to the procedure by *ente¯axes*. He does not solve them all, but his introduction marks a very real advance in our knowledge. Alike in it and in the body of the work he exhibits editorial powers of a high quality. His readings of these often very difficult texts are masterly. In particular he is to be congratulated on the progress he has made with the subscriptions appended to the petitions by the *strategos*, which are not only often considerably damaged (not unnaturally, since they are found at the foot of the text), but are usually written very cursorily and with many abbreviations. By dint of the most self-sacrificing efforts and the patient comparison, one with another, of the various examples of particular ligatures and groups of characters (how perplexing these may be, can be seen on plate xiii) he has established the true reading of many subscriptions heretofore undeciphered.
or wrongly read; and since they shew the action taken by the ἄρχων, a correct reading is juristically of the greatest importance. Not less remarkable than his skill and patience is the critical caution which he displays throughout; indeed some readers, while they applaud, may feel on occasion that they themselves fail to imitate, his reserve, as when, in 86, 1, he relegates the very attractive reading ἐν ἰδιοτικῆς ἀλήθειας συν ἀλήθειας to a footnote.

The historical importance of documents like these, as indeed of the majority of papyri, is limited in range. The military and diplomatic conflicts of the time, the thunder of the captains and the shouting, find but faint echoes in them. Their value lies in the vividness with which they reveal the daily life of the ordinary man, that vast, little-changing stream of every-day events for ever flowing on beneath the surface turmoil which to almost all ancient and many modern historians passes for history. This the συμβολούσης do with a peculiar piquancy. No doubt their evidence requires discounting a little. They are concerned mostly with disputes and with real or fancied injustices; and differences with neighbours do not make up the whole life of even so quarrelsome an animal as homo sapiens. They are ex parte statements; and, moreover, many phrases in them are clearly conventional. For example, in a difference which ended in a lictor, the assailant always dealt his blows κατὰ τὸν κόρον τοῦ κορονοῦ, a phrase so recurrent that it can hardly be taken as good evidence for what actually occurred.

Nevertheless, these documents present a vivid and (if we make the necessary allowances) a reasonably accurate picture of daily life in the third century B.C., as indeed in later centuries. For legal matters they are, of course, most valuable, and they illustrate not infrequently that weakness of all Oriental and many other bureaucratic states, the corruption of the officials; see, for example, the editor’s remarks in his introduction to 87. Sidelights on popular and official religion are found in several texts. No. 6 is a request for permission to reconstruct an ἰσχείον; in 13 we hear of a shrine of Syria Theos and Aphrodite Berenice, in 19 of a themeshporion of Demeter, in 26 of a temple of Arinoe Aktia, in 47 of one of Athena, while in 78 Wilcken and Zucker have both recognised a reference to a shrine of Atargatis which escaped the editor, and elsewhere we read of a Jewish synagogue. Jews indeed appear on several occasions, perhaps too a Samaritan (Adam’s son of Libanus in 62), though Zucker has pointed out that this may be an inhabitant of the village of Samaria in the Fayyum. In 80 is told a picturesque story of an attack on an ἰσχείον. Such affrays seem to have been not uncommon, though we must be careful not to over-emphasise the evidence of petitions. Social manners and institutions are illustrated, for example, by 20 and 21, which relate to clubs, respectively of men and of women, and the arrangements for the funerals of club members; by 9, in which we find a man wishing to sell a house in order to defray the funeral expenses of his father; by 8, with its references to the foundation and repair of a village gymnasion; and by 25 and 26, in which parents complain of the filial ingratitude of their children. In the former a son not only does not support his aged father, but abuses him when they meet and actually steals his furniture, κατοικοδομεῖν τὸν κόρον τοῦ κορονοῦ; in the latter, a daughter, who is a κόρος τοῦ γαμετού τοῦ ιδίου σώματος, refuses to contribute to her father’s maintenance. No. 49, which is a complaint against a lady of the same profession, might well serve as the basis for a play of the New Comedy. In 82 and 83 we are introduced to the life of the public baths. In the former a woman complains that when she came out of the water to soap herself the attendant whose duty it was to pour water over her scalded her because he used water which was too hot; in the latter a quarrel in the baths led to blows, theft and wrongful imprisonment. A particularly amusing petition, 79, shows that the habit of emptying the bedroom slops out of the window which visitors to old Edinburgh used to find so disconcerting was also practised in ancient Egypt; the victim does not indeed complain of the practice itself, but of the fact that when he protested the woman who had drenched him assaulted him and tore his clothes. He finds her offence the more glaring because she was a native (ἐν ἀγνὸς ἐν τῷ άγνῳ) of Ἀταργάτης τοῦ Ἰσχείου, τοῦ Ἀταργάτου τοῦ Ἰσχείου. The contempt of Greek for Egyptian comes out indeed more than once in these documents; particularly illuminating in this respect is 86, in which an Egyptian woman, engaged in a lawsuit with a Greek, sees her witnesses intimidated and silenced, and adds “and because these who were to hear as my witnesses were Egyptians παρὰ τοῦ Ἰσχείου τοῦ οικοδομεῖν µας τὴν παράγειν ἄλλους, they were intimidated and withdrew without giving evidence.” When we remember that only some sixty years later the Macedonian Ptolemy son of Glauca, a recluse in the Serapeum, was to complain of being assaulted παρὰ τοῦ Ἀταργατοῦ τοῦ Ἰσχείου (U.P.Z. 72), it will be seen how the position of the victorious settlers in Egypt had changed under the growing weakness of the dynasty.
NOTICES OF BOOKS

Enough has been said to show how full of interest to the historian these texts may be when studied in detail. It remains only to add that the present volume is an honour to French scholarship.

H. I. B.


Mr. Gomme is well qualified to discuss the evidence for the population of Athens, a task never systematically attempted since Beloch's epoch-making Bevolkerung appeared in 1885. Many contributions to the subject have seen the light in the interval, but the conclusions reached, and the methods employed, have added little to an exact knowledge of the subject. The present essay shows that the author has re-examined all the sources, both literary and epigraphical, has mastered all the recent contributions to the subject, and has consulted, to good purpose, censustatistics produced by modern methods. And above all, he is commendably cautious. It is inevitable that his subject, with its tantalisingly incomplete, and all too often untrustworthy, evidence should not make for easy reading, and the tedium of controversy is lightened, to our relief, by Mr. Gomme's lively style, which does not refrain from burhing, but carefully avoids poisoning, the shafts of his criticism. ('Zimmerm indeed shakes his head sadly at the thought that Cinon, Pericles and Socrates are known to have had sons but not daughters; and begs us to sympathise and understand. He would have done better to examine his evidence; or 'Jardé is one of those who find other persons' calculations arbitrary, but can themselves make the rashest assumptions.')

It must not, however, be inferred that Mr. Gomme is merely a critic. On the contrary, his positive suggestions rest on sound reasoning, and appeal by their very moderation. Thus he retains the MS. reading for the Athenian armystrength in Thuc. ii. 13, which he has defended recently (Ch. 1927, 142 ff.) for the total of 14,240 citizens qualified to partake in the corn-distribution in 445/4 he suggests that this comprises those who got a share, if the poorest only supplied; and he naturally distrusts the total of 400,000 slaves as given by the census of 313 B.C. under Demetrius of Phaleron (Athenaeus, vi. 272 C.). The figures at which he arrives for the totals of citizens, metics and slaves at various dates are shown in tabular form (p. 26)—e.g. in 431, citizens 172,000, metics 28,500, slaves J.H.S.—Vol. LIII. 115,000; in 425 B.C., 116,000, 21,000 and 81,000 respectively; and in 323 B.C., 112,000, 42,000, and 104,000 respectively. That the citizen-population never again rose to the level of the year 431 seems, in the light of the arguments set before us, a conclusion as valid as it is important.

We are also given a survey of the evidence from lists of Bouleutai, on which some acute comments will be found (pp. 51 f.); of Epheboi, where it is argued that the recently found list (Ephes. 1918, 73 ff.) must contain the list for one year only (and not two years as the editor and subsequent commentators maintain); and of Diaietai. From them Mr. Gomme justifiably concludes that these documents cannot supply trustworthy evidence about the size of the individual demes, unless many fresh discoveries are made, and that 'we cannot even guess, if we are sensible men, at relative changes in the size of demes.' In fact, one of the great merits of this essay is to remind us that the names collected in the Prosopographia Attica, and subsequent additions to them, are preserved largely by accident, not by deliberate selection, and must therefore be used for statistical purposes with the utmost caution.

In considering the scanty data for the mid-fifth century, the author may have good reasons, which he does not state, for not taking into account the traditional numbers given by Plutarch for the Periclean Clearchus, but we miss an allusion to the composition of the Brea settlement (IG. ii. 45; ad fin.); and perhaps more might have been made of the casualties reported or implied by Thucydides, especially at Syracuse, in calculating the decline in Hoplitenstrength. Besides a few misprints, mostly trivial (pp. 7, 14, 125 (4), 25, 28, 29, 37, 41, 449, 853) we note also Nilsson for Nihson (p. 34) and Konou for Konon (p. 41); and the writer of the article on the Argosinian casualty-list (in Phil. Work. 1932, Poland-Festskrift) is Koerte, not Kolbe.

To sum up, Mr. Gomme has rendered a valuable service to serious students of Athenian history, who will welcome his unbiased presentation of the evidence, even if they may not accept his interpretation in all its details.

A. M. W.


Mr. Tarn's plea for regarding Alexander as the real author of the theory of the brotherhood of man is learned and eloquent; and, so far as the Greek world is concerned, it is fairly clear that...
Alexander was not only the first practical exponent of this theory in its full sense, but also the first who grasped its implications. At the same time it is perhaps possible to find in earlier times more forshadowings of the doctrine than Mr. Tarn seems to allow. Certainly Alexander had not learned it, in anything like the form in which he announced it, from his tutor Aristotle, whose encyclopaedic knowledge smells of a lamp made in the Ceramicus and fed with pure Attic oil; but other Greeks had travelled more widely and gathered first-hand knowledge of foreign countries. For instance, there is a good deal of evidence that Herodotus had formed a more generous estimate of 'outsiders' than that which was prevalent in Athens in his day, and was cherished by philosophers who looked on Athens as their spiritual, if not their material, home. It was not till Alexander had come into personal contact with Orientals that he showed any realisation that they could be placed on the same moral and intellectual plane as Greeks: then he worked out the application of the theory of brotherhood on a wider basis than had ever before been stated; and this, as Mr. Tarn suggests, may be accounted the greatest thing about him.

J. G. M.


This book offers to the English-speaking public a résumé of the French excavations at Delos, and of many learned and often inaccessible treatises on the history of the island. In his anxiety to state historical problems fairly and not to prejudice them hastily, the author is at times too self-effacing, and uninitiated readers may wish that he had given them a stronger lead, e.g. on Delian pre-history and on the rival Aegean thalassocracies of the third century. On the other hand, his account of the period of Roman ascendency is clear as well as judicious, and his description of the architectural remains, though brief, will lure on the intending visitor to Delos. Discussion of particular contentious points is continued in the appendices and the notes at the end of each chapter. These will be welcomed by the more strenuous reader; but the absence of corresponding reference numbers to the notes in the text detracts from their utility.

Criticism of details is not called for here. But it may be noted that the author sets an unnecessary obstacle in his path by assuming that Apollo of Delphi was a peculiarly Dorian god. No doubt he was a Nordic rather than an Oriental; but he was a common property of the Indo-European immigrants into Greece. In that case the connexion between the Pythian and the pan-Ionian Apollo, which Mr. Laidlaw rightly emphasises, ceases to be a mystery.


A sane and readable account of a man who was undoubtedly bigger than his somewhat shadowy reputation. The author discusses with sound judgment the part played by Hiero in the First Punic War. In regard to Hiero's constitutional practice and financial administration, he rightly emphasises that this was not a cheap imitation of Hellenistic statecraft, but a development from the régime of the earlier tyrants of Syracuse. Incidentally, it seems unlikely that Hiero should have possessed a navy comparable with that of Dionysus (p. 53). Previous to his accession, the Syracusean fleet had been almost destroyed by the Carthaginians; it did not figure prominently in the initial stages of the First Punic War; and after that contest a Greek thalassocracy in the West was not worth contending for.


The revised and enlarged edition of Professor Andræadès' monumental work was the subject of a review in this Journal on its appearance in the original Greek form (1928, p. 275; for the first edition see 1919, p. 233). Since then translations into German and into English have been called for, so general has been the appreciation of its utility. The English version has been competently and carefully executed and is assured of a welcome on both sides of the Atlantic.


The Alexander Legend was once spread over half the world. Prof. Anderson's investigation into the vicissitudes of one detail thereof gives us a rare view into the growth of such a story. This begun in a welter of misunderstandings with Ezekiel XXVIII and Alexander as its two different elements, and emerged as an edifying and circumstantial apocalypse of the Lost Tribes of Israel (alias Gog and Magog), bursting their magic fastness to lay waste the world under the leadership of the Antichrist.
A bewildering list can be compiled of invading paynim who were recognised as Gog and Magog each in their turn, since interpreters of prophecies are always ready with new meanings on the failure of the preceding. The Gate by which they were thought confined was placed first at the Dariel pass in the Caucasus; then at Derbend east of the Caspian; it receded ever elsewhere before the spread of more accurate geography. In remoteness of localisation, however, all other efforts were outdone by a Dutch scholar who confused it with the Jade Gate in the Great Wall of China (Prof. Anderson by a slip calls it Jasper).

The five chapters of the book treat Gog and Magog; the story's original form and localisation; the confusion with the Ten Tribes; the Gate and its paraphernalia déminué to Northern Europe; and its alternative movement eastward, primarily in Oriental literature. Anderson quotes largely and dislikes much discussion. In passing he discounts, rightly, the common equation of Gog = Gyges. A painstaking and interesting study, rounded with an exhaustive bibliography, but unindexed.

The Mediterranean in the Ancient World.
By J. Holland Rose. Pp. 184 + 1; From frontispiece. Cambridge University Press, 1933. 8s. 6d.


Professor Rose brings to an admirable study of ancient nautical history a specialised knowledge, a practical outlook, and an agreeable style. He passes from the causes for the formation of primitive peoples in the Mediterranean to the clash between Phoenician and Greek interests, and thence to the grander theme of the maritime expansion of Rome, which, carefully analysed, profited by being considered anew. He shows that the Roman plea, in grasping before the First Punic War the strategic importance of Sicily in the Mediterranean, took the first step in a conscious maritime policy. Events themselves, questions of trade and food supplies brought by water, compelled a continual expansion in the same search for definitive frontiers as that by land. Rome possessed the necessary advantages for the maintenance of what was, in fact, largely a marine empire, a central position safe from possible attacks from the hinterland, a tough stock of loyal sailors and abundance of metal and timber for the shipwright's use. He also raises the interesting question how far the prosperity of the Empire was due to the free trade and free circulation made possible by the Roman Peace; and there is an illuminating digression on the limitations placed on the ancients' navigation by their ignorance of fore-and-aft rigging.

The first part of Dr. Burr's treatise, on the names of the individual seas, is an exciting compilation; his explanation why the Ionian sea got its name is unconvincing. In the second, he would be disposed to agree with Prof. Rose in his estimate of Roman imperialism. "Die Seeherrschaft ist ein integrierendes, kein essentliches Bestandteil der Machtpolitik Romas." The sea was never normally a provincia like the land. Hence care in explaining that nostrum mare = the Mediterraneo really = ἡ ἅπας παντοειδήσ (or the like) of Greek writers, particularly in contrast to the Atlantic: it is not "the belongings of Rome," as some modern propagandists make out. Dr. Burr is useful in disentangling the confusion of ancient views about Oceanus.

R. D. B.


This book is an able and scholarly addition to our knowledge of ancient geography as revealed in an important part of the geographical work of Ptolemy. It is divided into four books. Of these, the first consists of lengthy but not irrelevant prolegomena which survey ancient knowledge of the middle and far East to the beginning of the Roman Empire. The reader will find an account of the original home and migrations of the Indo-Europeans; Herodotus' descriptions of the various tribes which in his day extended apparently from the Black Sea across the Kalmuck and Khingiz Steppes, across Uralak and the Plateau of Ust Urt, and across the deserts of Kizil Kum and Kara Kum, to the Hindu Kush; the Persian Empire, with translations of the inscriptions of Behistun, Persepolis and Naqsh-i-Rustam, and Herodotus' lists of Persian satrapies and peoples and the geographical situation of each; the conquests of Alexander and the fate of his Asiatic empire, and the geography of Strabo. The second book brings us to Ptolemy and consists of general observations on the text of his geography, on Ptolemy's sources, the divisions and arrangement of his work, his system of latitudes and longitudes, his general method of constructing maps and its defects, and possible ways of correcting or
improving his figures. A separate chapter is devoted to Ptolemy's introductory book and a review of Marinus, to whom Ptolemy confesses his obligations.

The main thing to bear in mind in using Ptolemy is this: his work is done in the spirit of an astronomer rather than of a geographer, and, taking γεωγραφία in its strictest sense, he made the reconstruction of the map of the known world his sole object; he recognised that map-making must be based on the known latitude and longitude of the chief points of the world's surface; but, points determined by astronomical observations being very few, he was compelled to fall back on rougher methods, such as comparing itineraries, 'periploi' and the like which gave estimated distances in stages. Yet he treats his results as though they were all obtained by scientific observations of latitudes and longitudes; and so every place appears in its table furnished with latitude and longitude in degrees and fractions of a degree, and finds its position on his map accordingly. In a word, his scientific result has no more claim to scientific accuracy than the rough-and-ready statements of his sources or sources; and this does not take into account the difficulties experienced by the ancients in determining latitudes and longitudes.

In books three and four M. Berthelot gives a thorough and valuable treatment of Ptolemy's description of Central Asia from Hyrcania to China as approached by the land-routes (Book III), and of South-Eastern Asia, that is, of India, Ceylon, the lands beyond the Ganges, and of China as reached by sea. But it would be worth while noting that in dealing with eastern waters only, outside the boundaries of the Roman Empire (Ptol. III, 4, 6 providing an isolated exception), Ptolemy uses the word 'emporium' of a number of places. Comparison of these with the same places in the anonymous Periplus shows that by 'emporium' Ptolemy means a legal or authorised mart in eastern waters where trading was allowed by Asiatics to foreigners and dias were levied from them. This rule does not apply to coasts west of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. Likewise it is only in dealing with Indian seas that he relies on certain special information of merchants and voyagers, some of whom he names, and adds certain details—for instance, of some commercial product. He does these things in a manner which shows that he is recording fresh discoveries made shortly before the time of compiling his geography. Here again there is only one exception (Ptol. I, 11, 8—length of Ireland).

Throughout the whole work Mr. Berthelot's language is clear and concise and the cartographic measurements painstakingly and accurately given. A particularly interesting and useful feature is the inclusion, at every relevant point, of two maps of a district, one map being Ptolemy's, the other the true map as drawn in modern cartography. This is exactly the sort of thing we want. We can thus see at a glance the degrees of knowledge and ignorance, of accuracy and distortion, which Ptolemy's work reveals on analysis. Particularly good instances are the maps of the Caspian and lands to the east facing p. 184 (cp. p. 163); the maps of the delta of the Ganges on pp. 304 and 305; and the maps of north-western India facing p. 312. One regrets deeply the absence of an index, which would have added enormously to the value of the book.

M. Berthelot is under no delusion as to the debatable character of many of the identifications which have been made in regard to all kinds of geographic and ethnographic features in Ptolemy, but here and there the author has adopted as certain a conclusion which is doubtful or even more than doubtful, and in some instances states as a matter of positive fact a thing which is hotly disputed. Again, he fights shy of adorning his pages with citations from ancient and modern sources; yet the reader would have liked a greater liberality in such matters than the author has shown. These are the only criticisms of a general nature which I would make. When it comes to matters of detail, scholars of ancient geography will find themselves in disagreement with the author's decisions in many instances, particularly in the identification of geographical features, above all, of names of localities. It would be out of place here to review all or even a small part of such cases in most of which one opinion is no better than another. I simply present the following in which the author, in my judgment, has not given us the most probable conclusions.

Pp. 16 ff. The early history of the horse has been the subject of keen controversy, and M. Berthelot's observations on the origin of the domestic horse and its use by Indo-Europeans are reasonable enough. Yet, despite the fact that Professor Rigsdale's conclusions (in The Origin and Influence of the Thoroughbred Horse) have been much disputed, the possibility that the best equine blood originated in an African species or sub-species, Equus caballus lybicus, should not be entirely ignored.

34 ff. Herodotus' account of the peoples
NOTICES OF BOOKS 325
dwelling on the Steppes round the Caspian Sea is treated in detail, and the identifications may be accepted. But, though Herodotus (IV, 24) allows that his information comes from the Scythians and Greeks who travelled and traded with the Caspian tribes, yet it is probable that the Greeks at any rate had not reached the Volga, a river which Herodotus apparently ignores, since the identification of his Oarus with Ptolemy's Rha, which is certainly the Volga, is without confirmation. Some travelled across the southern part of the Caspian and became aware of the Plateau of Ust Urt and the desert of Kara Kum. This would leave, from the Volga to the Sea of Aral, and including both, a big stretch which was unexplored by them and known only by inaccurate hearsays.

81—2. One could give the date of the missionary-embassies sent by the great Mauryan king Asoka of North India to Antiocchus II of Syria, Ptolemy II of Egypt, Antigonos Gonatas of Macedonia, Magas of Cyrene, and Alexander II of Epirus, Antiocchus II, the latest of these kings to rule, began his reign in 261 or 260 B.C.; Alexander II, the first of them to die, did so about 260. This points to 261 as the date of the embassies.

99. Il (Strabo) ignore totalement la mer d'Aral, ainsi que tous les écrivains anciens; elle n'existait pas encore. . . . 164. On sait que durant les siècles de l'antiquité classique et jusqu'à l'époque Arabe, l'Oxus se déversait dans la Caspienne. In spite of all the investigations and discussions that have taken place on these doubtful points, the decision in either case must remain uncertain and the present reviewer, relying on geological evidence too detailed to be given here, is convinced that, though in prehistoric times the Aral and the Caspian were in truth one inland lake, and the Oxus had a southern branch (presumably the Uzboi channel) leading into the South-eastern part of the Caspian at Balkan Bay, neither of these facts has held good any longer during historic epochs (W. W. Tarn in JHS. xxi, 10 ff.). The Greeks never knew much of the lands north-east of the Caspian, and their belief that the Oxus and the Jaxartes in their era flowed into the Caspian instead of the Aral is perhaps best explained as a conclusion to which they jumped from evidence obtained from peoples on the upper reaches of these rivers—peoples who said that they flowed into a large salt lake or sea.

136. Col Clapier (passage d'Hammahil). (Cp. J. Knolliich, in Knls. xxv.) But Polybius and Livy between them leave us quite uncertain whether Hammahil crossed by way of the Col du Clapier or the Col de la Traversette or the Col d'Argen-
tière or the Mont Genève. Every blast or counterblast of any investigator convinces you until you have read the next.

157 ff. In dealing with Ptolemy's details of the middle and the far East, M. Berthelot is admirably cautious, and it is here that his comparative pairs of maps are so instructive. The author is well aware that whereas many modern identifications of ancient regions and places are known and certain, many are debatable or positively unknown. He rightly disapproves of those who give positive verdicts in cases where the evidence is not sufficient, and one must for the most part agree with his strictures upon Vincent Smith in the matter of the identification of places in India and upon Gerini in the matter of regions beyond India. But there are cases where he is unconvinced. Thus, just as the ancient Calliana is the modern Kalyana in the harbour of Bombay, so Suppara is not Surat (pp. 324—5); but Sopara, and what we know of the geography and the politics of the old Tamil kingdoms, combined with the words of the anonymous Periplus (in Chapter 54, where there is a small omission in the manuscript but no sign whatever of alteration or interpolation), makes it almost certain that the ancient Tyndis was near Ponnami, that Muziris, 500 stadia by river and sea from Tyndis, was near Canganore, and that Nelcynda, about 500 stadia by river and sea from Muziris, was near Kottayam (pp. 326 ff.). Again, Menuthias island of Ptolemy as of the Periplus is not Madagascar but Zanzibar, if not Pemba or a confusion of both with characteristics of the mainland (p. 372, cp. 199). Note also that Ptolemy's Ἐχθας Ὑβρις (IV, 4) may well have been the 'Pointe de Galle'; but let none think there is any connexion with birds in 'Galle' (p. 364). Again, the anonymous Periplus and Ptolemy probably did write Ἀχερώπη (pp. 324 ff.); but we should note the form Dimirice in section XII of the Periplus Table (Scythia Dimirice—K. Miller, Itineraria Romana, 838), which appears as Dimirica in the Geographer of Ravenna (II, 13), and as Dimirica in Guido (120) and possibly as Dimiri in Pliny (VI, 77). This points to a confusion of A with N.

The book is not free from misprints, specially in Greek words, which should be corrected in any future edition.

no conclusions of startling novelty but which will have its uses as a collection of material. The literary evidence is first investigated, then the various types of old people in vase-paintings, sculpture, etc., are collected. On the basis of epigraphic material an attempt is made to compile a table of mortality. At the end are long lists of sepulchral inscriptions in which the age is mentioned.


This book is Principal Halliday's Gray Lectures for 1932, enlarged and revised for printing. Like everything he writes, it represents strong common sense reinforced with expert knowledge which is here applied to a difficult subject. Twin errors beset the path of a mythologist; not least of one who makes Greek tradition his specialty. One is, that he will confine himself too narrowly to his own field, and therefore evolve theories of the genesis and significance of the myths and sagas which a glance at material from elsewhere would shew to be impossible or highly unlikely. What havoc that wrought in the early days of the sciences is well known to those who have consulted authors from Natalis Comes onward to the early nineteenth century. The other is, to be over-easily content with parallels from the folklore of any and every nation, and thus explain, it may be, something peculiarly Greek on the basis of a Polynesian’s or a German’s imagination. The latter is the more prevalent danger to-day. Principal Halliday, after a sketch of 'Myth, Fairy Tale and Legend,' (pp. i-12), proceeds, in three short but valuable chapters (pp. 13-54), to discuss successively 'Indo-European Folk Tales and the Problem of their Diffusion,' 'Some early Correspondences between Greek and Indian Stories' and 'Greek Legend,' laying down excellent canons for testing a tradition to find whether it has been imported or not, and also for recognising the existence of an historical kernel, if it has one. He then applies his methods to three Greek tales, Proke and Philomela, Perseus and the fabula of the Goat and the Vine, concluding that the first, due as we now have it to Sophokles, is essentially one of the numerous and wide-spread group of tales based on the cries of birds; the second contains, along with a great deal of sheer mänchen, a few slight quasi-historical reminiscences; while the third, Oriental in origin, originally made its goat nibble, not a grape-vine, but some plant whose root was used for tanning.

H. J. R.


This is a most entertaining monograph, provocative to the point, sometimes, of irritation, highly ingenious, learned and often shewing fine literary taste and insight. The reviewer, who finds himself in almost continual disagreement with the author’s conclusions, has to thank him for new light on more than one difficult subject.

Dornseiff starts from the Homeric Hymn (he insists on the singular and justifies himself at some length) to Apollo, concerning which he has the following suggestions to offer. It was composed, from beginning to end, by someone not long after 524, for a Sicilian audience which already knew the work of Stesichorus. This someone was most likely Kynaithos, who introduced the Homeric poems to Sicily, and especially to Sizilien, as we are told by Hipponostratos in the scholiast on Pindar, N. i. 3; the information is quite credible and the whole passage sound, except for the impossible date, Ol. 69, which is simply a scribal error; the real date was some eighty years sooner. Stesichorus himself, to whom the poem owes much, was by no means the deadly serious writer he is generally supposed to have been, but, like his contemporaries the painters of black-figured vases, fond of a joke and of burlesque. For example, the whole story of his blinding by Helen and of his palinode was nothing but his own jesting. The tone of his references to her was no more serious than this: 'There now, Helen has made me as blind as Homer for abusing him; cōs iητη άμετα λόγος εύτοις; now she is appeased again.' In like manner, the author of the Hymn, though he was indeed a Chian, was not blind at all, and calls himself so merely as a half-serious compliment to the memory of Homer, the tale of whose blindness was already current. Various other passages in his poem are really touches of humour, and one or two of them were taken up again and further burlesqued by Kallimachos in his Hymn to Delos. Moreover, there is strong literary influence on the structure of the hymn; some of the apparent quotations of the Delian section in the Pythian are of the nature of strophic responses. In general, early poets were rather clever in making transitions; such an imperfection in their technique cannot be used, for example, as an argument for interpolation or multiple authorship in the Homeric epics.

This is the main subject of the monograph; to go into all the lesser points raised would take many pages. In the reviewer's opinion the arguments adduced are perilously frail to bear such a weight of superstructure. If the two.
hymns are really one, it is certainly odd that the
good poet of the Delian part should write much
below the level at which he started when he deals
with the equally interesting legends of Delphi.
The argument for a date subsequent to 582 for
the Pythian hymn (i.e., on Denmeil's contention,
for the whole work) is a very strained interpreta-
tion of line 392 (84). 99,. which is to be taken
as alluding to the presence, not the absence,
of chariot-races at Apollo's own shrine.
The ascription to Steichoros of a burlesque or comic
strain rests on next to nothing, concerning how
very little we have of his works, and unless and
until we learn much more of the early history of
choral lyric, to speculate on its relations to the
later rhapsodic poetry may lead to ingenious
suggestions, as indeed it has done in this case,
but hardly to solid results. Nevertheless, so
clever a critic, a true disciple of Wilamowitz, of
whose memory he pays pious homage, remains
suggestive and illuminating even when there are
good reasons to suppose him wrong. 
H. J. R.

The Jealousy of the Gods and Criminal Law
Copenhagen: Levin and Munksgaard;
London: Williams and Norgate, 1933.
This is the first volume of a two-volume
work which Dr. Ranulf describes as a contribu-
tion to the sociology of moral inclination.
The problem is stated thus: 'The IIiad gods
as well as men are indifferent to wrongs inflicted
on others than themselves. In fifth-century
Athens a system of law is established which
presupposes the readiness of the citizen to
interfere when wrongs have been inflicted
upon others. Simultaneously, in the literature,
we find a similar disinterested activity as
guardsmen of justice attributed to the gods.'
An examination of the literature of the fifth
century, Herodotus, Aeschylus and Sophocles
(Thucydides, Euripides and Aristophanes are
reserved for the second volume), shows the
intermingling of three types of divine action—
I. punishment of sins, II. caprice, III. jealousy.
The third is of the greatest importance and
suggests that the jealousy of men is in great part
responsible for the establishment of the system of
law; ostracism is used as a parallel, and the
whole theory clinched by reference to the poverty
of Athens before the Periclean prosperity.
The book is admirably documented by full
quotations of passages and the method is excellent.
There are, however, criticisms to be made.
Homer, Solon, and Pindar, alone of earlier
and non-Attic authors, are used, although the
problem does not begin neatly with Solon
to be continued by Aeschylus. Pindar is said
to have no instance of type I. But Ixion,
whom Dr. Ranulf quotes as an instance of II
and III, seems to be a clear case. Homer,
Iliad xvi, 586, is put out of the way as a Hesiodic
interpolation: the trial in Iliad xviii is disregarded.
Practically nothing is said of Hesiod, who is
an author of the greatest importance for a
subject of this kind, and nothing of the lyric
poets. This cannot be excused on the ground
that they were non-Athenian: Greek thought
is too closely inter-connected for that. There
are points of detail which may be questioned.
Agamemnon is said to be guilty only by compul-
sion, when he sacrifices Iphigenia. Yet
Aeschylus represents him as chosing between
two evils and choosing wrong; in the same way
 Clytemnestra is not allowed to shift her respon-
sibility on to the ancestral curse. The chorus
(O.T. 853 f.) is wrongly said to occur after the
fall of Oedipus. 'The sadistic treatment
attributed to the gods in Sophocles and Herodotus
cannot but startle the modern mind.' This
over-state: it is perfectly true that there are
convincing instances of the malice and jealousy
of the gods in Herodotus; but in Sophocles
such statements are always due to a lack of
sophisms. In the character who makes them,
E. Philoctetes, and Oedipus' fate is not due to
the jealousy of the gods but to his self-confidence;
the gods merely announce what will, in fact,
happen. Similarly Agamemnon's fear of the
gods' jealousy is one of the weaknesses in his
character, for Aeschylus definitely rejects
the idea of the jealousy of the gods in a chorus
(750) which cannot be interpreted away. In
the eyes of the man who is sophron there is no
jealousy of the gods; but a just punishment
for an arrogance which usually carries with it
hybris and crime. Dr. Ranulf recognises this
distinction between the points of view of different
characters in an excellent discussion of Creon
(in the Antigone) and Ajax: but often he speaks
of ideas of Sophocles and Aeschylus, where
he would be more correct if he said ideas in
Sophocles and Aeschylus. With these limitations,
this is a valuable piece of work and the appear-
cance of the second volume in English will be
eagerly awaited.

T. B. L. W.

The Socratic Problem. By A. K. Rogers.
Pp. iv + 195. New Haven: Yale University
Press, and London: Humphrey Milford,
1933. 121.
This well-written book embodies a careful
study of the Platonic Socrates and a fresh attempt
to solve the puzzle of his identity. The author
modestly disclaims any absolute value for his con-
conclusions. He has at any rate dealt reasonably and shrewdly with his material, and has made a good case. The line of his solution lies in the distinction between the personalities of Socrates as the sage, moralist and mystic, and Plato as the logician, scientist, and professional philosopher. Taking the dialogues in more or less the accepted order, he separates from the first two strands in the fabric, corresponding to these two dispositions and interests. The logical preoccupations apparent in quite early dialogues are attributed to Plato; so is the scientific and epistemological element in the theory of Ideas. The mystical, aesthetic and psychological applications of the doctrine are held to belong to the historic Socrates, for whose quality of emotional insight, his speech in the *Phaedrus* and that of Alcibiades in the *Symposium* are regarded as trustworthy evidence. The very difficult case of the *Phaedo* is specially considered with a view to apportioning to their sources the different parts of the argument. The passage recording the search for a principle of causation, and the whole topic of the *etos*, are definitely ascribed to Plato.

Dealing with the evidence from Aristophanes and Xenophon, Mr. Rogers proves a judicious critic. He does not believe that Socrates was a Pythagorean, and finds a sufficient basis for the comic caricature in his Orphic interests and his concern for 'the soul.' Xenophon's Socrates is a mere lay figure, therefore naturally a 'good deal of a bore'; the *Memorabilia* are no more than 'illustrative conversations' on a few familiar lines. In three short appendices the author adds suggestions on *Epistle II* (as perhaps the work of Dionysius), on the *Hippias* dialogues (as both spurious); and on the *Phaedrus* myth (identifying the 'nobler' horse with true opinion).

The Socratic problem must probably remain unsolved; but by the theory here worked out, offering as it does a suggestive compromise between Burnet-Taylor and the traditional view, Mr. Rogers has shown convincingly that the question still lends itself to a fresh approach. Arguing always on moderate and persuasive lines, he has made a real contribution to the literature of this perplexing subject.

D. T.


The main part of this massive book contains, in the author's words 'a résumé of the entire body of the Platonic writings.' Somewhat inconsistently with his title, he includes not only some debatable dialogues but also those which he classes (following the usual views) as 'doubtful' or as 'spurious'; on the other hand, he altogether omits the *Epistles*, as forgeries. The book is intended to supplement Professor Shorey's earlier work, *The Unity of Plato's Thought*. He rejects all the evolutionary theories, and is also doubtful about stylistic methods; but the arrangement which he adopts, as 'what seemed the most convenient sequence,' is, in fact, on the generally agreed lines. His theory is that the Platonic doctrine forms one whole, and that its exposition centres in the *Republic*; one set of dialogues leads up to this, another set supplements it. Socrates is regarded throughout as the spokesman of Plato, and the theory of Ideas is found implicit from the beginning. The assurance of unity and consistency is achieved largely by concentrating attention on the ethical and psychological aspects of this theory; the Ideas apparently are, in fact, 'ideas,' and metaphysic is throughout kept in the background. Thus in the *Phaedo*, while Plato's confusion of logic with metaphysic is properly pointed out, the actual details of the final proof of immortality are dismissed in one sentence. The later dialogues are kept within the scheme by interpreting them as exercises in logic and psychology. The first part of the *Parmenides* is explained as Plato's answer to unintelligent critics; the *Timaeus*, as the grandest of Plato's 'literary digressions.' Similarly on the side of political theory differences between *Republic*, *Politics* and *Laws* are minimised, and the last-named is described as 'almost a complete compendium of the Platonic philosophy.'

Professor Shorey's analyses of particular dialogues are necessarily coloured by this general view, and are indeed interspersed not only with many cross-references but with much polemic, besides comment and modern analogy which are frequently valuable. Further excursus and references are found in the notes, which form about one-third of the volume; there also a useful short bibliography is given for each dialogue. The method of summarising varies between quite full paraphrase and brief abstract. The *Gorgias*, perhaps a specially congenial subject, is excellently done; the difficulties of condensing the *Euthydemus* are, again, overcome very skilfully and without loss of its humour. The analysis of the *Republic* emphasises its political import; here, as in some other places, a certain disproportion is felt, when at the conclusion of a much-condensed summary we are presented with a verbatim translation of the myth of Er. The *Phaedo* suffers most, perhaps, from the reporter's method; the rare quality and atmosphere of the dialogue are lost, and in particular the abstract (faithful enough to detail) of the last three pages is a sad substitute for the text itself. Here, as elsewhere,
the thought inevitably arises that between generalising criticism and literal translation the via media is hard to find and to follow, and that even for the modern and non-classical reader the best way, after all, to find out what Plato said is to go straight to Plato.

D. T.

Philon von Alexandria als sozialer Denker.

By FRANZ GEIGER. (Züricher Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft, Heft 14.) Pp. xi + 143. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1932. 8th.

Any serious attempt to evolve a consistent body of thought from the writings of Philo must be attended by misgivings, and in his sociological views conflicting allegiances are even more than usually apparent. Platonic, Stoic and Jewish elements jostle with each other, and the most emphatic generalisations are qualified or contradicted in another context. It is to Dr. Geiger's credit that he is not oversanguine (p. 35 et al.): he is content in the main to let Philo speak for himself, and shews admirable judgment in quotation and comment. He is convinced indeed of Philo's intellectual honesty, and insists that the excesses of the diatribe must not blind us to his sincerity as a social thinker (pp. 113-14).

The book is divided into four sections entitled respectively Sozialphilosophie, Sozialthik, Der Weise und Philon und das Judentum.

The first section (pp. 1-27) shows how the Stoic doctrine of the κοινή σωφρόνεια of the cosmos is combined with the Jewish conception of the all-pervading love of Jehovah. The Stoic 'life in agreement with nature' becomes (with the sanction of the Theaetetus) the way that leads to God the Father. God's relation to men is the prototype of social justice, and imitation of God brings benevolence. The laws of the empirical state are applications of the cosmic law, which is 'proportional equality,' or ισοθεσία σειτ διάσ. The state is analogous to the human soul (tripartite as in the Phaedrus); and justice comes from a psychic harmony. The enemy of society is the παράνομος, who would overstep the bounds of human nature.

The main section of the book (pp. 28-84) deals with the application of the principle of 'proportional equality' to the organisation of society. Democracy is the best form of government, but must not be confused with ochlocracy, which, securing a quantitative equality at the expense of moral worth, is utterly at variance with the natural law—Philo's vigour in denouncing mob-rule was doubtless, as M. Bréhier has suggested, actuated by his experiences of the Alexandrian mob. On the question of slavery, to which the Stoics and Cynics brought enlightened views, Philo is voluble and vacillating: he makes much of the Stoic distinction between mental and bodily slavery, enjoins on masters humane treatment of their slaves, but, taking a Greek rather than Jewish view of the status of handi- crafts, concludes that slaves are necessary to a well-organised community. A child of his age, Philo looks to the re-redress social and political injustice: it is no blind fortune, but manifests the principle of λόγος and will some day bring the whole world into a single πολιτεία which will be ruled by democratic (Jewish) laws.

Philo's views on women, marriage, family life, child-exposure, money-lending and other topics are also expounded in this section.

The third section (pp. 85-94) illustrates Philo's identification of the Stoic sage with the Jewish prophet; he is the intermediary between God and men, and the redeemer of his race.

In conclusion (pp. 94-118), Dr. Geiger emphasises the apologetic motive underlying much of Philo's social thought, and particularly his anxiety to vindicate the Jewish people from the charge of exclusiveness and Menschenfeindschaft.

The book is a valuable addition to Philonic literature, and is excellently printed. A lapse occurs on p. 23, where the references in notes 102 and 103 should apparently be transposed.

B. S. P.


The general purpose of this series is well known, and the present volume will appeal above all to the lovers of poetry and romance. Mr. Rattenbury's chapter on the latter theme stands apart. It is a definite essay on the Greek Novel with new and important conclusions. The romance of Ninus forms the keystone of his theory. The only MS. belongs to the first century B.C., a significant date. Both in time and in theme the tale stands between the Alexander romance (romantic treatment of history) and the later type of sentimental love-story, sharing, in fact, the characteristics of both. The other four chapters are perforce of a more discursive nature. Mr. Bowra selects, introduces, translates, and annotates the plums from the lyric poets, Sappho, Alcaeus, Corinna, Pindar, etc. down to Erinner. One is surprised at the wealth of new material and particularly grateful for translations, although here perhaps the reader may occasionally take a line of his own. In Sappho's poem on Doricha, for example, ἔσπειρε ἐν ἀργοῖσκερα carries a nautical
nuance, "has reached the haven of her desire," rather than "has fallen into lovely desire." So too in the majestic Pindaric dithyramb, "Artemis oλοθρος suggests rather "Artemis haunter of solitude" than "Artemis the lonely," just as in the fourth Pythian θυσίας oλοθρος might be turned by "the spirit of the wilds." Mr. Bowra refuses, with Wilamowitz and Lobel, the lovely Bridal of Hector and Andromache to Sappho. Until some courageous scholar edits the fragments of Euripides, the lengthy and detailed chapter on Tragedy by Mr. Pickard-Cambridge will be indispensable. Not only are the new fragments commented, but often the whole plots of the plays are discussed. Sophocles and a few minor dramatists are also included, but not, of course, the recently discovered fragments of the Νικη and Δίκαιοι of Aeschylus. In the exquisite morning song from the Παρθένιον should not the second line run, e.g. "ἀιος θολοί κατὰ γάιν, keeping the scanion of the antistrophe? The chapter on Comedy by Mr. Plattner is brief, as nothing sensational has recently turned up. Mr. Powell himself writes on Later Elegy, Epigrams, and Lyric Poetry, and includes material from inscriptions as well as from papyri. Philicus with his long undulating lines proves the most attractive catch in his net. The epigram on the description of Sappho by Philostratus perhaps ends "Ελλάς ... ἀντίσωμα = "Greece mourns her bulwark," a conscious echo of the description of Sappho in the epigram on Lysander (Τόδον, GHI, p. 232)." H. J. M. M.


There are some books which lack the normal paraphernalia of the scholar, bibliographies, erudite footnotes, etc., which are in fact written primarily for the general reader, but which nevertheless no scholar can afford to ignore. Among these is Weinstock's Sophokles. His purpose is to explain the poet by his work and from his work. The book is divided into two main parts—Die Werke and Das Werk. In the former each play is examined individually and in detail; the author finds each illustrative of a different lesson, and he shews with what dramatic and artistic sense the poet brings them home. In the second and much shorter part the common characteristics of Sophokles' work and thought are ably discussed. Seven plays out of a hundred, W. himself admits it, cannot furnish a complete picture; but a fresh examination of the seven can help us to appreciate Sophokles, so far as he survives, even if we can never know his full glory. Naturally much of what W. has to say has been said before; but he is always stimulating, and his straightforward and unencumbered chapters should not only help students to appreciate what they read, but should also achieve his other object, win fresh readers and admirers for the poet. R. M. R.


The author of this Doctoral dissertation, a pupil of Werner Jaeger, discusses two Attic Epitaphiai, the Funeral Speech in Thuc. ii. and that in Plato's Menexenos. In the 18 pages devoted to the former his main point is that Thucydidcs, in substituting for the normal recital of the achievements of the deceased a picture of the Athens of Pericles, and its political and cultural aims, is here giving his readers in reality an Ἀθηναίων εἰκονία, one of the political pamphlets becoming popular in the last quarter of the fifth century. Attention is also drawn alike to its symmetrical structure, to its prevailingly antithetical style, and to the variety of ways in which antithesis is employed in detail. We are shown, however, that behind these mannerisms lies the real devotion of the author to his city, and that the Epitaphioi is for Thucydidcs at the same time a hymn of praise. (No suggestion is made, or implied, that Pericles was the author of any single word of it.) The Menexenos receives fuller and more considered treatment: the speech put into the mouth of the deceased is made the subject of some acute analysis and of some suggestive literary comparisons. This is followed by a discussion (pp. 56 ff.) of the Ἐναντίον contained in this speech, interrupted by a rather misplaced digression on the history of Ἐναντίον (p. 60), which leads on to a study of Plato's attitude towards Ἐναντίον in general (Lysis, 204 D, ff.; Theaet. 174 D). In two Appendices the author discusses 'Genealogische Protreptik' and 'Zweil Formen Griechischen Protreptik' (ἀρχαῖον—Pr. and ἔνων—Pr.). The 'Protreptik' of Socrates, of which his 'Elenik' forms an essential part, is assigned to the latter type. Altogether a thoughtful piece of work, revealing a considerable knowledge of, and acute insight into, questions of the structure of Greek thought and language. A. M. W.


This pamphlet, which appears without any author's name, is published under the auspices
of the Union Académique Internationale and is mainly the work of a committee appointed by that body and consisting of J. Bidez, A. B. Drachmann and K. Hude. Its purpose is to produce greater uniformity in the editing of classical texts, and the rules laid down or rather the advice given appear well calculated to achieve this result. Chap. I deals with Les Signes Critiques, carefully distinguishing between texts proper, inscriptions and papyri, and pleads for greater uniformity in the editing of the two last. Chap. II is concerned with L’Apparat Critique and contains very sound advice for intending editors, though it is admitted that "les conseils qu'on peut donner avec quelque utilité seront pour la plupart d'un caractère négatif." A list of the abbreviations usually employed in an apparatus criticus and a Table Alphabetique complete the pamphlet, which deserves to be studied carefully by every scholar who undertakes the edition of a classical text.

Byzantine Civilisation. By STEVEN RUNCIMAN.


Mr. Runciman in this book has provided for the general reader an interesting and useful introduction to the study of Byzantine civilisation. The scope of the work can be adequately indicated by quoting the titles of the chapters: i. The foundation of Constantinople; ii. Historical outline; iii. The imperial Constitution and the Reign of Law; iv. The administration; v. Religion and the Church; vi. The army, the navy, the diplomatic service; vii. Commerce; viii. Town and country life; ix. Education and learning; x. Byzantine literature; xi. Byzantine art; xii. Byzantium and the neighbouring world. Mr. Runciman’s book, it will be observed, covers a wide field, and it is based upon extensive reading. But a reviewer in the JHS. is bound to judge the work from the standpoint of the serious student of the subject, and, when it is thus regarded, there is not a little ground for disappointment. In the first place the method of bibliographical reference adopted by Mr. Runciman is peculiarly exasperating: the name of the author is given (without initials), the title of the work, and nothing more. In the Bibliographical Note on p. 306 reference is made to the Cambridge Medieval History, to the article "Byzance" in the Dictionnaire d'Archéologie chrétienne et de Liturgie, to Krumlacher’s Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur and especially for "modern works" to Vasiliev’s Histoire de l’Empire byzantin; Mr. Runciman adds, “The dates and places of publication of the various books that I cite can be found in the biblio-

graphies given above.” But in the absence of any date of publication how shall the reader know which are "modern works" or which may possibly be found in, say, the Cambridge Medieval History? To take but two examples: on p. 156 and on p. 282 Mr. Runciman cites "Uspenski, Russiia and Byzantium;" the reader knows, perhaps that a speech by Th. Uspenski was published in pamphlet form in Odessa in 1888, but this bore the title "Rus and Byzantium in the Tenth Century." Has Mr. Runciman merely quoted the title inaccurately or did Uspenski write another work on a similar subject? It is impossible to determine. On p. 207 there is a reference to Sokolov, Law of Property in the Greco-Roman Empire; I know of no such work, but how shall one set about to discover it? This whole system of bibliographical reference is, in fact, indefensible.

In the second place, the references to the sources given in the notes are so inaccurate that it is difficult to believe that the author read the proofs of the book before publication. Should a second edition of the work be called for, it must be carefully revised throughout. Towards that revision I would contribute the following notes:

p. 62 n.1 Breheret, ... BG: vol. 15, 151 sqq., esp. 71-2—read 101 sqq., esp. 172-2.


p. 65 n.4 Puehl, Chronographia, ed. Renaud, 101 sqq.—read 1, 101 sqq.

2 It is not mentioned in I. I. Sokolov’s Materiali po temel’no-kratnakomu dastu ‘Vizantii in the Erevaniya of the Leningrad Academy of Sciences, Series vii, 1931, No. 6 (Clave des sciences sociales), 689-712.

8 On p. 71 n.3 a reference is given to R.F. vol. I, on p. 196 n.4 to R.F. vol. 172, can a reader be expected to know, without explanation, that the letters refer to the Erevaniya? The proof-reading is otherwise poor; e.g. Read for wodermok (p. 81) and often wodermok; for Steuergemeinde (p. 96) Steuergemeinde; for epiboli (p. 97) epibol; for Dolger (p. 98) Dolger; for Theologiai (p. 114 and often) Theologii; for Dioscorus (p. 116 twice and in Index) Dioscorus; for Ostrogorski (p. 116) Ostrogorski; for Miller (p. 133) Mitter; for In the last (p. 139) In the East; for Inventizna (p. 161) Inventizna; for Zapitii (p. 210) Zapiti; Paccioni and Pacchioni both appear on p. 225; for Oecumenica Didaskalos (p. 226) read Secumenicus Didaskalos; for Holophyrium (p. 235) Holophyrosis (if such a word exists at all); for Timorius (p. 247) Timorius; and are not Pachyni-meres and Blemmydes better forms than Pachynmeres (p. 136 and often) and Blemmydes (p. 226)?
On p. 306 Mr. Runciman writes, 1 the figures given after the sources cited in the footnotes refer to the relevant page; on p. 65 n. 4 he cites Constantine Porphyrogenetus, op. cit., I, 38, but the reference is to ch. 36, pp. 191 sqq. (Add to this note: cf. J. B. Bury, Collected Essays, ed. Temperley, Cambridge, 1930, p. 123, note 11.)


p. 67 n. 4 Nicephorus, Breviarium, 7—read Breviarium or Historia synonomos.

p. 68 n. 4 Theophanes Continuatus, 107—wrong reference.

p. 69 n. 3 Zacharias von Lingenthal, Jus Graeco-Romanum, II, 55—read III, 55, and add a reference to J. B. Bury, Collected Essays (id. supra), p. 124, n. 16.

p. 82 n. 3 Cecaumenos, Strategikon, 78—read 74.

p. 82 n. 3 Theophanes, 390—read 498.

p. 83 n. 3 Theophanes Continuatus, 390—read 397.

p. 84 n. 3 Theophanes Continuatus 397—read rather 357, 394.

p. 93 n. 3 Zonaras III, 660—wrong reference.

p. 106 n. 3 Nicetas Chroniotes, 52—read 63.

p. 112 n. 4 Constantine Porphyrogenetus, De Ceremoniis, 243—read By administrando imperio, 243.

p. 113 n. 4 Theophanes Continuatus 354 is quoted for the statement that Basil I was cynical enough to plan to raise his young son to the patriarchal throne. There is no such statement in the text. Is this an inference from the fact that Basil I made his son synkellos?

p. 116 n. 3 Ostrogorsky is cited as the writer of a Geschichte des Byzantinischen Bildertitsrechts (sic); Ostrogorsky has long projected such a work, but it has not yet appeared. Probably his Studien zur Geschichte des byzantinischen Bilderbrechts, Breslau, 1929 is intended.

p. 121 n. 3 Theophanes 408—read 409.

Ibid. The Patriarch Paul resigned . . . conscience-stricken at being severed from the other chairs of Christendom and subject to a ban. For this Theophanes 457 is cited, but the Greek text reads: τῆς ἑλληνικῆς αὐτοῦ τοῦτον ἐναλογίαν καὶ ἐναλογίαν ἑαυτοῦ ἐν τῷ κατοικίβιο τῆς ἑρωοῦν καθημείνα τοὺς ἐν οἷς καθημείνα τοῦ τοὺς ἐν οἷς καθημείνα τοῦ. This is inverted commas, but it is not a quotation from Plutarches 176, which is the authority quoted.

p. 131 n. 4 The Emperor Manuel Comnenus even attempted to induce the Church to remove the anathema on the God of Islam, but that was considered heresy. Professor Dawkins pointed out to me that Manuel did in fact secure the removal of the anathema, which is hardly suggested by Mr. Runciman's text. The reference for this theological activity of the Emperor Manuel is given on p. 131 as Nicetas, 178, on p. 233 as Nicetas Choniates, 275; both references are inaccurate—read 278—284.

p. 143 n. 3 and 4. Both references appear to be wrong.

p. 147 n. 3 Psellus, Chronographia, 10—read I, 10.

p. 147 n. 3 Jus Graeco-Romanum III, 679—read III, 373.

p. 186 n. 3 Codex VIII x, 12—read C. J. viii, 10, 12.

p. 187 n. 3 Zosimus, 42—read 246. But it was surely the senate-house and not the palace of Lausus which was burned down during the Chrysostom riots.

p. 190 n. 3 Pachymer, l66—read Pachymeres, I, l66.

p. 192 n. 3 Constantine Porphyrogenetus, De Ceremoniis, 1, 92 (cf. note on p. 65 n. 3 supra)—read chap. 92.

p. 198 n. 3 Cecaumenos, Strategikon, 41—read 42—43.

p. 203 n. 3 The reference should rather be to Glycas, 533.

p. 204 n. 3 Gregoras, 43—read I, 43.

p. 204 n. 3 Theophanes Continuatus 337—The reference is to the eunuch Mousikos, not to Samonas.

p. 218 n. 3 Gregoras, 619—read II, 619.

p. 219. Constantine VIII’s passion for blind offenders ‘was ironically called clemency of the emperor.’ For this Zonaras III, 570 is cited: but Zon. states simply that the emperor ὑπὲρ τῶν ᾧ ὄντων χαρισμάτων ἐπετῆ ἀνακεφαλαίωσεν. The Byzantine theory of punishment favoured mutilation in preference to the infliction of the death penalty.

p. 220 n. 1 Glycas 284—apparently read 257.

p. 224 n. 3 Psellus knew the whole Iliad by heart at the age of fourteen. The reference to Psellus, Chronographia, I, 55, is irrelevant. I know of no authority for the statement which is perhaps derived from G. Buckler, Anna Commena, p. 181. The statement of Psellus—οὗτος δὲ οὐκ ἀνηγμένος τοι ἱππάρχων τοῦ τινα Σαλίου, Bibliotheca Graeca Medii Aevi, V, p. 14—probably only refers to the vision there related and can hardly be taken as evidence for the age at which
NOTICES OF BOOKS

333

the study of Greek philosophy," he writes, "was encouraged"—"Pselius when he was dabbling deeply in thaumaturgy and astrology found it advisable to assure the ecclesiastical authorities that he was doing nothing contrary to Christian doctrine, but his word was enough." It would seem that it was not so: in A. M. Bandinius, Catalogus Codicum Graecorum Bibliothecae Laurentianae (Florence), vol. 2 (1768), coll. 547–8, there is recorded a MS. of Pselius' Ἄρττιος πεζονάρχας ὁ βασιλικὸς κύριος Κωνσταντίνος τῷ Μοναρχίᾳ πρὸς θηγγόν τὸν ἀναβασιλεύοντα κατὰ τὸν ἐπισκόπον τῆς Ἀγίας Μελίτης πόλιος τις κ.τ.λ. Mr. Runciman writing of the senate of Constantinople asserts that "the dyarchy was only formally cancelled . . . by Leo VI at the end of the ninth century" (p. 61); "the powers of the senate fell into desuetude, till at last they were abolished by Leo VI" (p. 73). It must be admitted that Leo's forty-seventh novel (which must be read together with Novel 46) is not an easy document to interpret, but both novels refer not only to the senate of Constantinople, but to the municipal curiae in general, the forty-seventh novel transfers from the senate to the emperor the choice of the three pratores created by Justinian to deal with matters of enfranchisement, wardship, etc. (see the discussion of these novels in H. Monnier, Les Novellae de Léon le Sage, Paris, 1923, pp. 9–10, 193). To talk of cancelling a "dyarchy" in the reign of Leo VI can only create misunderstanding. On the same page (p. 73) Mr. Runciman, discussing the influence of the senate, states that the Emperor Heraclius, when he went to the Persian war, left his son as regent under the tutelage of the Patriarch and a senator, who were told to act in co-operation with the senate (Theophanes, 309). The italics are mine: I can find no support for this clause in Theophanes, and the reader might have been informed that the "senator was Bonus, who held at the time the office of magister officiorum. Mr. Runciman proceeds, "while in 614 an Imperial embassy to Persia was sent in the senate's name in the belief that that carried more weight than the Emperor's." This is, however, to miss an interesting constitutional point: Heraclius had overthrown the tyrant Phocas, but owing to the war with Persia there had been no opportunity to announce the emperor's accession at the Persian court; οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς κρατοῦσας εἰς τὸν δύστοκα πολιτείαν ἔστε σὺν οἷς ξυγισθεῖν τῇ κρήνῃ τῷ ὑπόθεντι κατασφέρεται τῇ μεταξύ γαλήνης, θαυμάζεται σὸν παραθέν τῷ θεῷ . . . καὶ ἐν μέρες διὸς δυνάτωσι ἄρρητα ἐν δυνάμει ἐναρκτος ἔτι τεταγμένος πολιτείας ἡμῶν χαράς. Ηράκλειον οἰκεία σὺν τῷ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ . . . καὶ βραχύτερον διὰ τοῦτον ἀπεβαίνει ἐν δυνάμει ἐναρκτος ἔτι τεταγμένος πολιτείας ἡμῶν χαράς. Mr. Runciman over-estimates the intellectual freedom allowed to philosophers by the Church of East Rome (cf. p. 134):
no emperor recognised by Persia on the throne, the senate takes action. One more point may be noticed which is of considerable interest: Mr. Runciman writes, 'Romanus III spoke Latin; Psellus claimed to speak it.' (p. 232). But of Romanus Psellus says only και παρόικος ἀντικειμένης ταῖς ἱστορίαις ἐπηγένετο, Chronographia, ed. Reinaud, I, 32. How much does this imply? Of himself Psellus writes as ἐν αἵδει γιὰ ταῦτα προσέλθειν ἀπολογίζομαι, Suidas, Bibliotheca Graeca Medii Aevi, vol. 5, 491–2, but this occurs in a highly rhetorical passage in which he further describes himself as τὸ γένε τῶν πολιτευμάτων μία τῶν πλεονῶν ἀκρόπολισιν τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, τὰ τῶν Χριστίων, τὰ τῶν Αγίων, τὰ τῶν Ἐβραίων κ.τ.λ. Did Psellus speak all these languages? Have we indeed any evidence for Latin as a spoken language in Constantinople of the eleventh century?

There is, I desire to state explicitly, much good material in this book, but some of it needs to be more fully thought through. 'The Emperor,' for example, says Mr. Runciman, 'was High Priest of the Empire.' But in what sense? Here definition and concrete illustration are alike necessary, if a clear conception of the emperor's position is to be gained. The Byzantine emperor, the reader might be reminded, could never offer the sacrifice of the Eucharist. The Byzantines were a theologically-minded folk and there is too little theology in Mr. Runciman's book. He has made no use of Ostrogorsky's recent work on the theology of the Iconoclasts. What Mr. Runciman can do is well shown in his chapter on icon in life and the country: the excellence of that chapter gives ground for the hope that the work may later appear in a revised edition.

Le Peinture Byzantine. By Charles Diehl.


The chief merit of this book lies in the importance which M. Diehl attaches to the later phases of Byzantine painting. He openly expresses his preference for the period which starts at the beginning of the fourteenth century, with the mosaics of the Kahrieh, Jamī, and frescoes of Mistra and Nafplio, and continues to the end of the sixteenth, closing with the Athosian paintings of Dionysiou and the richly decorated churches of the Bukovina. In this he has the sympathy of many younger Byzantinists who were showing signs of fatigue at the endless and seemingly academic disputes about the conflict between the Hellenistic and Oriental traditions in early Byzantine art and the contrast between the monastic and the court style.

M. Diehl has to cope somehow with origins and the early phases, but he does it rather sketchily and takes much for granted that is in fact highly disputable. He writes, for example, of antique influence as if it were homogeneous and uniformly accessible, whereas it was both manifold in origin and intermittent in availability. He glibly adopts question-begging phrases like 'des paysages purement alexandrin,' in spite of the fact that no first-hand examples of Alexandrian landscape-painting have survived, nor has anybody more than a faint inkling of what they may have looked like. It is time that a close season was ordained for the name of Alexandria. Nor does M. Diehl consider such important, if obscure, subjects as the direct influence of the liturgical drama and its accessories not only on the iconography but also on the formal development of Byzantine painting (cf. Breher in Mem. Hist. xxiv [1920], pp. 101 ff.; Stefanescu in Ann. Inst. Philol. Phil., i [1923–24], pp. 21 ff.). He subscribes, moreover, to the doubtful doctrine of Hellenistic 'remascences' in the tenth and fourteenth centuries, without referring to Muratov's interesting theory that these periodic classicising phases may be due, not to the direct imitation of earlier models, but rather to the temporary intensification of the influence of secular painting, the scanty remains of which show a far more decided Hellenistic tint than religious works of the same period. Muratov has pointed out that these so-called 'Hellenistic reminiscences' do not actually correspond as closely with the waves of humanism which are supposed to have conditioned them.

M. Diehl's analysis of the northward penetration of Byzantine painting in the late Middle Ages results in the conclusion that whereas in the confines of the empire proper it is hard to detect any Italian elements due to the influence of Rome, Florence and Siena, in Serbia and Roumanis, not to mention the remoter Novgorod, distinct traces of such an influence are noticeable. But he does not specify precisely what these traces are, nor does he suggest how they were communicated; and the study of his plates does not confirm this suggestion. At least before the middle of the sixteenth century the artistic influence of Italy seems hardly to have stretched beyond Hungary and Bohemia at the farthest, and certainly not to have made any appreciable impression on orthodox lands. Even Ivan III's Bolognese architect, Aristotele Fioravanti, succeeded scarcely at all in modifying the prevailing native style of building; and the icon-painters were not more susceptible.

The chapter on miniature-painting adds little to M. Ebersolt's account, even in the matter of illustration, for of the 35 pieces reproduced by
NOTICES OF BOOKS

M. Diehl, 47 had already appeared in almost identical form in La miniature byzantine: surely a superfluous duplication, considering the immense wealth of suitable and accessible material. The section on mosaics seems to ignore the recently-published work of Diez and Demus.

There are no notes, bibliography, index or references to the text on the plates; nor is there any indication of the source of some of the more interesting illustrations.

R. H.

Die armenische Buchmalerei des 10. und beginnenden 11. Jahrhunderts. By KURT WEITZMANN. (Istanbuler Forschungen, Bd. 4.)

Pp. 25; 14 plates and 12 text-figures.


This unpretentious essay on Armenian book-painting contains a shock for students of early medieval art. Ever since Strzygowski first called attention to the manuscript more than forty years ago, it has been taken for granted that his dating of the miniatures in the Etchmiadzin Gospels was unquestionably valid. The manuscript itself is dated 993; but Strzygowski maintained that the ornamentation of the canon-tables and the introductory miniatures were earlier work inserted into the tenth-century book, and were, in fact, Syrian productions of the sixth century. This assertion has been generally accepted, and the miniatures in question have been cited as prototypes for much later works, such as the Carolingian gospel-books of Godescalc and St. Médard de Soissons. But Weitzmann now maintains that these introductory miniatures are contemporary with the manuscript, and cannot therefore be used to account for the style of works nearly two centuries earlier in date. Following a suggestion of Macler, which does not seem to have received its fair share of attention, Weitzmann shows that the introductory miniatures are by the same hand as the ornamental arcing of the canon-tables; as it is most improbable that this arcing would have remained empty for four centuries, he concludes that both miniatures and arcing date, like the text, from 993. He allows, however, that the marginal illustrations are later additions and agrees with Strzygowski that four miniatures representing the Annunciation to Zacharias and to the Virgin, the Adoration of the Magi, and the Baptism of Christ, are also presuppositional, though, unlike Strzygowski, he is unable to date them before the tenth century.

The iconographical peculiarities of the Etchmiadzin Gospels, upon which Strzygowski mainly based his early dating, are shown by Weitzmann to be possible in the tenth century: e.g. the steps and the so-called Iranian type of fire-altar in the Sacrifice of Isaac, which occurs also in an eleventh-century MS. in the Mechitaristen-Kloster in Vienna (cod. 697). On the whole, however, the iconography is derived, as Strzygowski argued, from Syro-Mesopotamian sources, though not without a considerable mixture of directly Byzantine elements. It is the analysis of these elements alleged to come from the West that involves Weitzmann in his most interesting, and most contentious, conclusions.

Now that the introductory miniatures and the canon-table ornaments of the Etchmiadzin Gospels are shown to date from the late tenth century, the history of Armenian miniatures-painting begins effectively with the Gospels of Queen Mike, dated 983, in the Convent of San Lazzaro in Venice. Weitzmann compares the style of this manuscript with those produced under the influence of the contemporary Byzantine classicising movement, such as the famous Paris Psalter 199. He remarks that while the Byzantine renaissance took its motives from western Asia Minor, the Armenians drew theirs from Egypt, by way of Syria; and instances the Nilotic landscape-elements in the canon-table arcing of the Mike MS. This argument in itself seems rather precarious, considering how widespread and enduring Nilotic motives proved to be (they occur, for instance, at the bottom of Torriti’s apse-mosaic in Santa Maria Maggiore). The iconographic differences between the Mike MS. and a sixth-century Syrian MS. like the Rabula Gospels in the Laurensians are especially noticeable in the miniature of the Ascension and in the portraits of the Evangelists. These latter are not placed on a neutral ground, as in the Rabula MS., but against draperies and degraded Antiochenesque architecture (especially SS. Luke and John). The style of the figures is more linear, less plastic, than that of the Rabula MS., although they are painted in heavier pigments.

The style of the canon-table arcing is much more classicising than that of the Rabula MS. The Etchmiadzin Gospels, on the other hand, though heavier and richer, and though of approximately the same type, have certain ornamental features more akin to the free arabesque style of the Rabula MS. The rainbow-shaded arcing of the first canon-table in the Etchmiadzin MS. is referred back by Weitzmann to the Rabula MS.; but it also occurs in a purely Byzantine MS., like the Vienna Dioscorides and in plenty of late Roman mosaics. The tempioetto, which used to be adcribed
as the prototype of those in Carolingian MSS. of the Ada group, is shown by Weitzmann to appear also in contemporary Byzantine MSS. such as Marciana gr. 1, 8. Weitzmann does not mention the *tendietti* in the early eight-century mosaics in the Mosque of the Fatimids at Damascus, which certainly have some bearing on the descent of this decorative architectural form from antiquity to the Middle Ages.

The close connexion between Armenian and Byzantine book-painting in the second half of the tenth century is shewn by a Greek MS., Vatican Pal. gr. 220. The canons-tables resemble those of the Mike and Etchmiadzin MSS. The evangelist-portraits, however, are quite different, and belong to the class best known from Stavreronikta 43 (Friend in Art Studies 1957, pl. viii), a MS., with naturalistic Antiochene architectural backgrounds of the tenth-century Byzantine renaissance type. The ornament of the Vatican MS., on the other hand, is nearer to Armenian examples than to the Stavreronikta MS. Weitzmann infers that both the Greek and Armenian MSS. emanate from one centre in eastern Asia Minor, one having been written in a Greek and the other in an Armenian monastery. But is this necessary? From the time of Theophylact and Basil I, Armenian taste, especially in decoration, had been very influential in Constantinople; and Armenian ornament is likely enough in a manuscript which had been no nearer to Armenia than the Bosphorus. We have, in fact, a proof of this in the Gospels of S. Lazzaro cod. 887, a manuscript written at Adrianople in 1007. The donor of this book was a *proto patharion* called Hovannes, and the writer a priest, Kirakos. The pairs of standing frontal figures of evangelists, identifiable by their names written in Greek characters, are purely Byzantine in type, though not in technique, since the colour is applied in thin washes, not in the burnished enamel-like pigment of Byzantine miniatures. On the other hand, the canons-tables are purely Asiatic in style, and may be compared with carved Armenian gravestones. Weitzmann concludes that the artist was either a Greek from eastern Asia Minor, or an Armenian familiar with Byzantine models. The latter alternative seems preferable, for there is nothing exclusively Byzantine about the actual handling of either the ornament or the figure-subjects, and neither of the names associated with the book is Greek, although the donor was a high official at the Byzantine court.

The same uncertainty lies behind the authorship of another gospel-book at S. Lazzaro, cod. 1400. It was acquired at Trebizond, and is datable to the eleventh-century. Weitzmann compares the diaper-filling of the canons-tables with that in the Vatican gr. 364. Four different hands seem to be discernible in the illustrations: (a) the painter of St. John, who is also akin to the painter of Vat. gr. 364, and was probably a Greek; (b) the painter of St. Matthew, the combined picture of all four Evangelists, and the Christsological scenes, which have architectural accessories related to tenth-century Byzantine types; (c) the painter of the St. Luke, who could not spell the evangelist's name correctly in Greek (ἈΘΑΝΑΣΙΟΣ); and (d) the painter of the St. Mark and the enthroned Christ in a roundel. The combined picture of the four Evangelists is copied from a prototype like that in Stavreronikta 43. The Transfiguration has affinities with that in Leminopolitanus 21 (Morey in Art Bulletin 1926, fig. 103), a MS. acquired in Trebizond. The standing Mary in the Annunciation appears also in the Paris MS. of the Homilies of St. Gregory Nazianzen, and at Toqale in Cappadocia. With the exception of (a) the painters were probably Armenians (though Weitzmann supposes that they must have been trained in a Greek school), especially on account of the alleged non-Byzantine character of the ornament.

But what is Byzantine ornament? Or rather, what is the origin of these richly decorated arcades and chapter-headings which occur in both Byzantine and Armenian MSS. from the tenth century onwards? The *ʒ*-shaped chapter-heading filled with scrolls and various other decorative elements does indeed appear in Byzantine MSS., but it is not a Greek form of decoration, like the acanthus and the palmate. Large areas filled with interlacing and convoluted scroll-work appear in the eighth century at Mshatta, and indeed earlier, on that dubious silver dish in the Hermitage which Strzygowski thought might be Parthian (Altai-Iran, fig. 94; cf. Sarre, Kunst des alten Persien, pl. 119); but they are not typical of early Byzantine ornament, except where this was directly affiliated to Oriental schemes. It is clear that Armenian book-painting owed a good deal to Byzantium in the handling of its figure-subjects, but its ornamental motives, when not indigenous, seem to come from the neighbouring lands to the east. The apparent contribution of Byzantium to Armenian decoration after 1000, which Weitzmann ascribes to the eastward expansion of Byzantine power under Constantine IX, may, after all, be only the repayment, with interest, of all that the Greeks had learned from the East since the days of the Isaacian dynasty.

R. H.

This enormous volume, embellished by numerous illustrations, concludes the monumental work on Venetian Crete, of which the first installment was published twenty-eight years ago. It consists of two parts: that describing the hydraulic works (waterworks, baths, bridges, mills, ports, arsenals and salt- pans), which was printed before the war; and that containing the Appendices (the heraldic monuments, and the Latin, Italian, French, Greek and Hebrew inscriptions), printed in 1931. It is consequently not up to date, as some of the monuments mentioned have disappeared, but supplementary notes and additions, chiefly to the first two volumes, contain new discoveries and publications, such as those of Professors Andréas (on the Jews), Marshall and Theotokes, whose great collection of Venetian documents will shortly be published by the Academy. The heraldic monuments consist of Venetian lions and coats-of-arms, including those of the famous Greek families of Calergi, Mousouros and Blastos. Of the inscriptions most are in Latin or Greek, few in Venetian, one in French belonging to the siege of Candia and consisting of one word, souffrance, and two in Hebrew, of which one bears the arms and name of the Spanish Jew, Hen. The Greek, published in collaboration with Xanthoudides, who issued a collection of Cretan Christian inscriptions in 1903, include those of the Byzantine period. One proves Crete to have been a theme, several mention Cretan painters, like Pagomenos, some are dated by the reigns of the Byzantine Emperors even under Venice, one by the judicaship of a Calergi, and one alone, dated 1327-8, mentions the Venetian domination.

W. M.


This official account of the modern Greek coinage from 1828 to 1932 gives the history of all the coins and notes issued, with plates of the coins, and an appendix, occupying three-quarters of the volume and containing the laws and decrees, which regulated the various issues. The history of the Greek currency comprises four periods: 1828-32, 1833-67, 1867-1926, and 1928-32. The first coins, issued under Capo d'Istria in 1828, were the silver στατάριο and the bronze 1, 5 and 10 λεπτά pieces, made by the old machines of the Knights. 

W. M.
of Malta, and, in the case of the bronze pieces, out of Turkish cannon, and minted in Aigina with the inscription: Ἐθνική Πολιτεία. The reign of Otho, in 1833, inaugurated the new coinage with the drachma as its basis and with gold pieces of 20 and 40 drachmas and bronze lepta, minted in Munich till the foundation of the Mint at Athens in 1836, which was, however, abolished in 1853. This coinage was extended to the Ionian islands in 1865. The third series of coins, issued in 1867 with the head of George I, was minted in Paris, as were the autonomous Cretan coins with that of Prince George in 1900. The nickel pieces of 1912 were perforated. There are no coins of Constantine, Alexander or George II, and the first coins of the present Republic were not minted in Vienna till 1926, while the last issue, comprising the silver 10 προσδόκια and 20 προσδόκια and the nickel 5 προσδόκια, was minted in London in 1930 from designs of Messrs. G. F. Hill of the British Museum and G. Kruger Gray. The first issue of paper money was in 1829; from 1841 it was the exclusive privilege of the National Bank, which was extended to the Ionian and Epeiro-Thessalian banks in 1868 and 1885. Subsequently again limited to the National Bank, it was transferred in 1927 to the Bank of Greece. The cutting of half the notes by Protopappadakes in 1922 and of one-quarter by Pangalos in 1926 was a curious experiment.

W. M.
BRITISH MUSEUM. ATTIC SARCOPHAGUS FROM XANTHOS

BOYS PLAYING WITH HOOPS. BOYS PLAYING BALL.
BRITISH MUSEUM: ATTIC SARCOPHAGUS FROM XANTHOS

BATTLE SCENE: PAIR OF GRYPHONS
BRITISH MUSEUM SARCOPHAGUS WITH HUNTING SCENES FROM XANTHOS
INDEX TO VOLUME LIII

I.—GENERAL

A
Acroteria, 99
Adalia, sarcophagus, 103
Aeschines and epigrams, 74, 82, 83, 93
Aeschylus, Agamemnon, 112; Promethei Fustus, 46, 390
Africa, epigraphy, 263
Amathus, silver bowl, 25
Amazon-sarcophagi, 204
Ammios (Crete), frescoes, 294
Antissia (Mytilene), excavations, 285
Apolissodoros, vase-painter, 69
Arkades (Crete), cremations, 167
Arinioi, pedestal, 58
Artemision, battle, 90
Asia Minor, epigraphy, 259; sarcophagi, 192
Assarlik, cremations, 166
Athens: Academy, excavations, 272; Acropolis, cremations, 170; excavations, 268; Agora, excavations, 266; Ceramicus, burials, 162; excavations, 269; Herm Stoa, 87; Stoa of Zeus, 87
National Museum, Apollo of the Dipylon and Sunium, 51; sarcophagi 1181 and 1183, 185; 1179 (from Petalidi), 192; from Megiste, 202
Athens Modern Greek Lexicon, 1
Attic epigraphy, 218; sarcophagi, in Athens, 185, 192; in Leningrad, 192; from Petalidi, 192; from Xanthos, 184

B
Baltimore, Walters Coll., sarcophagus, 198, 203
Battle sarcophagi in Leningrad, 190; from Petalidi, 192; from Xanthos, 189
Berlin, bronze jug, 208
Beirut, sarcophagus, 203
Bocotia, burials, 171; epigraphy, 233
Bowls, engraved, from Amathus, 25; from Caeret (Regumii-Galassi Tomb), 31; from Delphi, 34
Bronzes, Geometric reliefs from Knossos, 290; Oriental, from Knossos, 292; Laconian, from Samos, 286

C
Calligraphe, nauarch, 61
Carian humped ox, 105
Castellorizo, sarcophagus, 204
Castle Ashby, vase fragment signed "salvos", 69
Cesnola, and Amathus bowl, 25
Charioteer of Delphi, inscription, 101
Chios, massacre, 111
Chronology of Iliad, 114
Claudia Tatianna, tomb, see Ephesus

Columnar sarcophagus from Xanthos, 192
Corinth, epigraphy, 229; excavations, 275
Cremation and inhumation, 76
Crete, epigraphy, 246; excavations, 288; see also Arkades, Moulana, Vrokastro
Crowder, Col. T. M., 8
Cyprus, bronze bowl, 25; epigram, 86; excavations, 264; see Galata
Cyrene, epigraphy, 263

D
Delos, epigraphy, 242
Delphi, bronze bowl, 34; charioteer, 101; epigraphy, 254; Gauls at, 114
Demetrios and Sarapias, epitaph, 54
Dendra, burial rites, 176
Dedona, excavations, 292

E
Eros, epigram, 82
Euergetis, inscriptions, 225
Ephesus, temple of Artemis, 112; tomb of Claudia Tatianna, 181
Epidauros, inscription, 112
Epigrams and epitaphs, 71
Epigraphy, progress of, 1931-1932, 214
Etruscan urn, with Gauls, 114
Euripides, and Ptolemy I, 57
Eurymon, epigrams, 79, 83

F
Florence, sarcophagus, 203
Frescoes, see Ammios, Galata

G
Galata, Cyprus, frescoes, 105
Garland sarcophagi, 198, 202, 212
Gauls at Delphi, 114
Gryphons on sarcophagus, 189

H
Halos, cremations, 169
Heracles sarcophagi, 204, 206
Herm, stoa at Athens, 87
Herma, of Athens, 92
Homer, burial rites, 161, 175, 177; chronological plan of Iliad, 115
Hoops, game, 184
Hunting, on Attic sarcophagus, 186; hunting sarcophagi from Adalia and Xanthos, 195; on other monuments, 207
INDEX TO VOLUME LIII

I
Ialynus, cremations, 162, 168
Iliad, see Homer
Inhumation in Greece, 161

Inscriptions, IG, 11, 293–324, 137; 927, 76; 943, 80; 945, 79; 946, 79; 1IV, fasc. i, stema of Eumomos, 112; on Delphic Charioteer, 101; from Samos, on the Euryndemon, 97; from Megara, 95; Church dedication at Galata, Cyprus, 106; unpublished in Oxford, see Demetrios. See also Epigram, Epigraphy, London

Istanbul, sarcophagus fragments, 202
Isthumia, excavations, 276
Italy, epigraphy, 248
Ithaca, excavations, 282
Iznik, sarcophagus fragment, 205

K
Kallikles, vase signature, 283
Kibyra, sculptured frieze, 207
Knife, from Selinon, 210
Knossos, Geometric tombs, 288
Kouros, archaic, in New York, 57

L
Laconia, epigraphy, 231
Leningrad, Attic sarcophagus, 190
Letter-writing in verse, 111
Lexicon, the Athens modern Greek, 1
London, British Museum, Etruscan urn, 114; finance head of Ptolemy III, 300; inscription xxxvii, 77; sarcophagi, from Xanthos, Cat. 957, 189; 936, 184; 959, 192; 960, 195; other sarcophagi, Cat. 2301 (Heraclides), 204; 2329, 190; 2330 (Lydae), 205; vase E 299, 100
Lydae, sarcophagus fragment, 205

M
Macedonia, epigraphy, 239; excavations, 284
Mahdia, inscriptions, 223
Megara, inscriptions, 96
Megiste, Lyca, sarcophagus, 202
Miletus, sarcophagus fragments, 202
Melfi, sarcophagus, 204
Mouliana, cremations, 165
Mycene, burials, 161
Mytilene, excavations, 285

N
Navarhite, Ptolemaic, 61
Naval strategy, Greek, 16
New York, Metropolitan Museum, archaic statue, 51
Nike, on vase paintings, 101

O
Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, relief of Demetrios and Sarapias, 54

P
Paintings, see Frescoes
Palestine, epigraphy, 257
Pamphylian sarcophagi, 202
Papyri, see Zeno
Paris, Louvre, bronze plaque, 208; rf. cup G, 139–140, 69; sarcophagus from Castellorizzo, 204
Pellec, excavations, 281
Peloponnesse, epigraphy, 229
Perachora, excavations, 277
Perge, sarcophagi, 197, 202, 206
Petralidi, sarcophagus, 102
Pothidia, epitaph, 77
Prometheus Vinctus, The, 46, 300
Providence, sarcophagus, 200
Ptolemy I, lineage, 57
Ptolemy III, portrait, 300

R
Ravenna, sarcophagi, 205
Regulini-Galassi tomb, silver bowls, 31
Rhithymaia, burials, 171
Rhodes, burials, see Ialynus; epigraphy, 243
Rome, Borghese Palace, sarcophagus of Torre Nova, 202; Herakles sarcophagus, 204; Fiano Palace, sarcophagus, 204; Greek Epigraphy, 249; S. Lorenzo fuori le mura, sarcophagus lids, 201; Torlonia sarcophagus, 206; Vaihian, rf. cup, 69; sarcophagi, 198, 202, 204, 206; and see Regulini-Galassi; Villa Giulia, rf. fragments, 69

S
Salamis, battle, 22; burials, 161
Samos, burials, 170; excavations, 286; inscription, 97
Sarapias, epitaph, 54
Sarcophagi, Amazon, 204; Asia Minor columnar, 103; Attic Battle, 189; Attic Erotes, 184; Hunting, 195; Pamphylian, 202; Torlonia Herakles group, 206; Torre Nova group, 202
Sardis, sarcophagus lid, 201
Sculpture, archaic kouroi, see New York; finds, from Attica, 266, 272. See Sarcophagi
Seleucia, knife hilt, 210
Sicyon, excavations, 280
Sidamara, sarcophagus, 194, 205
Siege scene, on Amathus bowl, 34
Silver bowls, from Amathus, 25; from Regulini-Galassi tomb, 31
Simonides, bibliography, 71
Skyros, sarcophagus lid, 201
Sparta, epigraphy, 231
Sphinx from the Cereanicus, Athens, 271
Strategy, Greek naval, 16
Syracuse, burials, 170
Syria, epigraphy, 257

T
Tanagra, burials, 171; epigrams, 78
Terracotta heads from Samos, 287, 289; sphinx from Ceramicus, 277
Thebes, cremations, 163
Thera, cremations, 169
Thermopylae, battle, 20
Thessaly, excavations, 283
Thrace, epigraphy, 240
INDEX TO VOLUME LIII

Torre Nova, sarcophagus, 202
Trireme, 17
Troy, excavations, 296

Volterra urn in British Museum, 114
Vrokastro, cremation, 164, 168

X

Xanthos, sarcophagi, 181

V

Vases: rf. signed Apollodoros, 69; rf. with
apkasta, 100; from excavations, in Attic:
Cerameicos, 271; in Cyprus, 297; in Ithaca,
signed Kalikles, 283; in tomba near Knossos,
293, 295; in Mytilene, 287

Z

Zeno papyri, Cairo 59006, 62; Michigan 100, 62
Zeni, in Prometheus Vilicus, 403; Stoa of, see
Athena
II.—GREEK INDEX

Δημοσία, 4

Σπερμάτης, 100

Θανάτος, 35

Διαλογικόν, 100

Δαρή, 184

Διαστάσεις, 56

Ηπείρος, 84

Ευρύπολις, 179

Σπείρας, 56

Τάγμα, in epigramm, 71

Φωσίζω, 175

Aeschines, III. 184, 74, 82; III. 190, 73

Aeschylus, Agam. 560, 112; P.V. 370, 390

Athen. Pal. vii. 255, 75; vii. 256, 76; viii. 258, 79;

vii. 443, 81; xiii. 26, 76

Diodorus, xi. 62, 82

Euphantus fr. 2, 36

Herodotus, vii. 228, 72, 73

Plutarch, Them. viii. 5, 73

Simonides fr. 96, 95

Stephanus Byz. Θεσσαλ., 76
III.—BOOKS NOTICED

Amundsen (L.), Ostraca Oslavania, 318
Anderson (A. R.), Alexander’s Gate, Geg und Magag, 322
Andréadès (A. M.), A history of Greek public finance, tr. C. N. Brown, 322
Ashmole (B.), see Beazley (J. D.)
Baur (P. V. C.), Rostovtzeff (M. I.), and Bellinger (A. R.), Excavations at Dura-

Europos, IV, 305
Beazley (J. D.), Campana Fragments in Florence, 308
—, Des Kroisosdenkmaler, 308
— and Ashmole (B.), Greek sculpture and painting, 128
Bellinger (A. R.), see Bauer (P. V. C.)
Berthelot (A.), L’Ais ancienne centrale et sud-
orientale d’après Protélique, 325
Breccia (E.), Le musee greco-romain d’Alexandrie, 124
British Museum, Guide to the principal coins of the Greeks, 373
Brunn-Bruckmann, Deukalner gr. u. röm Skulptur, nos. 501-756, 127
Buckler (W. H.), and Robinson (D. M.), Sardis VII, 1, 137
Bulle (H.), Untersuchungen an gr. Theaterm, 303
Burn (V.), Nos. mar, 323
Cambridge Ancient History IX, 146
Casson (S.), The technique of early Greek sculpture, 306
Chamounard (J.), Deux XIV: les mosaiques de la
Maison des Masques, 312
Cornford (F. M.), Before and after Socrates, 148
Corella archaica, 131
Cross (G. N.), Epiphan, 142
Delatte (A.), La catacombe de gr., 152
Demangel (R.), La fresque imagique, 306
Deubner (L.), Attische Poesie, 140
Dich (G.), La peinture byzantine, 334
Diepolder (H.), Die attischen Grafreliefs, 127
Dimanoff (W. B.), The Archon of Athens, 145
Dorrsetl (F.), Die archaische Mythenzahulung, 326
Dreux (E.), Die Schauspielbuhne des Griechenland, 159
Ducati (P.), Pontische Vasen, 128
Düring (L.),zephryos Kommentar zur Harmonie des
des Ptolemaios, 154
Emploi des signes critiques, 339
Ferguson (W. S.), The Treasurers of Athens, 134
— Athenian Tribal Cycles, 144
Fiechter (E.), Das Theater in Megalopolis, 126
Fowler (H. N.), and Stillwell (R.), Corinth I, 123
Geiger (F.), Päthion von Alexandria als sozialer
denk, 326
Gerland (E.), Corpus Notitiorum Epigraphicum
Ecc. Or. Gr. I, 135
Gerola (G.), Monumenti senesi di Creta, 337
Gerstung (H.), Oellacher (H.), and Vogel (K.),
Gr. lit. Papyri in Wien, 130
Glover (T. R.), Greek Byzantium, 132
Gomme (A. W.), The population of Athens, 321
Guiraud (O.), Le siecle, 319
Halliday (W. R.), Indo-European Folk-tales and
Greek Legends, 326
Hansen (H. D.), Early Civilisation in Thessaly, 120
Hardy (E. R.), The large estates of Byzantine Egypt, 157
Heath (T. L.), Greek Astronomy, 149
Hirschberger (J.), Die Pharnaces in der Philosophie
Phalons, 149
Hörmann (H.), Die inneren Prophelen von Eleusis, 126
Hunt (A. S.), and Smyly (J. G.), The Tebtunis
Papyri, 318
Kairopowich (K.), To Geklono Dovroen tou
Athens, 337
—, Meta tou Platon tis Korintiaskepsis, 337
Kalof (T.), Berlino Leibniz, gr. Papyri l, 141
Kenyon (F. G.), Books and readers in ancient
Greece and Rome, 140
Kyes (C. W.), see Westermann (W. L.)
Kysyser (K.), Gultvorsstellung und Lebensverhau-
ning im gr. Hymen, 148
Kiiro (H. D. F.), In the mountains of Greece, 305
Klein (A. E.), Child life in Greek art, 133
Kruker (W.), Heidelberg Catalogus: 1, 37,
attischen Vasen, 309
Kunze (E.), Kretische Bronzereihe, 141
Laflaw (W. A.), A history of Delos, 322
Ljungvik (V.), Beitrag zur Syntax der späten
Volkssprache, 158
Luce (S. B.), CFA, USA 2 = Proeedings 1, 316
Mata (F.), see Mau (A.)
Mau (A.), Katalog der Bibliothek des deutschen,
arch. Instituts in Rom (2nd ed. by F. Mata), 118
Miklig G. Gutten E. G. Jotes, 131
Merritt (B. D.), Athenian financial documents of the
5th century, 134
Miller (W.), Die Auswahl of Theoph.'s, 124
Mylonas (G. E.), Tekstariographeis, 302
Oellacher (H.), see Gerstingher (H.)
Oppenheimer (K.), Zwei attische Epitaphien, 339
Pallis (A.), Notes on St. Mark and St. Matthew, 155
Pendlebury (J. D. S.), Handbook to the Palace of
Minos, 121
Pirilla (F.), A traces la Madelaine, 166
Philippson (A.), Beiirige zur Morphologie Griechen-
lands, 129
Pipioneles (T. N.), "H monapio" in "Ellen", 1633-
1683, 159

343
BOOKS NOTICED

Pottier (E.), CFA France 12 = Louvre 8, 309
Powell (J. U.), New Chapters in Greek Literature III, 329
Prinsenanz (K.), Die griech. Zauberpapyri II, 141
Puaux (R.), Grèce Terre natale des Dieux, 160
Quennell (M. and C. H. B.), Everyday things in classical Greece, 133
Radet (G.), Alexandre le Grand, 143
Ramulf (S.), The jealousy of the Gods, 327
Richardson (B. E.), Old Age among the ancient Greeks, 325
Robinson (D. M.), see Buckler (W. H.)
Roes (A.), Greek Geometric Art, 302
Rogers (A. K.), The Socratic problem, 327
Ross (J. H.), The Mediterranion in the ancient world, 323
Rostovtzeff (M. I.), Caravan Citiies, 125
—— see Baur (P. V. C.)
Runclilan (S.), Byzantine Civilisation, 331
Schäzmann (P.), Kao I, 124
Schulhorn (W.) and Schäfer (D.), Spätopolynische Papyri aus amtl. Bäns des Hetaeroloponites, 318
Seltmann (C.), Greek Coins, 128
Shenk (A., Graf von Stauffenberg), König Hieron II von Syракus, 322
Sheppard (J. T.), The Oresteia of Aeschylus, 153
Shorey (P.), What Plato said, 328
Smyly (J. G.), see Hunt (A. S.)
Stillwell (R.), see Fowler (H. N.)
Supplementum epigraphicum graecum VI, 313

Sylloge nummorum graecorum II, 313

Τον Βλέφαρο γυαλίστρα, 337
Tarn (W. W.), Alexander the Great and the unity of mankind, 321
Taylor (A. E.), Sources, 140
Thomson (G.), Aeschylus: the Promethes Bound, 152
Tod (M. N.), Greek Historical Inscriptions, 134
Ullman (B. L.), Ancient Writing, 140
Vitali (L.), Fonti per la storia della religione cyrenaica, 146
Vogel (K.), see Gerstinger (H.)
Wace (A. J. B.), Chamber Tombs at Mycenae, 301
Waterman (L.), Tell Umar: Reports i and 2, 305
Weinstock (H.), Sophokles, 336
Weitzmann (K.), Die armenische Buchmalerei, 335
Weitzsäcker (A.), Unterzebuchungen über Plutarchs biographische Technik, 154
Westermann (W. L.) and Keyes (C. W.), Tax Lists from Theadelphia, 140
Wiegand (T.), Zweiter Bericht über die Ausgrabungen von Pergamon, 1928-1932, 125
Wilcken (U.), Alexander the Great, 143
Wilhelm (A.), Gr. Grabinschriften aus Kleinasien, 138
—— Neue Beiträge zur gr. Inschriftenkunde, 149
Zakythinos (D. A.), Le despota grec de Morée, 157
Zuretti (C. O.), Catalogue des MSS. alchimiques grecs, 142